'Stumbling' economy forecast for '86

Signs point to increase in joblessness

By Gene Zack

Although the economic community is forecasting moderate growth and stagnant jobless levels next year, "the weight of evidence" actually points to "slower growth and higher unemployment" in 1986, the AFL-CIO asserted.

In a New Year's assessment of the economic outlook, Research Director Rudy Oswald cited unfettered imports, a federal deficit that has yet to be checked, severe cutbacks in consumer spending and a slowdown in business investment and housing as the major factors contributing to a "stumbling" economy in the next 12 months.

The consensus among economists is for a 3.1 percent increase in the gross national product, a 3.7-percent inflation rate, and civilian unemployment stuck at the 7.1-percent level.

But these same economists were overly optimistic in their forecasts for the year just ended, when economic growth fell seven-tenths of 1 percent below their predictions, Oswald pointed out. And they may be looking at the coming year through the same imperfect rose-colored glasses, he said.

Although economists were pretty much on target last year in their unemployment estimates, the federation pointed out that the only thing that kept joblessness from rising was the continuing shift from jobs in the goods-producing sector to those in the service sector. Compounding the problem was the increase in part-time employment, "much of it involuntary."

Trade action needed

The transition from higher-paying factory employment to lower-paying service employment is certain to continue until decisive action is taken to address the foreign trade problems that beset the nation's major industries.

"Imports are likely to remain a drag on the U.S. economy in 1986," Oswald observed, even though the foreign exchange value of the dollar has dropped in the past several months.

A large part of the record-shattering trade deficit resulted from "dumping and other unfair trade practices" engaged in by foreign manufacturers and their governments, the "exploitation of cheap labor" abroad, and restrictions that keep American-made goods from entering world markets.

These are the realities that will stand as a roadblock to improving the nation's trade balance, which soared to an all-time peak in 1985, Oswald pointed out.

At the same time, he warned, the global debt problem—particularly in the developing countries of Latin America—could prove

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AFL-CIO news

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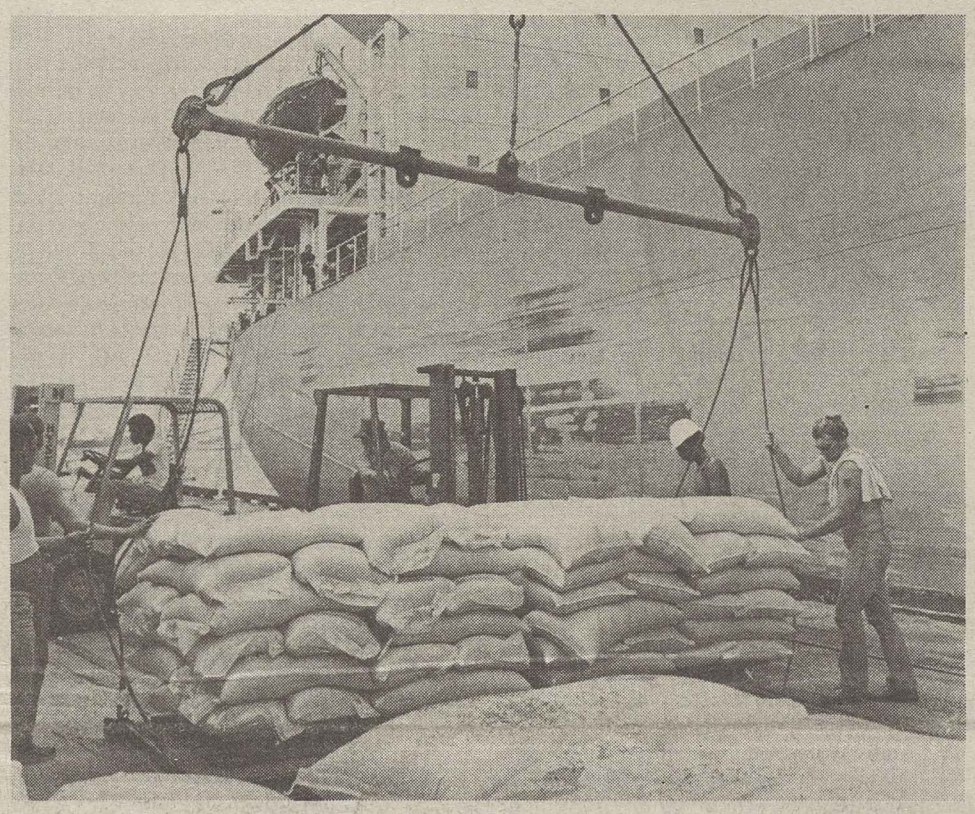
Surge in imports sends trade deficit to new high



Famine relief

Shipment of Texas grain and dried milk for famine victims in Africa is loaded in Corpus Christi by Longshoremen who volunteered their time. All the bags carry the Texas AFL-CIO logo. Labor, community groups and state officials joined forces to send 10 freighter loads of food from Texas ports to starving Africans. (Story on page 4.)

11-month gap of $132 billion tops all of '84

America's job-destroying trade deficit took a big leap in November, sending 1985 into the record books for the most disastrous export-import imbalance in the nation's history.

The $13.7 billion trade gap in November was $2.2 billion higher than the previous month. A modest 3.5-percent gain in U.S. exports to other countries was swamped by a 9.8 percent surge in imports. The $131.8 billion cumulative trade deficit for the first 11 months of 1985 has already exceeded the $123.3 billion deficit posted for all 12 months of 1984, which until now was the worst on record.

American workers have felt the deficit and painfully—in the shrinkage of manufacturing jobs that kept the unemployment rate festering around 7 percent throughout what has been touted as a year of economic recovery.

An AFL-CIO analysis warned that the continuing hemorrage in foreign trade, with plant closings, unemployment and lost income, "poses a serious threat to America's future."

Mortgaging the future

Federation Economist Mark Anderson pointed out that no other nation would allow its trade balance to deteriorate so drastically.

"The Reagan Administration must not be allowed to mortgage America's future," he warned. In the absence of presidential leadership, Anderson stressed, "it is essential that Congress assert leadership to reduce the trade deficit, address the special problems of the most seriously damaged industries and shape trade law to reflect international realities."

Auto imports from Japan in November soared 61 percent above the previous month. Overall, Japan's advantage in trade dealings with the United States rose from $3.2 billion in October to $4.6 billion in November.

The trade deficit with Canada, this nation's largest trading partner, went against the trend and dipped slightly to $1.98 billion. But the European Community deficit

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$107 million settlement caps pay equity battle

Olympia, Wash.—State government workers will share a wage settlement totaling $107 million over the next six years under a landmark pay equity agreement between the State, County & Municipal Employees and Washington state.

The out-of-court settlement climaxed a five-year battle by AFSCME members to end sex-based wage discrimination in the state.

Under the terms of the agreement, nearly 35,000 workers in predominantly female jobs will receive pay increases totaling $46.5 million over a 15-month period ending June 1987. Pay equity raises equalling $10 million then will be awarded yearly through 1992.

Depending on their job classifications, most workers will get raises ranging from 12 to 14 percent spread over six years.

At AFSCME's national headquarters, President Gerald W. McEntee credited the state of Washington with recognizing and working to eliminate "the pervasiveness of sex-based discrimination."

He called the state's workers "pioneers in the movement to eradicate discrimination in the wage scales of the nation's employers" and said the Washington settlement "caps a year of solid successes for AFSCME at the bargaining table and in the state legislatures in winning economic justice for women workers."

AFSCME filed suit against the state in 1981 after a government study found that workers in male-dominated jobs were paid 20 percent more than workers in predominantly female jobs.

In 1983, U.S. District Court Judge Jack E. Tanner found the state guilty of discrimination under the federal Civil Rights Act and ordered salary increases and back pay for 15,000 workers, primarily women.

However, that ruling was overturned by the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals last September.

Negotiations between AFSCME and a state-appointed task force continued, with the legislature appropriating $41.6 million to end the state's wage inequities.

The settlement must be approved by the legislature and reviewed by the federal district court in Tacoma.

Toxic dump cleanup funding left unresolved by Congress

A battle over funding the cleanup of toxic waste dumps was left unresolved at the adjournment of the first session of Congress and will be resumed after the House and Senate reconvene on Jan. 21.

The controversy sidetracked final passage of a budget reconciliation bill that also included two other labor-supported measures—an extension of the trade adjustment assistance program for workers whose jobs are wiped out by imports and a rise in the single-employer pension insurance program.

Left unresolved was the means of replenishing the "superfund" set up five years ago to finance cleanup of toxic waste where the responsible party cannot be identified or is insolvent.

A House-passed bill would fund the program for another five years primarily from taxes on petroleum and chemical producers, the chief sources of the nation's toxic contamination. That's how the program has been funded, although the $1.2 billion allocated for the first five years proved grossly inadequate. The House-passed measure would have raised $10 billion for the superfund.

The Senate, by contrast, had bowed to

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MEMO FROM COPE

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1/4/86

1985 brought highs and lows for labor

By David L. Perlman

The year 1985 was rocky for the national economy, yet in many ways hopeful for America's trade union movement.

At year's end, the nation's foreign trade and federal budget deficits had worsened despite overdue efforts by Congress to come to grips with the problems. The job gap narrowed only slightly over the year, with unemployment remaining close to recession levels.

Nevertheless, it wasn't all gloom and doom for workers and their unions.

There were bargaining breakthroughs, including a triumph of coordinated bargaining by 13 unions with General Electric Co. And in companies that had returned to profitability, such as Chrysler Corp., unions were able to recoup concessions that had enabled the employer to stay in business.

Within the AFL-CIO family, new ideas and concepts fed hopes for an exciting era of growth and increased worker involvement. Opinion polls showed a higher regard for unions, both among the public at large and among union members.

The troubles and the hopes were reflected in the 51 issues of the AFL-CIO News published in 1985. These are some of the gleanings:

JOBS—When the calendar turned to 1985, the unemployment rate was 7.2 percent, far above the pattern of previous post-recession periods. The jobless rate for blacks was 15 percent.

The most recent government report shows a barely perceptible decline to 7 percent, with black unemployment rising to 15.9 percent. During all of 1985, the number counted as unemployed each month averaged more than 8 million. The number would be still higher if persons who gave up the job search from discouragement and those who could find only part-time jobs were included in the tally.

TRADE—The 1984 trade deficit reached a record $123.3 billion, the difference between the value of the goods the nation imported and the products it exported. The 1985 tally isn't in, but the trade deficit for the first 11 months has already broken that record.

Congress made rumbling noises, but neither the Reagan Administration nor the nations that have flooded the American market with their products paid much heed.

Japan celebrated President Reagan's decision not to seek renewal of its Voluntary Restraint Agreement on auto imports with a 25 percent increase in auto shipments to the United States. Both the House and Senate passed near-unanimous resolutions urging Reagan to invoke quotas and tariff barriers against Japanese goods unless Japan increased U.S. purchases enough to offset the rise in auto shipments. Japan protested the resolution as a "threat to the entire free trade system," and a further rise in Japanese auto shipments is expected.

Congress sent out a lifeline to the import-decimated textile, apparel, shoe and copper industries in a bipartisan labor-supported bill. But the margin of passage—an impressive 255-161 in the House and 60-39 in the Senate—was less than the two-thirds needed to override Reagan's Christmas season veto. The President said he feared any curbs on imports would lead to a "retaliatory backlash" against U.S. goods.

BARGAINING—Even a small sampling shows the variety of issues addressed at the bargaining table.

Take pay equity. In Los Angeles, an AFSCME settlement meant extra pay raises for 4,000 persons in previously undervalued city clerical and librarian jobs filled mostly by women.

In New Haven, Conn., it took a hard-fought strike by a new unit of the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees to win pay upgradings for women workers at Yale University. In solidarity, an already organized blue-collar unit respected the picket line throughout the 10-week strike.

At General Electric, a 13-union coalition won its first union security agreement along with pay, COLA, retirement and job security gains. Multi-union bargaining at Westinghouse Corp. was equally successful.

For innovative bargaining, there was the UAW's first contract covering the highly automated General Motors plant under construction in Tennessee for its Saturn Corp. subsidiary. It provides for a salaried workforce with permanent job security and joint union-management decision making.

The Air Line Pilots ended a two-year strike against Continental Airlines with a court order directing seniority protection for returning strikers, severance pay for those who do not reclaim their jobs, and reinstatement of pensions.

There were thousands of contracts negotiated and renegotiated without strikes. And there were continuing disputes, such as the determined battle by copper workers at Phelps Dodge Corp.

NEW DIRECTIONS—The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions, the groundbreaking report by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, was taken a big step further by delegates to the federation's 30th anniversary convention last October.

The convention gave a green light to the concept of direct services and benefits to workers outside the collective bargaining structure through a new category of associate membership.

Plans are being made to use the pooled buying power of millions of workers to give an extra value to the union card.

The AFL-CIO convention also backed multi-union organizing programs and voted to continue the process of seeking a consensus within the trade union movement for an early endorsement of a presidential candidate.

IN CONGRESS—Apart from trade and international issues, these were among the House and Senate actions of special concern to the trade union movement:

- **Tax reform**—Labor's legislative goal was to achieve a fairer tax reform package than the Administration had proposed.

Unions helped form a national coalition to restore the loophole-ridden corporate tax as a major source of revenue. The AFL-CIO mobilized a grassroots campaign that blocked repeated attempts to tax workers on the value of their health insurance and other employer-provided job benefits. And the federation joined its public-sector unions in fighting attempts to end the federal deduction for state and local taxes.

There are some deficiencies in the House-passed bill that should be remedied in the Senate—including a pension taxation provision especially disadvantageous to government workers. But overall, the House bill is a big step forward.

- **Worker protections**—The House defeated a labor-urged bill that would have required employers to provide 90 days' notice of plant closings or major layoffs, with exceptions allowed for uncontrollable circumstances. On the final vote, 183 Democrats and 20 Republicans supported the plant-closing bill. It was defeated by 154 Republicans and 54 Democrats.

A Senate-passed bill would have excluded most military construction projects from Davis-Bacon Act prevailing wage requirements. An attempt to delete the anti-worker amendment lost on a 49-49 tie vote. The provision was deleted by a House-Senate conference, however, and did not become law. But the Walsh-Healey Act, which sets minimum employment standards for federal procurement contracts, was effectively scrapped by an amendment to a Defense Dept. bill eliminating a requirement for overtime rates after eight hours a day.

- **Wage-hour changes**—A 5-4 Supreme Court decision in February reversed a 10-year-old ruling that had nullified extension of wage-hour law coverage to most employees of state and local governments. Mayors and governors initially launched a strong campaign to get Congress to rescind the coverage. But a bipartisan agreement worked out in discussions that included representatives of the AFL-CIO and its public-sector unions left both sides satisfied. It allowed the option of compensatory time off for overtime—at a time-and-one-half rate.

- **Balanced budget**—Congress took a dangerous gamble with the nation's economy and passed a rigid balanced-budget measure that compels across-the-board cuts in both defense and most domestic programs whenever a timetable for achieving a balanced federal budget by 1991 is not met. Social security and some programs for the poor are exempt, but the impact on other programs could be disastrous.

- **Immigration**—The Senate passed a bill with labor-endorsed standards against employers who hire illegal workers, but made it unacceptable by including a provision to bring in up to 350,000 temporary agricultural workers. The AFL-CIO has urged the House to remedy these and other defects.

STATES—A "right-to-work" law that would prohibit union shop agreements was passed by the heavily Republican Idaho legislature over the veto of Gov. John Evans, a Democrat. The measure has been petitioned to referendum and will be on the ballot in November.

In New Hampshire, a right-to-work bill passed the House but was beaten in the Senate, 14-10. Eight Republicans joined the Senate's six Democrats in killing the anti-union bill.

The labor-opposed attempt to get two-thirds of the states to compel the convening of a national convention to initiate a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution passed the Michigan Senate but was beaten in the House. It was defeated in the Montana House, and blocked in committee in Illinois and Washington.

INTERNATIONAL—America's trade union movement was heavily involved in the worldwide campaign to end apartheid in South Africa. Union members and leaders picketed the South African embassy in Washington, many of them submitting to arrest, and lobbied in Congress to achieve House and Senate passage of legislation to impose sanctions against South Africa. Final action on a sanctions bill was put off to test effectiveness of executive action taken by President Reagan in response to congressional pressure.

Leaders of black trade unionists in South Africa joined with union leaders from the United States and other countries in a three-day conference in Washington conducted by the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund and the AFL-CIO African-American Labor Center. And the AFL-CIO has asked union members to help collect one million signatures on a letter of support to Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Prize winner who has called "for good people to be heard—loud, clear and now"—in opposition to apartheid.

A call for the economic isolation of South Africa if it persists in its race discrimination policy was sounded also by the executive board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It was the ICFTU's first meeting in Washington.

An international Conference on Peace and Democracy in Central America, held in Costa Rica, brought together union and political leaders of democratic nations, including AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland. They called for negotiations to restore peace based on respect for the full exercise of human rights "by all governments, whether they are of the left or the right," in Nicaragua and in El Salvador alike.

The AFL-CIO continued its support of Poland's free trade union movement, Solidarnosc, which has gone underground. A congressional budget slash threatened curtailment of labor programs funded through the Endowment for Democracy.

SAFETY AND HEALTH—A rise in job injuries was linked by the AFL-CIO to weak enforcement of the federal law by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration. Example: in Oklahoma, 21 workers died in an explosion at a fireworks plant that had never been inspected by OSHA.

Reagan-appointed Administrator Robert Rowland, never confirmed by the Senate, resigned in July, and the top OSHA job is still not filled.

In other developments: Farm field sanitation standards were delayed 18 months to see if states will act. An international union commission warned that the toxic fume disaster in Bhopal, India, could happen elsewhere, including the United States. Long-delayed OSHA standards were issued in December for formaldehyde, benzene and cotton dust. A Cook County, Ill., judge found three officials of a silver recovery firm guilty of murder in the death of a worker who inhaled deadly cyanide fumes from open vats. OSHA had relied on a "records check" rather than physical inspection of the plant.

IN GOVERNMENT—William E. Brock became Secretary of Labor in March, and the AFL-CIO looked for "a new and constructive relationship." His predecessor, Raymond J. Donovan, had been on leave since October 1984 after he was indicted on still-pending criminal charges.

Donald J. Devine withdrew his bid for a new term as director of the Office of Personnel Management, which administers the federal civil service. Devine had been under fire for blatantly partisan activities.

ANNIVERSARIES—On labor's side, 1985 marked the 30th anniversary of the AFL-CIO. And it was 50 years since the founding of the CIO, a partner in the 1955 merger of America's two labor federations.

It was also the 50th anniversary of two New Deal triumphs—the Social Security Act and the original National Labor Relations Act. The labor movement hailed the achievements of social security, termed "the nation's most successful anti-poverty program" by the AFL-CIO. But it deplored the erosion of worker rights that the National Labor Relations Act was intended to guarantee.

The law's weaknesses were compounded by what the AFL-CIO Lawyers Coordinating Committee termed the pro-employer "ideological bias" of President Reagan's appointees to the NLRB.

The five-member labor board acquired three new members during the year, and for the first time since 1983 reached full strength. Marshall Babson, a management lawyer, and Wilford Johansen, a career employee, filled long-standing vacancies. The newest member is James M. Stephens, from the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee. He replaced the board's senior member, Robert P. Hunter.

MERGERS—Two unions with long and distinguished histories voted to merge with larger unions. The 67-year-old Railroad Yardmasters became an affiliate of the United Transportation Union. And the 103-year-old Upholsterers became a division of the Steelworkers.

Members of the Typographical Union voted by a 2-1 margin against a merger with the Teamsters that would have taken them out of the AFL-CIO.

TRANSITIONS—Retirements led to five changes on the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Those who left included Vice President John H. Lyons, the council's senior member, who has been seriously ill. The others were Vice Presidents Glenn E. Watts, J.C. Turner, Robert F. Goss and Kenneth J. Brown.

The AFL-CIO vice presidents who took office in 1985 were Communications Workers President Morton Bahr, elected in August, and Presidents Larry Dugan Jr. of the Operating Engineers, Robert A. Georgine of the Building & Construction Trades Dept., Milan Stone of the Rubber Workers and Gene Upshaw of the Professional Athletes. They were elected at the AFL-CIO convention, along with President Lane Kirkland, Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue and 29 incumbent council members.

L.A. strike-lockout

Job security accord settles store dispute

Los Angeles—Guarantees of job security and a 40-hour week have ended a strike-lockout of 22,000 workers which had shut down 1,100 Southern California supermarkets for nearly eight weeks.

Meatcutters represented by the Food & Commercial Workers and truck drivers and warehousemen represented by the unaffiliated Teamsters ratified three-year agreements to end the dispute with 10 major grocery chains that form the Southern California Food Employers Council.

Meanwhile, the UFCW signed a new master agreement with Wilson Foods Corp. containing strong employment safeguards for 2,800 meatpackers, freezing management's salaries and giving the union the right to appoint one member to the company's board of directors.

The crucial issue in the supermarket strike-lockout was job security, according to UFCW Local 421 Sec.-Treas. Gerald McTeague, the union's chief negotiator. Management had sought to reduce the guaranteed workday at the markets to only four hours.

Under the new contract, newly hired meat wrappers will receive a starting pay of $7.90 an hour, instead of the $12.16 hourly rate received by present employees. The number of hours a market must have a journeyman meat cutter on duty will be reduced from 16 to 8.

"The current employees will not suffer" under the new contract, McTeague said, and the union will address the work conditions faced by new employees when the agreement comes up for renewal in 1988.

Management's retaliation

The strike-lockout began Nov. 5 when management abruptly left the bargaining table and then locked out union workers throughout Southern California in retaliation for the UFCW's selective strike against some supermarkets and the Teamsters picketing of two distribution centers.

Seven smaller chains immediately broke ranks with the bigger supermarkets, signing interim agreements with the unions under which they agreed to abide by the terms of the final settlement.

The Wilson contract—covering plants in Monmouth, Ill., Logansport, Ind., Cherokee and Clarinda, Iowa, and Oklahoma City, Okla.—is geared to providing "the maximum protection for workers who in all probability are working for a failing company," UFCW Vice President Lewie Anderson said.

One of the main provisions guarantees the jobs of all workers for one year even if a plant, division or department shuts down. Management also agreed to hire an individual designated by the union to assist dislocated workers for up to six months after a plant closing, plus worker counseling on company time to acquaint workers with community services available in impending plant-closing situations.

Executive pay frozen

The agreement pegs hourly wage increases to the company's profit levels, guarantees meatpackers a 35-hour workweek, and freezes 1986 and 1987 salaries and bonuses for corporate executives unless the company makes profits of $5 million each year.

In addition to gaining the right to fill one seat on the board, the UFCW will receive a certified audit of Wilson's financial records, and the company's president will meet quarterly with international and local union officials to discuss future operations.

"This is a unique situation," Anderson said. "We did everything possible to ensure that if the plants shut down, the workers won't end up on a human garbage heap. We've made important strides in providing critical protections for workers employed by failing companies."

In another development, 1,500 UFCW members at Geo. A. Hormel & Co.'s Austin, Minn., plant began voting on a proposal to end their four-month walkout.

3 unions win pay, job security gains in Rockwell pact

Workers at Rockwell International won pay gains and an expanded job security plan in a new contract negotiated by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.'s coordinated bargaining committee.

The four-year agreement covers 4,800 members of the Electrical Workers, Electronic Workers and Machinists in the United States and Canada.

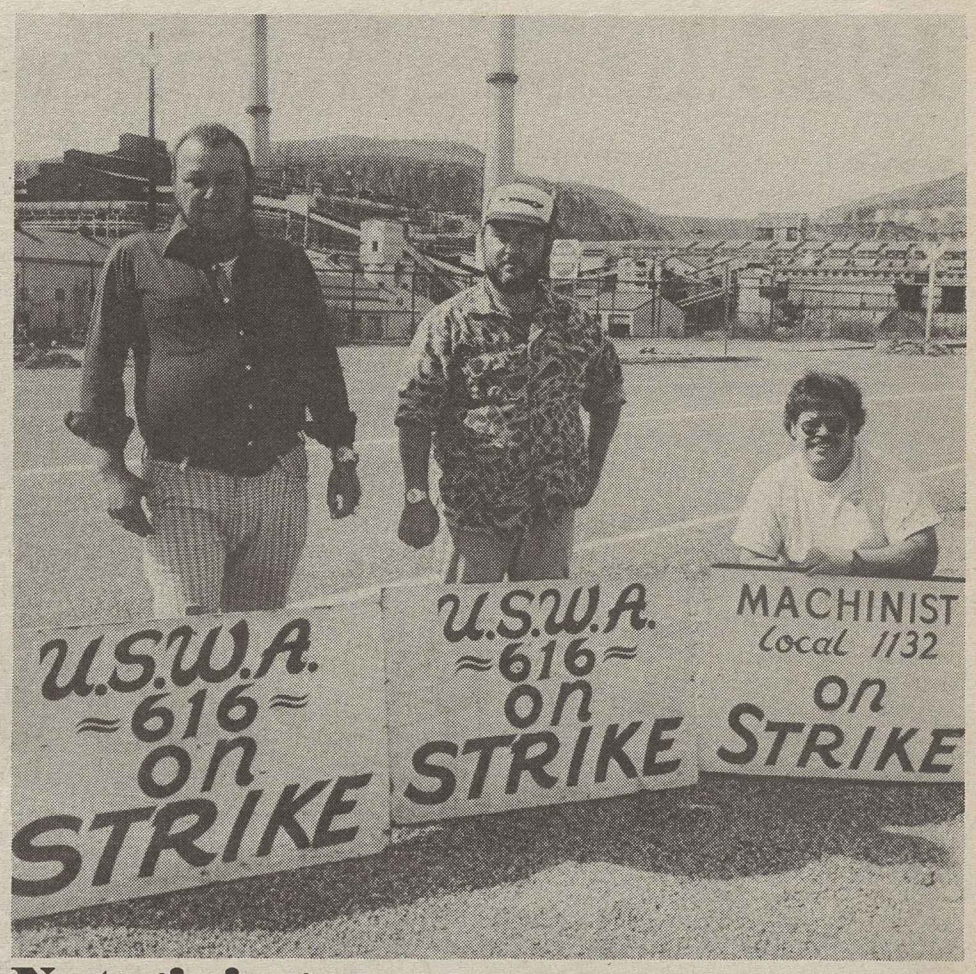
The job security provision calls for preferential hiring across plant and union lines. Laid off Rockwell workers who apply for a job at another facility covered by the agreement will be given preference if they meet the qualifications, the IUD said.

Under the new plan, workers can apply for jobs covered by any of the three unions in the coordinated bargaining group, changing their union affiliation if awarded the job.

The accord calls for a 6-percent wage increase over 42 months and lump sum payments of $2,300 per worker. Rockwell workers successfully fought to keep quarterly cost-of-living adjustments and won an additional holiday in every year of the agreement.

The contract, which expires May 1, 1989, also increases pension benefits, maintains existing medical coverage and introduces an incentive plan with payments based on production goals at each location.

Rockwell plants covered by the agreement are in Dallas, Toronto, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Newport Beach, Calif.



Not giving up

Striking copper workers still maintain round-the-clock picket lines at the Phelps Dodge Corp. operations in Morenci, Ariz. The 13 unions on strike since July 1983 are waging a nationwide corporate campaign to pressure management into returning to the bargaining table. Meanwhile, the holidays were brightened for many strikers and their families through donations from other unions. In Morenci, 700 strikers' children were treated to a visit from Santa, who provided goodies and Christmas stockings. On New Year's Eve, the spirit of solidarity was renewed at a dance put on by local unions.

Higher unemployment rate, slower growth seen in '86

Continued from Page 1

to be "another external source of risk" to the American economy.

On the domestic front, the growth that did occur during 1985 was largely the result of consumer spending. It was achieved only because consumers amassed a greater level of personal debt than at any time in history. Families are going to be trying to bring their precarious personal accounts into some semblance of balance, and this is certain to "dampen consumption" in the months ahead.

Additionally, Oswald noted, consumer spending is directly linked to household income, and the pace at which that income has grown in recent months has "slackened markedly." Contributing to this situation, he said, has been "the loss of well-paying jobs in the goods-producing sector caused by the onslaught of imports, and the persistent effort to weaken unions."

At the same time, investment in housing has been weak, even though mortgage interest rates have moderated. This softness in what is regarded as a bellwether industry has resulted from "the slack growth in personal incomes, high prices of homes, and historically high household-debt burdens," the federation pointed out.

As far as business investment is concerned, the high level of spending in 1983 and 1984 was "a temporary phenomenon" linked to the end of the Reagan Recession and a desire by corporate America to exploit tax loopholes. With the nation's factories still producing far below capacity and profits softening as consumption drops, Oswald saw a "poor outlook for business investment" in the next 12 months, echoing similar forecasts from corporate economists.

Negative effect

The federal deficit—and particularly the Administration's continued tilt toward more defense spending and less investment in the social safety net—will continue to plague the economy, the federation warned. The budget cuts mandated by the recently enacted Gramm-Rudman bill will have "sharply negative repercussions" on the economy, it stressed.

Not all the evidence is negative, Oswald said, pointing out that a "softening" in the cost of oil because of the price war raging between OPEC and independent oil-producing countries may keep inflation from rising to the levels reached during "the shock-filled 1970s."

And if the Senate passes, and President Reagan signs, the tax reform bill crafted by House Democrats, he added, this "realignment of tax burdens favoring low- and moderate-income families should help consumption."

But even with these factors considered, Oswald concluded, private economic forecasters remain overly optimistic, and America may be in for a less-than-happy new year.

Economic indicators up only slightly

In its poorest performance since last June, the government's main barometer for measuring the state of the economy inched up one-tenth of 1 percent in November.

Even then, it was only a big rally on Wall Street that resulted in the upward movement of the leading economic indicators, the Commerce Dept. reported. Without the bullish stock market, the index actually would have fallen three-tenths of 1 percent.

The fractional November gain followed on the heels of increases of four-tenths of 1 percent in each of the preceding two months, and led economists to adopt a cautious view of how the economy can be expected to perform in 1986. Their conclusion was that, at best, only modest growth lies ahead—something in the 2.5-/to 3-percent range.

The Reagan Administration, by contrast, continued to take an optimistic view, insisting that the economy will grow in the new year at a more robust 4 percent rate.

Two of the economic indicators took a nosedive during the month, pointing to a continued lack of both consumer and industry confidence. Business and personal borrowing plunged 2.6 percent while orders for new plant and equipment dropped 1 percent, the Commerce Dept. said.

The government predicted that the gross national product would grow 3.2 percent in the last quarter. But even as it issued this "flash" report, it revised downward the third-quarter GNP gain from its original estimate of 4.3 percent to a much-more-modest 3 percent.

Durable goods

A separate report showed that orders for durable goods—those big-ticket items from America's factories—rose nine-tenths of 1 percent in November. But again, there was cold comfort in the statistics.

The rise was directly related to a temporary bulge in defense orders. Without the boost provided by military purchases, there would have been a one-tenth of 1 percent drop, Commerce said. Economists called this more bad news, and a further indication that the industrial sector, still battered by imports, remains relatively flat.

Meanwhile, the machine tool industry approached year's end with orders lagging far behind last year's pace and with the future clouded since these sales are a measure of how the metal-producing industry can be expected to perform in the coming months.

Orders for these key capital goods stood at $186.2 million in November, 19 percent below October's $229.9-million level and 12 percent behind the $212 million in orders recorded in the same month a year earlier, the National Machine Tool Builders' Association reported.

The sharp drop was attributed to heavy cancellations for metal-forming presses by the automobile industry, and particularly General Motors, indicating that the tidal wave of foreign-built cars continues to capture a significant share of the domestic market.

Looking ahead to 1986, machine-tool industry executives saw little to cheer about. Recent surveys indicated little if any real increase in capital spending planned for the coming 12 months, the association said.

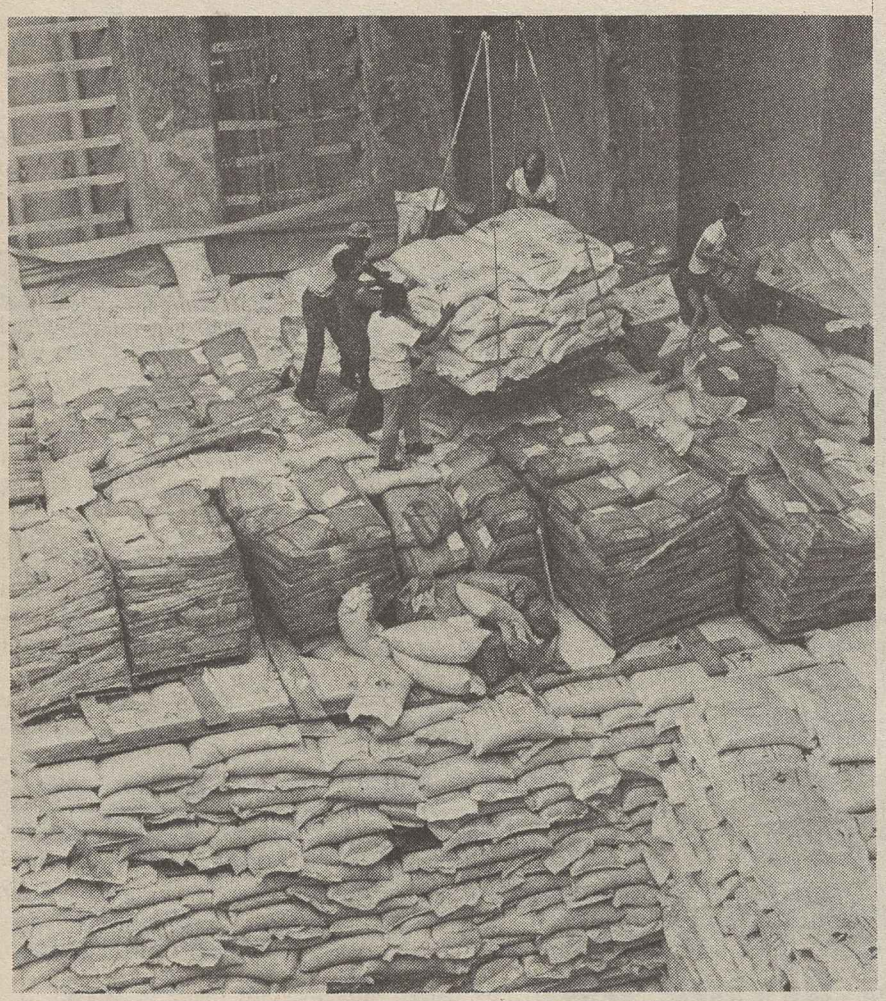
With their plants running at only 80 percent of capacity, manufacturers see no need to expand. Narrower profit margins and uncertainty about the economic outlook are combining to hold down any major initiatives to modernize America's industrial complex.

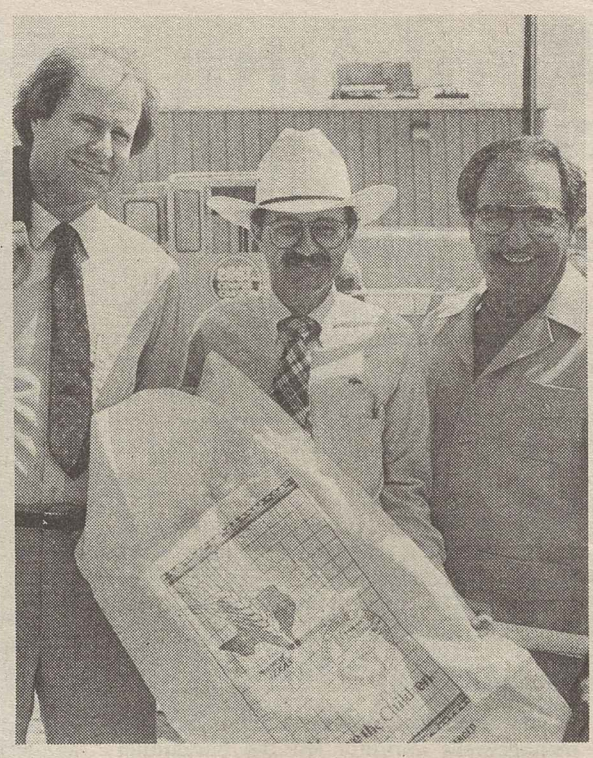
Laura Brock dies at 49, Labor Secretary's wife

Laura Handley Brock, wife of Labor Sec. William E. Brock, died of cancer Dec. 30 at Georgetown Hospital in Washington. She was 49.

In a message to her husband, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue expressed their condolences and said Mrs. Brock's memory "will be cherished by all who had the good luck to meet her."

Other survivors include four children and three grandchildren.





As volunteer Longshoremen load wheat onto freighters bound for famine-stricken Africa, state Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower shows the Texas AFL-CIO's seal of approval. He is joined by state federation Legislative Director Willie Chapman, left, and Human Relations Director Manuel Ysaguirre.

Texas union volunteers help speed African relief

Tons of Texas wheat and powdered milk arrived in famine-stricken areas of Africa a few days before Christmas, the first shipment of food supplies from Project Tejas.

Texas government officials spurred the famine relief program, with labor providing the muscle and organizations throughout the state joining in the drive to send Texas farm products to starving Africans.

The first freighter brought 3,266 tons of Texas wheat and 56 tons of powdered milk to Ethiopia, packed in sacks stamped with a map of Texas and the seal of the State AFL-CIO.

The relief drive was initiated by state Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower and got under way last March with the help of 23 state farm groups. The Texas AFL-CIO immediately joined in the campaign, with State AFL-CIO President Harry Hubbard urging local unions to contribute to Project Tejas.

As little as $35, roughly equal to ten bushels of Texas grain, Hightower pointed out, "can fill the food bowls of 100 children for a week."

Nearly $690,000 was donated by labor unions, church groups, farm organizations, school children and state workers, and all the money used to buy the food.

The first shipment was bagged and loaded onto a waiting freighter by volunteer Longshoremen in Corpus Christi. ILA members from other Texas ports, including Beaumont, Galveston and Houston, as well as Lake Charles, La., also handled food shipments without pay.

The Texas AFL-CIO estimated that at least ten freighters set sail for Africa from Texas and Louisiana ports with members of ILA Locals 26, 1692, 27, and 1853 joining the volunteer effort to bag and load the grain.

Texas AFL-CIO Vice President Reuben Wheatley and Buddy Raspberry, president of the ILA's South Atlantic-Gulf Coast District, organized the Longshoremen's volunteer effort.

The food supplies are being distributed by Save the Children, which operates 178 food centers in central Ethiopia. The organization serves more than 365,000 people in the region and built nearly 372 miles of roads to reach some of the more remote villages.

Save the Children reported that famine conditions in Africa have improved, but that seven African nations still need emergency food aid. They are Angola, Botswana, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sudan as well as Ethiopia.

More aid

Postal unions helped raise $809,000 for famine victims in Ethiopia, channeled through American Red Cross relief activities.

The drive was spearheaded by the three largest unions of the U.S. Postal Service—the Letter Carriers, Postal Workers and Mail Handlers—all AFL-CIO affiliates.

Red Cross officials expressed their appreciation to all postal employees for their generosity at a special ceremony at the Postal Service headquarters in Washington.

Alex Rohan dies, former AFL-CIO vice president

Annandale, Va.—Alexander J. Rohan, a former AFL-CIO vice president and retired president of the Printing Pressmen's Union, died Dec. 30 at his home here of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, which is also known as Lou Gehrig's disease. He was 74.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, in a letter to his wife Margaret, recalled Rohan's dedication and leadership as "prized assets of the Pressmen's Union and the labor movement at large. We will cherish his memory as we did his friendship."

Rohan was elected president of the Pressmen in 1970 and held that office for four years before retiring. He had previously served as secretary-treasurer for nine years, vice president for eight years and as a field representative for two years. The union subsequently merged to become part of the Graphic Communications Union.

Rohan was an AFL-CIO vice president from 1970 to 1975 and during that period he chaired the organization committee of the Labor Governmental Employees Council.

He joined the Pressmen in 1932 when he went to work in the commercial printing field. After World War II, he began full-time work for the union. He represented the union in cases before the old Wage Stabilization Board and the National Labor Relations Board.

He was also an adviser to Japanese trade unions while on special assignment for the State Dept. and Labor Dept. Since his retirement, he had served on the Foreign Service Selection Board which aids in choosing labor attaches to serve at U.S. embassies abroad.

ICFTU sees world danger of recession

Brussels—A worldwide recession looms in 1986 unless governments and financial institutions work together to stabilize the present precarious international economic situation, the executive board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions warned here.

An unacceptably high level of joblessness exists around the globe, the ICFTU asserted. It is made more critical because of the "abject poverty" that rages through the developing countries, particularly in Africa, and the foreign-debt crisis that is impoverishing many nations, especially in Latin America.

The international labor body called on government leaders and bankers to coordinate their actions in the coming months to stem the present backward drift toward economic stagnation.

The semi-annual meeting of the board—the ICFTU's main decision-making body between its quadrennial world congresses—brought together union leaders from the five continents and the International Secretariats, representing more than 83 million workers worldwide.

Representing the AFL-CIO at the two-day session were Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue and International Affairs Director Irving Brown.

On the trade union front, the board voiced its concern over the harsh repression the labor movement faces under many totalitarian regimes.

Apartheid assailed

The ICFTU was particularly sharp in its condemnation of South Africa, where trade unionists are subjected to continued harassment, detention and arrests. The board unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the immediate release of all union and political prisoners, and pledged a worldwide labor campaign to force an end to South Africa's repressive apartheid policies.

Turning to strife-torn Latin America, the board supported the democratic trade union movement's struggle in Paraguay, Haiti and Nicaragua and demanded the restoration of freedom and democracy in Chile.

The ICFTU renewed its pledge of solidarity with the Polish trade union movement, lashing out at "the systematic use of summary judicial procedures against independent trade unionists, hundreds of whom still remain detained in severe conditions, and are subjected to persistent physical and psychological ill-treatment."

The board also condemned the erosion of trade union rights in Tunisia and encouraged a continuing dialogue between the two ICFTU affiliates in Cyprus—the Greek Cypriot SEK and the Turkish Cypriot Turk-Sen.

In other actions, the international trade union body approved a revised charter of the rights of women workers and an action program to facilitate integration of women into trade unions.

The ICFTU, which is composed of 146 labor organizations in 99 countries, accepted the invitation of the Australian Council of Trade Unions to hold its 14th world congress in that country in 1988.

U.S. report scored for minimizing work hazards

By Arlee C. Green

The Surgeon General's report linking smoking and occupational diseases will "seriously set back efforts to protect the health of American workers" because it minimizes the risks posed by occupational hazards, the AFL-CIO warned.

"This report can only hurt workers by undermining efforts to control workplace hazards," said Margaret Seminario, associate director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security.

"It will lead to misdiagnosis of occupational disease. It will make it even more difficult for workers suffering occupationally related disease to secure compensation to which they are entitled. And it will be used by those who are responsible for poisoning workers to avoid legal liability," she stressed.

Employers often hide behind smoking as the problem causing occupational illnesses and not the hazardous materials used in the workplace, Seminario said. "The report will be used by employers to shift the burden to workers and will be used as an excuse not to clean up the workplace," she said.

The Reagan Administration is opposed to legislation now before Congress to require notification and identification of workers at high risk of occupational illnesses.

In the report, Surgeon Gen. C. Everett Koop calls for a curb on smoking, but he doesn't specify how such efforts would be carried out or how they would affect workers' rights.

Flawed findings

"Clearly, the Surgeon General could have made a valuable contribution to aiding workers at high risk of occupational disease, but failed to do so," Seminario said.

The report, titled The Health Consequences of Smoking—Cancer and Chronic Lung Disease in the Workplace, concluded that "for the majority of American workers, cigarette smoking represents a greater cause of death and disability than their workplace environment."

It also suggests that smoking control and reduced exposure to hazardous agents in the workplace "are effective, compatible and occasionally synergistic approaches to the reduction of disease risk."

Seminario charged that the report "minimizes and misrepresents the risks posed by occupational hazards, and suggests that if workers stop smoking, they will eliminate the risk of occupational disease. In fact, the way to eliminate occupational disease is by reducing workplace hazards."

The federation's safety specialist stressed that Koop's latest report adds "no new scientific information to our knowledge of the risks posed to workers on the job," and is "filled with glaring inaccuracies."

For example, Seminario said, the report states that current allowable levels of asbestos exposure "will not substantially elevate the rate of lung cancer in these (exposed) workers above the rates in the general population."

This contradicts the position of both the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health and the Occupational Safety & Health Administration which estimate 44 of every 1,000 workers exposed at current levels will die of lung cancer.

Data omitted

Koop's report also omits important information on the risks of many occupational hazards, Seminario said, noting that it did not mention asbestos-related colon cancers or the risks of lung cancer from exposure to heavy metals such as nickel, arsenic or chromates and to isocyanates or polyurethanes which are commonly used in industry.

Smoking among blue-collar workers was noted in the report as being 47.1 percent as compared to just 33 percent among white-collar workers. Koop noted that blue-collar workers are more likely to be exposed to occupational hazards and stressed that smoking multiplied the risks of contracting occupational disease.

Strong support for merger found in small unions

There is a growing acceptance by officers of smaller unions that mergers hold out the best hope for continuing to serve the needs of their members.

That's the conclusion of a recent study by Prof. Gary W. Chaison of the Graduate School of Management at Clark University, Worcester, Mass., based on a survey of 131 unions with 50,000 or fewer members.

The study was prompted by persistent suggestions that smaller unions are having difficulty carrying out representation, organizing and administrative activities effectively in an era of rising expectations among workers about the quality and quantity of the services their union should provide.

Sentiment among the 38.2 percent of unions responding was almost equally divided between support for mergers resulting from the amalgamation of two or more small unions and those involving absorption of small unions into larger ones. But in either case, there was overwhelming agreement that mergers are both beneficial and necessary.

"The responses indicate a broad consensus that mergers in general are beneficial to smaller unions' basic operations, internal activities and inter-union relations," Chaison concluded.

In particular, the study showed, 71.4 percent of those favoring amalgamation and 69.8 percent of those leaning toward absorption agreed or strongly agreed that mergers would lead to more effective organizing, while 71.5 percent in the amalgamation category and 69.7 percent in the absorption group felt that increased bargaining power would result.

Improved lobbying

Recognizing that unions must function in the political arena to protect the rights of their members both on and off the job, 71.4 percent favoring amalgamation and 72.1 percent favoring absorption concurred in the view that merger would result in more effective lobbying.

On the question of the benefits smaller unions would reap through merger, 61.9 percent in the amalgamation group and 67.4 percent in the absorption group said it would offer protection against raids, while 69.1 percent leaning toward amalgamation and 52.4 percent favoring the principle of absorption said it would be an aid in eliminating jurisdictional disputes.

Merger would have a beneficial effect on the internal operations of smaller unions, respondents said. Among those preferring amalgamation, 64.3 percent said it would give unions increased expertise and experience, while 64.2 percent said it would result in lowering the per-member costs of providing service. In the absorption group, agreement with the concept of increased expertise was 55.9 percent, while 52.4 percent thought it would result in economies of scale.

There was recognition that mergers could have their adverse effects, Chaison said, particularly because they could result in reduced membership participation or lead to less attention being given to special groups. But officers of small unions who responded tended to minimize these negative possibilities.

Among those favoring the amalgamation approach, 42.8 percent felt that it would not lessen membership participation, while 39.5 percent of those favoring absorption felt the same way. Although in both instances less than a majority disagreed, they tended to outweigh those officials in both categories who expressed concern about this prospect.

Similarly, 47.6 percent in the amalgamation category and 39.6 percent in the absorption group disagreed with the statement that merger would detract from the attention now being paid to special groups. One explanation was that by almost identical margins—69.1 percent of the amalgamation group and 69 percent in the absorption category—officers believed that creation of special departments within merged organizations would be able to deal with the representation rights of their members.

Positive sign

Chaison said the study was "a sign of a general predisposition toward mergers among officers of smaller unions," adding:

"The results suggest that officers recognize the extent to which the difficulties faced by smaller unions can be resolved by mergers without incurring major negative consequences. Such an attitude is an important first step in any eventual merger.

He conceded that "more than a generally favorable impression" is needed to consummate merger negotiations, but pointed out that a positive outlook is "a vital prerequisite" to such talks.

"The results of this survey," he concluded, "provide evidence of a considerable potential for a major wave of merger efforts by smaller unions."

Ohio union rolls grow by 40,000 under new law

Columbus, Ohio—Nearly 40,000 public employees have picked AFL-CIO unions to represent them since the legislature approved a bill in April 1984 giving collective bargaining rights to the state's 250,000 workers.

The 20-month drive was closely monitored by the trade union movement because it opened up new vistas for organizing and provided a proving ground for communications techniques and organizing advocated in the AFL-CIO Executive Council report on "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions."

Biggest winner in the series of representation elections in the state was the State, County & Municipal Employees, which added 35,000 members ranging from corrections officers to administrative support staff.

The Hospital & Health Care Employees gained bargaining rights for nearly 3,300 professionals, while the Food & Commercial Workers won elections for 1,600 liquor store and lottery employees. The unaffiliated Fraternal Order of Police picked up 1,200 new members during the campaign.

AFL-CIO unions used a variety of tools—ranging from the traditional phone banks and targeted direct mailing to the new techniques of polling and television advertising—to get out their message to Ohio's public employees.

AFSCME President Gerald McEntee attributed much of his union's success to "innovative organizing techniques," including "one-on-one" sessions in which unionists from other states came into Ohio to talk up the benefits of union membership for state employees.

Emerging issues

In addition, McEntee said, AFSCME focused on "emerging workplace issues like pay equity for working women, career development for professionals, a program to combat stress and burnout among mental health workers and understaffing in the state's prisons."

The techniques employed in the state mirrored, to a large extent, the Executive Council's recommendations concerning new methods of advancing the interests of working men and women and new ways to bring workers into the ranks of the organized.

Two college units vote for CWA representation

Poughkeepsie, N.Y.—The Communications Workers scored a double-barreled victory here in organizing workers at both Vassar College and Marist College.

More than 250 workers in two units were organized at Vassar. A professional unit of nurses and technicians voted 18-1 to join CWA Local 1120, while the clerical unit voted for the union 130-46.

The 90-member unit at Marist voted 55-15 for CWA.

Helping out

Union members across the country bolstered the AFL-CIO's Community Services relief drive for Mexican quake victims, with contributions going to four organizations active in Mexican aid projects. Federation Vice President Alvin Heaps, right, presents a $25,000 donation to Kenneth Hackett of Catholic Relief Services. Other contributions included $20,000 to CARE, $50,000 to the American Red Cross and $25,000 to the American Institute for Free Labor Development. Joining Heaps are Sec.-Treas. Lenore Miller of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union and AFL-CIO Regional Director Humphrey Donahue.

U.S. policy failures blamed for decline of steel industry

Although the demand for steel remains high, American steelworkers are losing their jobs at an alarming rate, because the federal government is unwilling to adopt a comprehensive industrial and trade policy.

That is the finding of "Confronting the Crisis: The Challenge for Labor," a six-month study by Locker-Abrecht Associates Inc. of New York on the state of the domestic steel industry.

The report, commissioned by the Steelworkers, cites neglect by the Reagan Administration as a chief cause of the industry's decline and for permitting the United States to be swamped by steel from foreign, government-supported steel producers.

The study found that the total amount of steel used in the United States had declined only 2 percent in the past eight years, while use of American-produced steel declined 19 percent.

Given the stable demand for steel, the report said, there is no justification for additional plant closings and layoffs.

USWA President Lynn Williams said the report "demonstrates what we have been saying for years—that the government must join in formulating a coherent national industrial policy and that government fiscal and trade policies brought the industry to its present sorry state." He called on the nation's leaders to recognize and respond quickly to the growing crisis in the steel industry.

The report noted the "enormous sacrifices" of steelworkers to save the industry, finding that nearly three-fourths of steel producers' total cost savings since 1982 were the result of labor cost reductions, with savings from the USWA's 1983 contract agreements totalling $1.4 billion.

Despite these sacrifices and "massive layoffs, plant closings, a 35 percent reduction in employment costs and improved productivity," continued "poor management decisions and practices and a sharp decline in steel prices" have kept the industry at a serious competitive disadvantage, the report found.

Government role pressed

The study urged the government, banks and management to "join labor at the bargaining table and make equitable material sacrifices," to ease the crisis in steel.

"The U.S. government must help boost shipments and stabilize prices by effectively cutting imports and stimulating demand," the report stressed. "The lenders must relieve the companies of burdensome interest and debt costs, providing enough breathing space to forestall a cash shortage. Management must develop a much more effective capital investment program and improve quality and marketing performance."

Williams outlined the report's findings to 500 union leaders at the USWA basic steel industry conference in Chicago. The conference met to discuss the state of the industry and develop bargaining goals and strategies for upcoming negotiations with the nation's six largest steelmakers, covering 222,000 steelworkers.

Court order hits anti-union firm —six years later

Richmond, Va.—Six years after workers at Purolator Products Inc. in Fayetteville, N.C., voted to be represented by the Paperworkers, the U.S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals here found the firm guilty of unfair labor practices and upheld an order to bargain.

The court ruled that the company violated the law by "creating the impression of surveillance of union activities; by threatening employees to refrain from being open about their union activities; by confiscating an employee's notes on union activities; by threatening employees with layoff if they voted for union representation, and by interrogating employees about their union activities."

The court also upheld the NLRB's determination that Purolator violated the law in suspending one worker and firing another "because they engaged in union activities."

1980 election victory

In March 1980, an election resulted in a 328-308 vote for representation by the Paperworkers, with 83 challenged ballots. An administrative law judge found the company guilty of unfair labor practices and held that most of the 73 supervisory assistants who cast ballots were ineligible to vote. The ALJ recommended that the UPIU be certified as the bargaining agent. The full National Labor Relations Board affirmed that decision on May 18, 1984.

The AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. aided the UPIU in its organizing efforts and subsequent legal actions. Of the court decision, IUD President Howard D. Samuel said, "Even in today's climate, where the law and the NLRB operate with painful slowness, this company has been unsuccessful in its efforts to deny its workers the rights which American law guarantees them."

UPIU President Wayne E. Glenn expressed his hope that Purolator would now meet "promptly and in good faith with the elected bargaining team to complete the process which has so long been delayed."

Task force to study impact of pension fund reversions

Lawrence T. Smedley, associate director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, was named to a 12-member federal task force that will study the impact of pension plan terminations in which funds revert to employers.

The task force, formed by the Advisory Council on Employee Welfare & Pension Benefit Plans, will determine if the adverse effects from pension asset reversions can be dealt with under existing law.

It will also develop criteria to evaluate any changes in the Employee Retirement Income Security Act and make legislative or administrative recommendations to the Secretary of Labor.

Energy, food costs cause surge in CPI

Steep increases in energy and food costs pushed consumer prices up a sharp six-tenths of 1 percent in November, helping to drive real average weekly earnings down one-half of 1 percent, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

The upward surge in prices was the largest monthly increase in nearly two years, while the decline in earnings left the American worker worse off than a year ago—with a paycheck that buys 1.1 percent less than it did in November 1984.

The AFL-CIO called the latest statistics "bad news for workers and their families and bad news for the American economy."

The BLS figures showed that workers' earnings were 7.2 percent below the comparable level in 1979, putting worker' purchasing power at its lowest level since the depths of the Reagan Recession in 1982.

Eroding paychecks

The "serious erosion" of the value of workers' paychecks means "lower living standards for many families" and is driving more and more family members into the job market "simply to maintain existing living standards," AFL-CIO economist Mark Roberts declared.

As for its impact on the economy, he said, "when consumer buying slows down, there's less drive for production and less job creation."

Roberts said the solution lies in "substantial pay increases in 1986 to restore the buying power lost in the last five years." Negotiated wage increases in private industry were less than 3 percent this past year, he said, while executive pay raises ranged from 7 percent in construction to 11 percent in manufacturing and utilities and 14 percent in banking.

Fuel costs surge

Even though workers posted an average 2.8-percent increase in hourly earnings between November 1984 and November 1985, BLS said, the gain was more than eaten up by 3.4-percent hike in consumer prices and a sixth-tenths of 1 percent decline in average hours worked.

The government blamed a 4.6-percent surge in fuel oil prices, a 1.4-percent jump in gasoline prices and a seven-tenths of 1 percent rise in food prices for the sharp upward movement in the CPI for November.

Medical care costs—which have increased more than any other component in the market-basket of goods and services purchased by the American family—increased five-tenths of 1 percent in November, the same as in the previous four months. The cost of health care stood 6.6 percent higher than it was in November 1984.

Housing costs advanced one-half of 1 percent in November, the government said, and were 4.1 percent higher than they were a year earlier.

Toxic victim

A victim of toxic poisoning at a chemical plant in Geismar, La., James Mire of Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Local 4-620, tells a Washington press conference of repeated safety rules violations by the West German-based BASF AG, which operates the plant. At right is President Howard D. Samuel of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., which joined with OCAW in focusing public attention on the "recklessly high-risk levels" at Geismar which could lead to a tragedy similar to the one in Bhopal, India.

Global fair labor standards pressed at Asian meeting

Jakarta, Indonesia—There can be "no retreat" from the goal of worldwide fair labor standards, Charles D. Gray, executive director of the AFL-CIO Asian-American Free Labor Institute, told the 10th Asian Regional Conference of the International Labor Organization.

The ILO's standard-setting conventions on freedom of association, forced labor, child labor and occupational safety and health are "beacons of hope for oppressed workers everywhere," Gray told the 300 delegates, advisers and observers from 30 countries and international and regional bodies.

At the same time, he condemned efforts to impose low wages and dangerous working conditions on workers in less-developed countries in order to promote exports, calling such moves "the rankest form of protectionism" under which "the many are injured and the few prosper."

Gray, who attended the conference as the U.S. worker delegate, rejected the notion that workingmen and women should modify their goals. The words "flexible" and "realistic," as applied to labor's aspirations, actually are "signals of retreat" that would weaken the bond which links workers around the globe in a common cause.

"There is a commonality among human beings in their desire to be free, in their desire for a more comfortable standard of living, and in their hope for a fair measure of economic security," Gray asserted.

He was sharply critical of the U.S. government for failing to ratify most of the ILO's conventions, quoting AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's assessment that the American record is "deplorable," and that it undercuts the nation's international efforts on behalf of human rights.

Conference delegates strongly recommended a multi-pronged drive to provide vocational training for the disabled, noting that some 300 million disabled persons inhabit the Asian and Pacific region and that they currently have minimal job opportunities.

"In terms of basic human rights and expectations, this is a depressing picture," the resolution said. It urged governments to develop training programs for the disabled that will lead to productive jobs, particularly for such neglected groups as the mentally handicapped, disabled women and leprosy patients.

In other resolutions, the labor, government and management delegates called for:

- Higher priority for basic education and vocational training programs that will lead to rewarding careers, particularly in the white-collar field.
- Intensified efforts to win ratification of ILO standards to assure basic economic, health and safety protections for workers.
- Enactment by individual governments of special measures to deal with the dangers resulting from the introduction of hazardous substances and chemical processes into the workplace.
- Adoption of national measures to promote job opportunities for women and for the growing youth population.

ILO explores impact of new technology

The good news about technological change is that it can "improve the quality of life" for working men and women. The bad news is that it can lead to unemployment, stress and insecurity.

Those dual aspects of technology are explored in a 347-page study, "Technological Change, the Tripartite Response, 1982-1985," published by the International Labor Organization.

Prepared by Hedre Sarfati and Margaret Core, editors of the ILO Social & Labor Bulletin, the book analyzes the approaches of labor, management and government to the problems posed by the introduction of new technologies and the possible effects on economic societies.

"Potentially the new technologies can improve the quality of life," the authors say in the introduction. "They can eliminate repetitive and dangerous work, save time, cut down on storage space, improve access to information and help to save lives through computer-assisted surgery and medical data bases for health counseling.

"Education and training, occupational guidance, financial planning and other activities will be made less expensive and more convenient to the consumer."

But there is another side, the authors continue: "Under present economic conditions, technological change is contributing to unemployment, widening the gap between industrialized and developing countries and introducing new types of stress in the workplace including the fear of the unknown and job insecurity."

As a result of the good news-bad news aspect to automation, they add, opinion on its relative merits and demerits is polarized "between those who think in terms of a 'golden age' and those who see nothing but social catastrophe."

The book covers such basic problems as computerization, the impact on selected industrial and service sectors, the effects on developing countries, the inclusion of technology provisions in collective bargaining, the repercussions on employment, the privacy issue, and the various problems caused by different forms of automation, including robots.

Irving Brown, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of International Affairs, praised the contribution that the publication can make to the work of affiliated unions.

"I believe it can serve as an excellent manual in both the collective bargaining process and the educational courses of our trade union schools," Brown said. "It would also be an excellent addition to the libraries of the universities and schools of this nation."

Copies of the book can be obtained through the International Labor Office, 1725 New York Ave., NW, Washington, D.C., or through the ILO offices in Geneva.

SIU hits tug boat sale as anti-union subterfuge

New Orleans—The Seafarers asked a federal court here to block the sale of 14 tug boats by National Marine Service Inc., branding the deal "nothing more than a charade and a sham" to break the SIU contract with National.

The suit seeks to restore the jobs of 140 SIU members who were fired after the sale.

Compass Marine Propulsion Inc. is purchasing the tugs from National for $5.3 million. National is one of its larger customers.

The SIU was told of the impending sale just nine days before its contract with National expired. The contract calls for 90 days' notice on the sale of equipment.

Trade deficit at new record of $132 billion

Continued from Page 1

rose from $1.5 to $2.5 billion. Oil imports increased substantially.

Apart from automobiles, the biggest manufacturing-sector deficits were in telecommunications equipment and electrical machinery.

The job damage, however, was especially heavy in the labor-intensive clothing industry swamped by imports of $1.4 billion in November.

That translates to "thousands of families whose livelihood is jeopardized," the Clothing & Textile Workers commented. The equally battered Ladies' Garment Workers noted President Reagan's pre-Christmas veto of legislation to curb textile, shoe and copper imports.

In the damaged steel industry, with its U.S. mills idle and on short shifts, the United States imported $700 million of iron and steel products in November.

Despite the rise in U.S. exports over the month, shipments of manufactured goods were slightly under the October level. Aerospace products led the export list.

The Commerce Dept. continued to put a bright face on the trade picture. Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldridge expressed the hope that a declining value of the dollar "will improve the competitiveness of our agricultural exports." He said the United States should "keep tax policies that spur investment," an implied criticism of some of the loophole-closing provisions of the House-passed tax reform bill.

Toxic dump site cleanup funding remains at issue

Continued from Page 1

the wishes of the petrochemical industry and voted to finance a $7.5 billion program in large part through a broad-based tax on manufacturing.

Opponents, including the AFL-CIO, protested that this would amount to a national sales tax. The House had rejected such a broad-based tax.

The rival funding plans became a source of controversy in reconciliation measure budget aimed at reducing the deficit. That's the catchall bill combining the legislative recommendations of various congressional committees to comply with the spending ceilings Congress adopted last spring.

A House-Senate conference included in the final version of the deficit-reduction bill the Senate's manufacturing tax, while accepting the higher House figure for the cost of the program.

The Senate approved the reconciliation package, but the House by a bipartisan 205-151 vote deleted the manufacturing tax and sent the measure back to the Senate. The back-and-forth routine continued, stalling the adjournment schedule, until the measure was sent back to conference for a new try in the second session.

The various provisions of the budget reconciliation bill can still be passed separately even if Congress does not reach a quick agreement on the omnibus bill in the second session. However, there is more of a veto hazard for measures the Administration opposes, such as renewal of trade adjustment assistance.

Passage of the increase in the cost of insuring single-employer pension plans would serve a double purpose. Most importantly, it would replenish the pension insurance reserves needed to guarantee that workers will get the benefits due them, even if their employer goes out of business. But a by-product would be to increase government revenue and reduce the deficit.

T.J. Lynch dies, counsel for Sheet Metal Workers

Timothy J. Lynch, general counsel for the Sheet Metal Workers for 34 years, died of cancer Dec. 30 at Washington's Sibley Hospital. He was 65.

Lynch specialized in labor law and collective bargaining in the construction industry. Survivors include his wife Gere and six children.

EDITORIALS

Why Not Hope?

AT THE START of a new year, we dare to hope. Reason may whisper that 1986, like its predecessors, will bring setbacks as well as progress. But for the moment, the page is unmarred and everything is possible.

Well, almost everything. There are deep-seated problems that won't disappear with the stroke of a pen. All the more reason for making a real start to their solution.

Surely this will be a year when both Congress and the President will face up to the gravity of a trade imbalance that gets worse month after month, year after year. Unemployment is America's most costly import.

Having painted itself into a corner with a rigid balanced budget timetable, will Congress and the President realistically and fairly assess the nation's needs and obligations—domestic and military, at home and abroad—and provide the revenue to meet them? Or would that make too much sense?

Will the congressional elections this year send a clear message to address these festering problems? Don't rely on hope for that outcome. As in every election, it will take a great deal of work by a lot of people who care enough to make a difference. And that goes for the state legislatures as well.

Would it stretch hope too far to look in 1986 for a more just and more peaceful world?

No one expects leopard spots to disappear in the next wash. But a world with more respect for human rights and with a lot less terrorism and saber-rattling would be well worth striving to achieve.

After all, what's a new year for?

A Question of Trust

NOT FOR the first time, George P. Shultz has served his country well. He made his mark as Secretary of Labor and Secretary of the Treasury before joining the Reagan Administration as Secretary of State. In each of these posts, he earned respect even among those who did not always agree with him.

Now, by his bold stand on so-called lie detector testing, he has earned admiration as well as respect.

Secretary Shultz was repelled, and properly so, by President Reagan's initial acquiescence in a Big Brother policy that would subject government workers and employees of government contractors to wide-scale interrogation by polygraphy—that electric-chair device that judges a person's truthfulness by how nervous the subject is when responding to a question.

The Secretary of State made clear that he considers these devices unreliable and demeaning, with at best limited usefulness under exceptional circumstances.

The first time he was required to take such a test, Mr. Shultz said bluntly, would be the last time. If he wasn't trusted, he would quit.

The immediate outcome was that the White House blinked and backed off from its scattershot Big Brother approach.

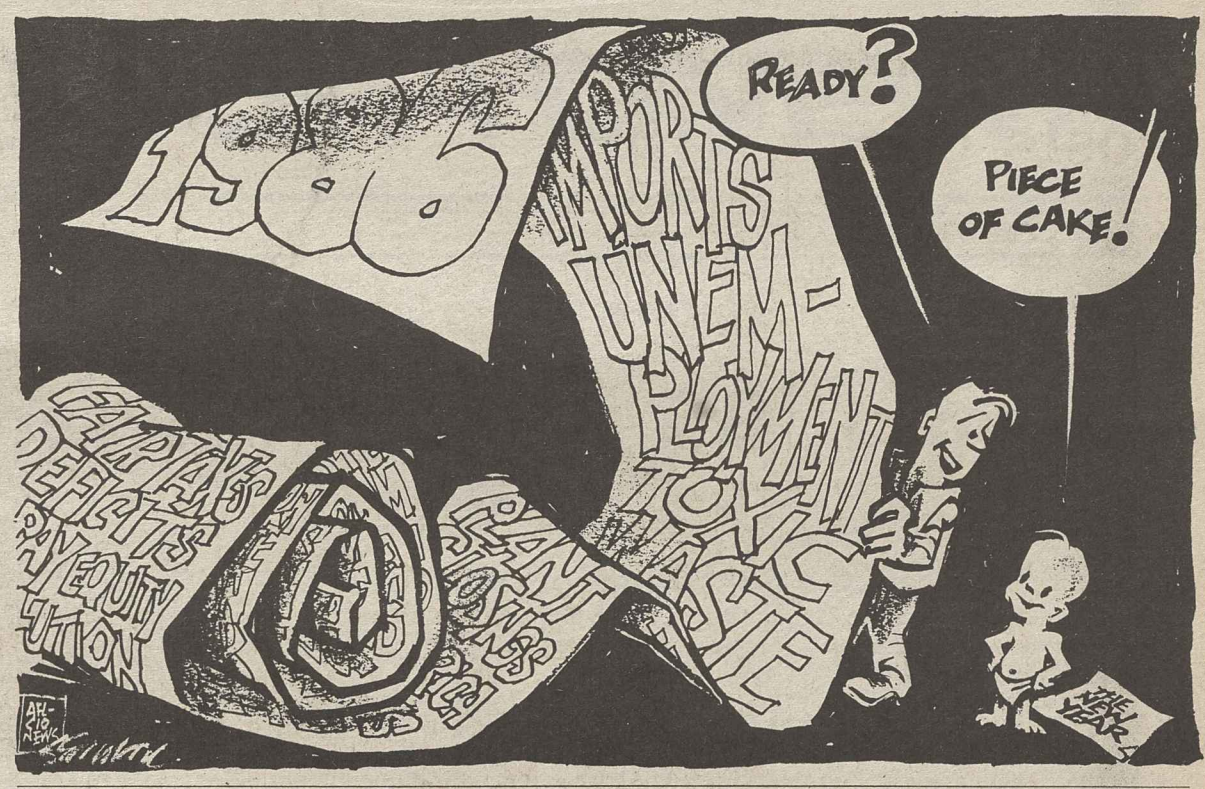
But that should not be the end of the matter. Pending in the House is a committee-approved bill that would bar the use of polygraph tests by most private-sector employers—whether to interrogate their employees or to screen job applicants.

The trade union movement has long supported such legislation. As an AFL-CIO convention resolution noted, polygraph devices have been used to intimidate workers and to pry into their personal life and union sympathies.

Polygraphs are too unreliable to be admitted as evidence in court. But even if they could detect untruths more consistently, there would be strong objections to their routine use.

It is as demeaning to a store clerk as to a Secretary of State to be strapped to a polygraph. The bill to prevent this should be passed by the Senate as well as the House—and signed into law by President Reagan.

Otherwise, the brave words of George Shultz will be largely wasted.



Washington Window

Decline in family income sharper under Reagan

By Press Associates Inc.

At the close of the 1980 presidential campaign debates, Ronald Reagan asked his television audience if they were better off than four years earlier.

Reagan's electoral victory was widely interpreted as a "No" response by American voters. In fact, most families were worse off financially in 1980 than they had been in 1976.

However, a general decline in family inflation-adjusted income, which began in 1973, greatly accelerated between 1979 and 1985, according to a recent study by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

For middle-income families with children, the supposed beneficiaries of Reagan's "pro-family" economic policies, the drop in real income has been especially severe during the past five years, the report showed.

During this period, the real income of families with children in the middle fifth of the population fell 10.5 percent, or from $28,855 to $25,836, measured in constant 1984 dollars. Between 1973 and 1979, their inflation-adjusted income declined a slight four-tenths of 1 percent, or $133 in 1984 dollars.

For the next highest fifth of families with children, two-thirds of the real income loss occurred between 1979 and 1985. This group's buying power declined 3.2 percent, or from $38,203 to $36,967.

Wealthy grow wealthier

Only in the most affluent fifth was there a reversal in the downward 1973-1979 trend and an increase in family income during the Reagan years. This group's real income, which had eased down 1.7 percent between 1973 and 1979, rose 1.5 percent, from $61,256 to $62,198, from 1979 to 1985.

The general rise in living standards following World War II came to a halt in 1973, when the OPEC oil embargo sent energy prices skyrocketing. Between 1947 and 1973, the middle-income American family experienced an average annual increase of nearly 4 percent in real income. Since 1973, this average family with children has lost $2,679, most of it since 1979.

This has occurred despite the fact that two-earner households grew rapidly among families with children after 1973. "We have gone from a nation where virtually all families could expect increased purchasing power to one in which few can maintain purchasing power even with increased participation in the workforce," the report noted.

Negative trend

"This trend would appear to have far-reaching economic and social consequences," it said, including "a dramatic decrease in the resources available for the care and support of most of the nation's children...in the ability of many families to meet the expectations of a middle-class lifestyle...whether to attempt home ownership or have children."

Lowered expectations was the theme of a recent Wall Street Journal article headlined, "Many Baby Boomers Find They Are Caught In A Financial Squeeze—Despite a Have-It-All Image, They Are Far Worse Off Than Their Parents Were."

The article cited a recent Urban Institute study on baby boomers, which includes 78 million people born between 1946 and 1964. The financial "squeeze is making the way of life that most of this generation knew as children — a house, brothers and sisters, and retirement on one salary—seem wildly out of reach," it said.

The article noted that "the percentage of married couples in the 30-to-35-year-old age group who own homes has dropped to 70 percent from 75 percent since 1979."

Rep. David R. Obey (D-Wis.), Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, in commenting on the committee's study, said, "Reversing this trend should be a central national objective."

To achieve that objective, the nation urgently needs an industrial and trade policy to preserve and create good jobs, large-scale job training and education efforts, and tax reform.

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MEMO FROM COPE

Helms, Gingrich Score Unprecedented Double

Memo '85 Political Award Winners Cited

This is the traditional award season in a variety of fields, so why not include politics? Below, the 1985 COPE Memo Political Awards.

Political Sportsman of the Year

Jointly to Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.):

For bringing the tactics, scruples and dignity of tag-team wrestling to the legislative arena.

Anti-Twaddle Award

Jointly (again) to Helms and Gingrich:

For challenging the un-macho twaddle that you can disagree without being disagreeable.

Voting Your Non-Convictions Award

Collectively to large numbers of Democrats and Republicans in both houses of Congress:

For having the timidity of their non-convictions by voting for the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings balanced budget proposal, which many of them openly described as awful and almost all of them in their heart of hearts were convinced was a can of worms.

Golden Touch Award

To the Republican National Committee:

For relocating the repository of national wealth from Fort Knox, Ky., to GOP National Headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Stiff Upper Lip Award

To the Democratic National Committee:

For stoically, if enviously, watching its GOP neighbor unload and stash all that loot.

Cop-Out Award

Collectively to various Democrats:

For trying to shake off their own shadows by running like hell from their party's 40-year record of achievement, lending undeserved credibility to the Reagan-GOP slander of that record as a failure.

Mule-Headedness Award

To Sens. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.) and Charles Mathias (R-Md.) and a handful of other moderate Republicans:

For holding stubbornly that the world is round against all the objective evidence provided by right-wingers who control the GOP that demonstrates how flat it is (see 1984 GOP platform).

Public Service Award

Collectively to the entire Congress:

For adjourning.

ODDS 'N ENDS

WHAT'S THAT NAME AGAIN? Oh, Kennedy? Oldest son of Robert Kennedy, Joseph P. III, enters crowded field, announces he'll seek Democratic nomination for House seat being vacated by Speaker Tip O'Neill. His announcement precedes by only a couple of weeks his uncle Ted's notification that he will not seek Presidency in 1988. But that's not all. Yet another Kennedy may run for Congress in 1986, this one Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, oldest daughter of Robert Kennedy. She's possible entry into Maryland 2nd District race for seat now held by Helen Bentley (R), who won election in 1984 by only 6,000 out of more than 200,000 votes cast.

TRADE FORGES TO FRONT as major concern of not only American workers, but of many U.S. corporations. Recent survey shows it's *top* worry of 17 percent of firms with annual sales of $1 billion-plus, 23 percent of those between $100-$999 million, and 31 percent of those under $100 million. More striking: 70 percent of all firms surveyed say their domestic market strength takes pummeling from foreign firms that get subsidies from their governments. And 62 percent come out for some form of protection against unfair trade arrangements.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH confronts fight against history in his campaign for Presidency. Veep's office has not been effective launching pad to top job in past. Last one to make it was Martin Van Buren, elected President in 1836. Two others leaped to White House from Vice Presidency before that—John Adams in 1796, Thomas Jefferson in 1800, and even then, electoral system made it easier than now. Most recent VPs to try it and fail were Richard Nixon in 1960 and Hubert Humphrey in 1968.

HERE'S NORTHERN industrial state advertising like some southern states used to, and like some low-wage nations still do, trying to lure business on basis of ''tame labor force'' pitch. Republican Gov. Ed DiPrete of Rhode Island is pictured looking forceful and dependable in recent *Wall St. Journal* ad paid for by state. Copy boasts ''striker's benefits statute has been repealed and replaced with one of the country's most pro-business laws.'' Also brags ''workers' compensation and unemployment compensation laws have been changed to make them more advantageous to employers.''

HUNGER RAMPANT in America despite syrupy assurances of Reagan Administration and so-called economic recovery. Survey by Bread for the World, private group that helps feed hungry, shows at least 1.5 million persons in only 36 metropolitan areas go hungry because federal food programs and emergency efforts by private groups simply don't meet needs. If there are that many in selected, limited areas, how many can there be nationally? Examples of growing problem of hunger in America: In Boston, hungry seeking help rose from 94,718 in 1984 to 123,389 this year, a 30 percent increase. Same 30 percent boost found in Houston and Nashville. Report charged Reagan-imposed cuts in food stamp and other federal nutrition programs are putting ''unbearable pressure'' on private groups trying to help hungry Americans. Food stamp program alone would provide $7 billion more than it now is but for Reagan slashes.

EVEN FOR THOSE GETTING IT, food stamp allotment doesn't meet minimum nutrition standard, another private group charges. Food Research and Action Council points out family of four with no other income receives $268 worth of food stamps monthly. But, U.S. Agriculture Department's own ''thrifty'' food plan requires $348.48. This explains, FRAC said, why people run out of food stamps well before the month is out and are forced to turn to bread lines.

RATING LABELS, political ones, show ''populist'' least helpful but ''progressive'' most helpful. New York Times/CBS Poll asked respondents if certain labels make them feel better or worse about public figures. ''Progressive'' got 37 percent positive response, ''populist'' only six percent. ''Progressive'' got only seven percent feel worse response, ''populist'' 21 percent worse. ''Liberal'' got 15 percent better, 17 percent worse. For ''moderate'' 21-6, ''conservative'' 27-13. This finding should be bad news to all those ''populist/liberal'' Republicans up for election next year.

ANOTHER SHOW BIZ switch to politics. Fred Grandy, a co-star of TV show ''Love Boat,'' announces he'll seek GOP nomination in Iowa 6th District, held by Democrat Berkley Bedell for past six terms. Grandy not totally foreign to political scene. His Harvard roommate was David Eisenhower, grandson of President Eisenhower. Also, Grandy did a post-college stint on staff of Rep. Wiley Mayne, who was unseated by Bedell in 1974.

WARNING AGAINST effects of recently-enacted Gramm-Rudman-Hollings mandated balanced budget bill issued by Henry Cisneros, mayor of San Antonio and newly-elected president of National League of Cities. He charges cuts required by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings will devastate city finances and could bring end of ''the federal system as we know it.'' He says cities will be forced to boost taxes, curtail needed services. Cisneros is a Democrat, but his warnings were reinforced by Cleveland GOP Mayor Voinovich.

MICHIGAN GOP tries to nip ahead of New Hampshire's first-in-nation presidential primary status. State party okays plan to elect precinct delegates in August 1986 to county and congressional district conventions in 1987, which will choose delegates to state GOP convention in January 1988. That convention will select delegates to GOP 1988 national convention at least full month before New Hampshire primary (unless New Hampshire changes its primary to stay Number One).

FINAL FIGURES on 1984 elections show total spending at $374.1 million, a 9.3 percent increase over 1982, lowest *increase* in outlays from one election cycle to another in a long time. Federal Election Commission numbers show 33 U.S. Senators elected or re-elected in 1984 spent an average of almost $3 million on their campaigns. House winners put out an average $288,636. Political action committees put up $105.3 million for candidates, 26.5 percent of all money raised, and up 26 percent from 1982 PAC contributions. Costliest race—indeed, costliest for Congress ever—was that between GOP Sen. Jesse Helms and then-Gov. James Hunt in North Carolina. Helms spent $16.5 million in winning. Hunt spent $9.46 million. Next on list of top spenders were John D. Rockefeller (D-W. Va.) $12.1 million, and Phil Gramm (R-Texas) $9.51 million. Both won.

CLOSE VOTE elects labor-backed candidate as mayor of Albuquerque, N.M. Ken Schultz tops opponent by bare 2,000 out of 81,000 votes cast. Strong union registration, get-out-vote program helped put candidate over the top.

ANOTHER CLOSE VOTE turns up in Hillview, Ky., with an odd twist. A Republican who turned Democrat (mostly they go other way these days) won Democratic mayoral primary, then began acting like a Republican again. Teed-off Democrats ran a write-in campaign for longtime party activist Richard Terry. Write-in succeeded by just four votes, 503-499. One write-in counts!

Dial-And-Smear

The Right to Work for Less Committee has a new fund-raising gimmick. It gets friendly elected officials to tape a message dunning citizens for $50 contributions.

For-less volunteers or hirees then dial numbers apparently at random, and apparently nationwide, and play the tape, which includes the favorite buzz words of the right-to-workers, like ''union bosses'' and ''union violence.''

One elected official who did a tape is Rep. Bob Dornan (R-Calif.), an old friend of the for-less committee and both a patron and beneficiary of numerous right-wing groups.

17,000 strong

Mass outpouring of supporters—17,000 of them—rallies striking craft unions at the Chicago Tribune. The walkout is in its seventh month. An attempt by the Tribune to block the demonstration was beaten back in court. Members of more than 100 local unions joined in the march. (Story, photo, Page 4).

AFL-CIO news

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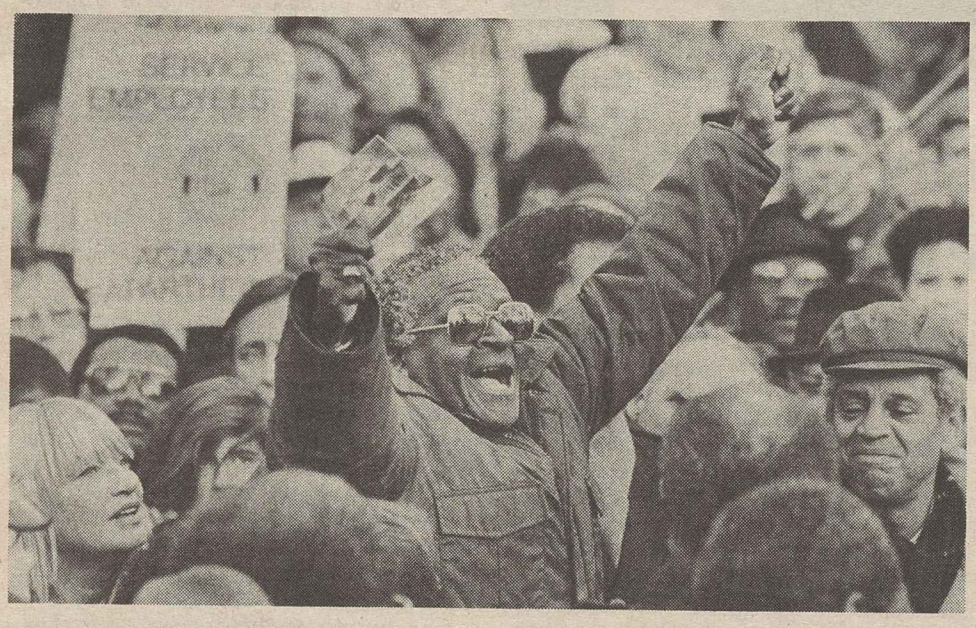

Announcement of the AFL-CIO's Shell boycott coincided with the visit to Washington of Bishop Desmond Tutu, who salutes union supporters demonstrating against apartheid outside of the South African embassy.

Boycott of Shell Oil triggered by firm's role in South Africa

Protesting Shell Oil Co.'s "repressive treatment of black workers in South Africa" and its "refusal to take positive action against apartheid," the AFL-CIO launched a nationwide boycott against the company's products.

"Shell has earned this boycott by its corporate misdeeds in South Africa," the federation said in a joint statement from President Lane Kirkland and Auto Workers President Owen Bieber.

The AFL-CIO boycott plan—approved by mail ballot of the Executive Council—was unveiled by Bieber at a crowded Capitol Hill press conference.

Labor, civil rights, social and women's groups joined in condemning the parent corporation, Royal Dutch/Shell group, for its repressive treatment of black workers and the economic underpinning the company provides to the Pretoria government.

Drive for sanctions

Reps. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) and Parren J. Mitchell (D-Md.)—who participated in the press conference sponsored by the Free South Africa Movement, the AFL-CIO and the Mine Workers—pledged to work in the upcoming session of Congress to win enactment of legislation imposing tough sanctions on the South African government. A similar bill passed the House in 1985, but was sidetracked in the Republican-controlled Senate under President Reagan's pressure.

Reagan has pursued a "failed policy of constructive engagement," which translates into continuing to do business with South Africa despite its avowed racism, Schroeder said. The result has been that "all of the people of South Africa are the losers."

Mitchell said Shell's activities in South Africa defy the laws of chemistry, because they prove that "blood and oil do mix." The blood of workers who have been shot and beaten, and of children who have been brutalized, "goes into the oil that produces the dollars that go to Shell."

Bieber, who is chairman of the AFL-CIO Committee on South Africa, zeroed in on the company's union-busting tactics at a coal mine in Rietspruit which Shell operates jointly with Barlow Rand, a South African conglomerate. Organized labor, he said, will continue the Shell boycott until the company "ends its mistreatment of its miners and joins in the international struggle to make apartheid a past practice in South Africa."

UMW President Richard J. Trumka—who, with Bieber, will cochair a newly formed National Labor Committee on South Africa—said it was "fitting and proper" that his union should join in the boycott because in its 96-year history the UMW has "fought for social justice and human

Continued on Page 2

'Discredit' Shell

The AFL-CIO boycott of Shell Oil Co. will get a big lift if union members will destroy their Shell credit cards, the federation said.

Workers were urged to cut the credit cards in half and mail them to AFL-CIO headquarters.

The federation will replace them with Shell "discredit cards" which denounce the company's union-bashing and its support of apartheid in South Africa.

8 million 'still trapped' despite dip in jobless rate

Although the official unemployment rate in December dipped below 7 percent for the first time since President Reagan took office, 8 million American workers are "still trapped in the longest and deepest unemployment crisis since the Great Depression," the AFL-CIO asserted.

Compounding the situation, the federation said, is the tragedy of more than 5 million of the unemployed who "are getting no help whatever from their government."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that in mid-December only 2.8 million of the jobless workers were drawing benefits.

While the federation welcomed as "good news" last month's 6.9 percent jobless rate, it emphasized that this one statistic "tells only part of the story."

The hidden jobless

What the figure ignores is the plight of the 1.2 million discouraged workers who have abandoned their search for what the federation called "nonexistent jobs." And it fails to take into account an additional 5.5 million reduced to part-time employment because full-time jobs aren't available.

Adding all these figures together, the AFL-CIO said, "makes it clear that 14.7 million American workers and their families are afflicted by total or partial unemployment.

"These millions of individual tragedies add up to a national disaster bordering on catastrophe."

Instead of helping jobless workers, labor charged, the Reagan Administration in its 59 months in office has "added to their burdens by destroying job programs and job-training programs, eliminating extended unemployment benefits and imposing tight fiscal regulations that have led states to disqualify large numbers of jobless workers from receiving regular benefits."

In the 1975 recession during the Ford Administration, the AFL-CIO pointed out, more than 75 percent of all jobless workers received unemployment benefits. By contrast, in the 1985 "recovery" from the Reagan Recession, 60 percent of the unemployed received nothing at all.

Continued on Page 8

The dream lives on

King's legacy more than a holiday

By Gene Zack

It was an inspiring "dream" that motivated Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during his all-too-brief 39 years on this earth—and both the man and his dream will be honored on Jan. 20 with the first-ever national holiday commemorating the achievements of a black American.

King's vision of a nation firmly founded on the twin pillars of social equality and economic justice was one to which his friends and allies in organized labor fully subscribed.

The dream was never more eloquently articulated than when Dr. King addressed the AFL-CIO convention in 1961.

"I look forward confidently to the day when all who work for a living will be one, with no thought to their separateness as Negroes, Jews, Italians or any other distinctions," he told delegates.

"This will be the day when we bring into full realization the American dream—a dream yet unfulfilled. A dream of equality of opportunity, of privilege and property widely distributed; a dream of a land where men will not take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few; a dream of a land where men will not argue that the color of a man's skin determines the content of his character; a dream of a nation where all our gifts and resources are held not for ourselves alone, but as instruments of service for the rest of humanity; the dream of a country where every man will respect the dignity and worth of the human personality.

"That is the dream."

Assassination

On Apr. 4, 1968, in the fading light of a spring evening, a single bullet from an assassin's gun took the life of the civil rights leader. King met his tragic end in Memphis, Tenn., where he had gone in support of striking sanitation workers, members of the State, County & Municipal Employees.

But the dream lived on.

Labor dedicated itself to bringing about the day when King's vision would be fully realized. As the federation's 30th anniversary convention reaffirmed last October, "no other American in our time has more fully exemplified the spirit of brotherhood that alone can bring birth to a society of liberty and justice for all."

In a struggle that spanned 15 years and five presidencies, the AFL-CIO and the civil rights movement fought to make certain that the nation would honor the man and his life's accomplishments. The battle was finally won in 1983 with the enactment of a bill designating the third Monday in January as a national holiday in Dr. King's memory.

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National pacts in lumber eyed by Carpenters

The Carpenters set up a new Forest Products Conference Board to coordinate bargaining, target organizing efforts and develop union policies on issues in the lumber and plywood industries.

UBC President Patrick J. Campbell cited the need for "a national coordinated strategy for bargaining and organizing in both the U.S. and Canada to meet the challenges that face us." Campbell said the establishment of the board represents a major commitment to the 50,000 lumber, sawmill and plywood workers the union represents.

"We cannot afford to bargain with major employers on a regional level, when they operate on a national and sometimes international basis," Campbell said. "This type of corporate coordination must be met with coordination of our own, or we will always be at a major disadvantage."

The six-member board, which will be headed by Campbell, will have separate U.S. and Canadian committees to address issues specific to each country's forest products industries.

Campbell said the challenges the board will address include mill shutdowns, growth of non-union operations even in traditional highly unionized areas, introduction of new products, overcapacity in both the lumber and panel industries, anti-union policies being adopted by major forest product corporations, and threats posed to pattern bargaining and joint negotiations..

The UBC currently is conducting a major consumer boycott and corporate campaign against Louisiana-Pacific Corp. because of its efforts to undermine union conditions.

Campbell also announced the appointment of R. Denny Scott to the union's Industrial Dept. to provide technical and research coordination to the conference board. Scott was formerly the research director for the Woodworkers.

AFL-CIO President Kirkland with retiring State Federation Presidents Ramsay of Mississippi, left, and Williams of Washington at a conference last year.

Williams, Ramsay step down from state federation posts

Longtime officers of two AFL-CIO state bodies—Presidents Marvin L. Williams of Washington and Claude Ramsay of Mississippi—stepped down Jan. 1.

Williams, 64, served as an officer of the state federation for 26 years and was first named secretary-treasurer in 1959.

Elected president in 1980, Williams stressed solidarity and unity among the state's unions, marked by the coordinated organizing campaign launched by the State AFL-CIO in 1985. His leadership also brought major improvements in Washington's job injury and workers' compensation laws.

Union members praised Williams's integrity, recalling a time when President Reagan was visiting Tacoma and Williams turned down an invitation to lunch with the President. Instead, Williams remained outside and joined a demonstration protesting Reagan's anti-worker policies.

Ramsay, 69, led the Mississippi AFL-CIO since 1959 and spearheaded labor's drive for civil rights and voting rights for black citizens throughout the state.

Under Ramsay's leadership, Mississippi workers won gains in unemployment insurance and workers' compensation laws. He also guided a mandatory school attendance bill through the state legislature.

Fought TV bias

In 1963, he joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and area churches in a successful lawsuit against television and radio stations in Jackson that were promoting racial segregation.

Union activists remember him leading voter registration drives, literally "riding shotgun" to protect AFL-CIO volunteers and civil rights workers.

In a letter of appreciation, the executive board of the state federation said Ramsay's "originality, vision and courage laid the foundations of the Mississippi AFL-CIO." The board credited his leadership with creating a vibrant state labor movement, now 80,000 strong.

Tom Knight, who had served as secretary-treasurer for 25 years, was chosen by the Mississippi AFL-CIO executive board to succeed Ramsay as president until the next election at the state federation's convention in April.

Neal Fowler, legislative chairman, was named secretary-treasurer for the remainder of the current term.

Lawrence Kenney was elected to succeed Williams in Washington in a Dec. 2 statewide election. Kenney, secretary-treasurer since 1980, polled 81,011 votes to 23,437 for Ralph Burnett, a State AFL-CIO vice president.

Al Brisbois, a vice president and executive board member, was elected secretary-treasurer with 101,531 votes.

Sandra Feldman new head of New York AFT local

New York—Sandra Feldman has been named president of New York City's 85,000-member United Federation of Teachers—Local 2 of the AFT—succeeding Albert Shanker who stepped down to devote his full time to his post as AFT president.

Local 2 thus becames the largest trade union entity in the United States headed by a woman.

The executive board elected Feldman, Local 2's secretary since 1983, to fill Shanker's unexpired term which runs through June 1987. The board will meet next month to elect a secretary to complete Feldman's term.

In accepting the presidency, Feldman, 46, pledged to work for a change in the status of teachers to insure "a real partnership in educational decision-making at the school level."

In addition to fighting for higher salaries "and for our basic bread and butter," she said, the AFT local will continue to be "a children's lobby" working for pre-school programs, enriched early childhood education, an anti-dropout program and some method for "making sense of special education."

Sandra Feldman

Feldman called for "improved safety, security and maintenance" in the city's public schools, for "enough textbooks, supplies and materials to meet the needs of all the students in all our schools," and for a reduction in "the incredible burden of paperwork" that takes teachers' time away from classroom work.

"We intend to press for further reductions in class size so that teachers can deal with children as individuals, rather than as attendance statistics," she added.

Local's third president

The third president in the local's 25-year history and its first woman president, Feldman was teaching fourth grade in a Lower East Side elementary school when she joined the union in 1963 and became the school's UFT chapter leader.

Feldman joined the union's staff as a field representative in 1966 and was appointed staff director in 1973—a post whose title was changed to executive director in 1980.

She is a vice president of the AFT, the New York State AFL-CIO and the New York City Central Labor Council and serves on the board of directors of the New York State United Teachers.

Feldman was appointed by former Gov. Hugh Carey to the Education Commission of the States, by former President Jimmy Carter to the Congressional Panel for the Review of Laboratory & Center Operations, by Gov. Mario Cuomo to the State Job Training Partnership Act Committee, the State Voluntary Enterprises Commission and the State Child Care Commission, and by Mayor Edward Koch to the Commission on the Year 2000.

A community activist, she is a board member of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Center for Women in Government, the Jewish Labor Committee, and the League for Industrial Democracy. She is active in the NAACP and the Urban League and has been a delegate to Democratic state and national conventions.

Shell boycott hits policy in South Africa

Continued from Page 1

rights. . . and opposed racism and discrimination."

Shell and other large transnational corporations, Trumka said, provide a "strategic pillar" for the South African regime, without which "the economic foundation of apartheid will collapse."

Other union leaders participating in the press conference included:

- President Kenneth T. Blaylock of the Government Employees, who called on the Pretoria government to "fully recognize the basic, unqualified trade union rights of every worker, irrespective of race."
- State, County & Municipal Employees President Gerald W. McEntee, who charged that the minority white government "regards any opposition to its heavy-handed rule as somehow subversive." That is the reason, he said, why 20,000 miners were fired this week for attempting to exercise their trade union rights.
- President John T. Joyce of the Bricklayers, who said the boycott provides a way for individual Americans to "express their outrage" against racism. "Those of us who are free must strike the first blow," he said, if South Africa's policies are to be changed.
- Joslyn Williams, president of the Metropolitan Washington AFL-CIO, who promised that rank-and-file unionists in the nation's capital and its suburbs would serve as "foot soldiers in this cause," handing out literature in the city's heavily traveled commuter corridors to get the boycott message out.

The Shell boycott is an extension of the AFL-CIO's long battle to persuade multinationals to withdraw their investments in South Africa's energy sector, and in any companies that black trade unionists there indicate are violating internationally accepted labor standards.

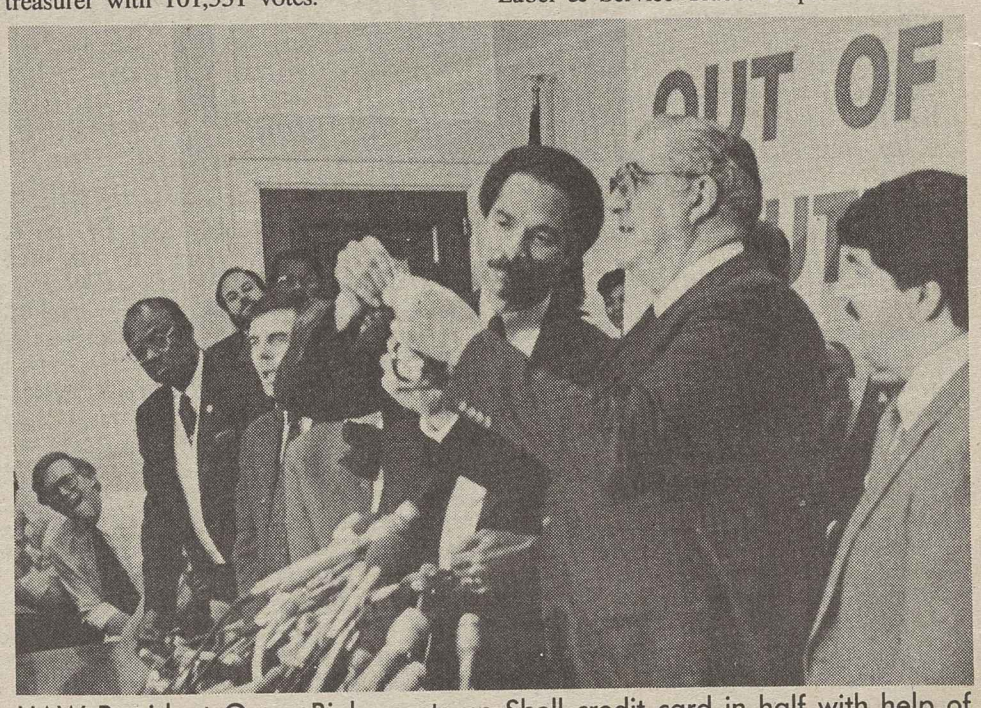
Impetus for the boycott came from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in response to a plea from South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers.

Union barred

The trouble began early in 1985, when NUM members left work to attend a memorial service for a miner killed on the job. When the company suspended four shop stewards, the workers struck for four days. Subsequently, 86 miners were fired, and the company now refuses to permit union meetings and will not allow shop stewards any access to union members.

The boycott will be directed against Shell gasoline and its other consumer products, not against individual merchants selling these products. The campaign will be coordinated by the committee headed by Bieber and Trumka.

Others on the committee include McEntee, Presidents John J. Sweeney of the Service Employees, Lynn R. Williams of the Steelworkers, Frank Drozak of the Seafarers, Albert Shanker of the Teachers and Frederick O'Neal of the Actors & Artistes, and Sec.-Treas. John Mara of the Union Label & Service Trades Dept.



UAW President Owen Bieber cuts up Shell credit card in half with help of Randall Robinson, cochairman of the Free South Africa Movement.

Polygraph manual lists questions on unions, sex

By David L. Perlman

Until a congressional agency blew the whistle, the Defense Dept. was training polygraph examiners to probe for involvement in unions when checking the "truthfulness" of employees or job applicants.

Examiners were given similar instructions to seek information on participation in such ethnic organizations as Polish-American clubs and in "racial pressure groups." The NAACP and the Urban League, both in the forefront of the civil rights movement, were listed as among the organizations to which "Negroes may be expected to have belonged." Linked in the same paragraph was a comparable mandate to scrutinize the degree of involvement "by a white person in the Ku Klux Klan."

In both cases, the examiner was told to "exert the utmost tact and delicacy."

The training manual was used by the Defense Dept. Polygraph Institute at Fort McClellan, Ala., from February 1984 until December 1985, when it was declared "no longer valid" and ordered destroyed.

Disavowal of the manual came after the General Accounting Office, an agency of Congress, had found that the polygraph training program exceeded the counter-espionage scope that had been authorized by Congress. While the training school is operated by the Army, it is used to train most government polygraph operators.

The documents were made public by House Government Operations Committee Chairman Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), a foe of the widespread use of so-called lie detector devices in both government and private-sector employment.

The training manual stressed the use of the polygraph to verify information on the Statement of Personal History required for employment in sensitive jobs. The depth of questioning, the manual noted, would be governed by the requirements of the employing agency.

Union area 'sensitive'

The section on unions acknowledged that "some agencies no longer ask union questions" on personal history statements because they consider the area "too sensitive." Instead, the manual stated, "they try to subtly relate the question to the employment record, or they may eliminate it completely."

Examiners were told to reassure the "examinee" that he is not suspected of any particular offense and the polygraph test is part of a "routine background check." The examiner was also instructed to tell the subject that he has a constitutional right to refuse to take the test or to retain counsel.

"When it is considered that a polygraph is a machine upon which the career of a man may well depend, it is entirely understandable that many subjects may fear the instrument," the manual acknowledged.

It instructed examiners in the most comfortable ways to attach the components of the polygraph. Because of nervousness, it noted, "the examinee's lips may quiver or his facial muscles may twitch. In some cases his hands or knees may be shaking or his speech may be halting."

The examiner also was told to instruct the person being tested to answer all questions either "yes" or "no" without comment, not to move during the test and to look straight ahead.

While agencies would determine the type of questions they wanted asked, the manual includes these as samples for polygraph testing:

- Did you falsify or omit anything from your statement of personal history?
- Have you ever used illegal drugs or narcotics?
- Have you ever assisted in the commission of an immoral act?
- Do all members of your family enjoy a good reputation in the community?
- Do you have any friends you would not be willing to recommend for a responsible position?
- Have you ever had any charges against you dropped?
- Have you ever been questioned by the police?
- Do you believe you have any homosexual tendencies?
- Do you desire to engage in unnatural sex acts?
- Have you ever been a party to an abortion?
- Have you ever done anything you are ashamed to tell me about?
- Have you ever stolen anything?
- Do you believe in background security investigations?

Disclosure of the type of questioning for which polygraph examiners were being trained came as the Defense Dept. was assuring Congress that the polygraph tests they intended would be limited to counterintelligence probes and not involve lifestyle or other personal matters.

It heightened an already heated debate which found Sec. of State George P. Shultz serving notice on the White House that he would resign if anyone required him to take a polygraph test.

Apart from government security matters, the House is expected to take up early in the second session of Congress a labor-endorsed bill that would ban most polygraph testing by private-sector employers.

British firm blasted for using apartheid system to bust union

Three AFL-CIO international unions sharply condemned the British Tire & Rubber Co. for embracing South Africa's apartheid system and using it as an excuse to "pay slave wages and to break the union" chosen by its 925 workers.

The strongly worded protest came from Presidents Lynn Williams of the Steelworkers, Owen Bieber of the Auto Workers and Milan Stone of the Rubber Workers, whose unions represent American workers of the London-based multinational corporation.

Brutal force

In a letter to the head of BTR's American subsidiary, the union leaders charged that the South African operation refused to negotiate with its workers, forced them out of work and then fired them.

Since that time, the unions charged, the firm has not only hired strikebreakers, but also has used "the brutal South African military and police" against the unionists.

They were assaulted on the picket line by police using tear gas and bullets, the three presidents said. During that incident, five children were shot and one of them died. More than 50 union activists have been detained by South African police and face criminal prosecution.

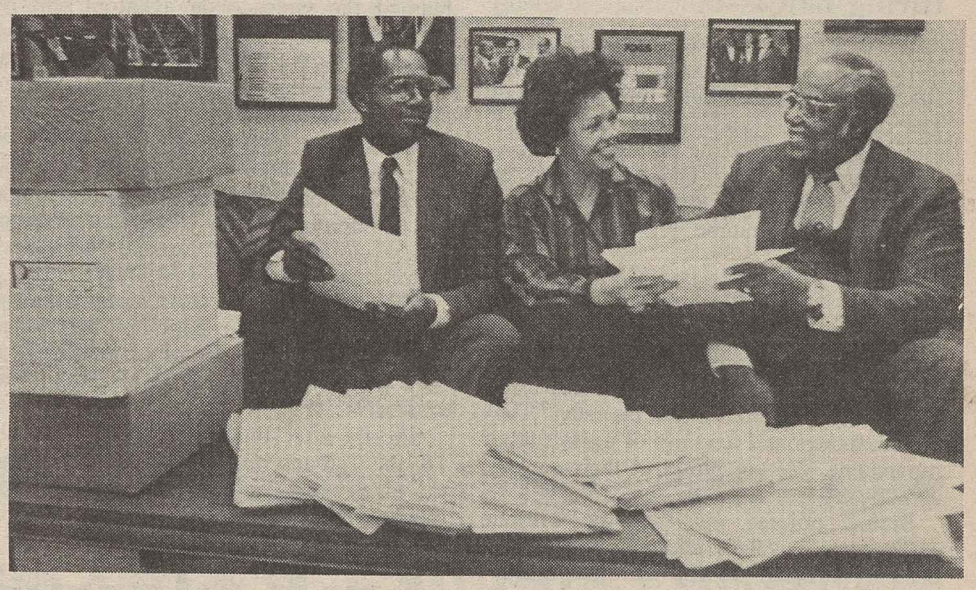
"People the world over have watched with dismay the ongoing and escalating oppression of South Africa's black majority by the white minority regime there," the union leaders declared. BTR is a party to that oppression, they added, because it is "engaged in the violation of human rights of black South African workers."

The union presidents pointed out that BTR's wages are "substantially" below minimum standards set by the European Economic Community and have led to an "abnormally high malnutrition level" among children of BTR workers.

The dismissed workers are members of the Metal & Allied Workers, an affiliate of the newly created half-million-member Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Protests against BTR's actions in South Africa also have come from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which represents some 82 million workers in nearly 100 countries, and from the British Trades Union Congress.

Bishop Desmond Tutu is welcomed by labor delegation before a demonstration at the South African embassy. From left, UMW President Richard Trumka, AFSCME President Gerald McEntee, Bishop Tutu, UAW President Owen Bieber and AFSCME Sec.-Treas. William Lucy.



Protesting apartheid

AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director William Pollard and staff members Richard Womack and Ruby Horsham pack up some 40,000 freedom letters from union members speaking out against apartheid. The petitions were presented to Tutu during a demonstration at the South African embassy.

Rehiring priority ordered for laid-off airline workers

Several thousand airline employees who lost their jobs after passage of the Airline Deregulation Act in 1978 will be entitled to a rehiring priority provided by the law but never put into effect.

Under a Labor Dept. rule that takes effect Jan. 27, airlines must list all job vacancies with a central register and give preference to qualified persons on the priority list, regardless of where they last worked.

Persons employed by airlines for the four years prior to enactment of the deregulation law, on Oct. 27, 1978, are entitled to hiring preference if they lost their airline jobs after deregulation for any reason other than dismissal for cause.

Airlines that were in existence at the time of deregulation must give absolute preference to applicants with priority hiring rights and newer airlines must at least list their openings with the central register.

Unions representing airline employees generally welcomed the issuance of the Labor Dept. regulations while deploring the years of delay that deprived thousands of displaced workers of job opportunities.

The first snarl was the change of Administration after the 1980 elections. A Labor Dept. regulation on rehiring rights was withdrawn by the Reagan Administration before it took effect and a revised regulation wasn't issued until 1983.

That regulation, in turn, was blocked by a federal court ruling that the labor protection provisions of the Airline Deregulation Act were invalid because of an unconstitutional legislative veto provision. Last July, an appellate court overturned the decision and paved the way for the rehiring rule finally to go into effect.

Covered airlines may choose any applicant from the rehiring list, but may not discriminate because of age or an applicant's recall rights with another airline. An airline may not fill a permanent job vacancy with anyone other than an applicant with rehiring rights for at least 30 days after the job has been listed. An airline may, however, recall its own furloughed employees before hiring persons from the central listing.

Another worker protection Congress wrote into the 1978 deregulation law never has been implemented.

Lost job benefits

Any airline employee who lost a job or took a pay cut as a direct result of deregulation—providing certain trigger requirements of the law are met—is entitled to cash payments for up to 72 months.

But no one has ever collected because the Transportation Dept. has never certified any group of airline workers as eligible.

Ten cases involving applications for benefits are still awaiting a ruling by the Transportation Dept.

When the deregulation law was passed, the rehiring priority was to stay in effect for 10 years. But because of the delay, the new Labor Dept. regulations will be binding for less than three years unless Congress extends them.

ICFTU assails South African firings

Brussels—The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions sent a strong protest to a South African mining company that fired some 20,000 striking platinum miners.

In a telegram to the General Mining Union Corp., the ICFTU called the company's decision to dismiss the striking workers "a direct violation of internationally recognized labor standards."

The ICFTU called for the immediate reinstatement of the fired workers and Gencor's "acceptance of negotiations with the workers' freely elected union representatives."

The strike over wages and working conditions began against the Impala mine on Jan. 1, in the so-called tribal homeland of Bophuthatswana. Gencor, South Africa's second largest mining company, fired the 20,000 workers, two-thirds of its workforce, on Jan. 6 and threatened to fire the remaining 10,000 miners if the strike is not ended. All the workers are nonwhite.

Most of the striking miners are not union members. Black unions were declared legal in South Africa in 1979, but they are often not recognized by employers in the homelands. The National Union of Mineworkers, one of the country's largest unions representing white and nonwhite workers, has no jurisdiction in the Bophuthatswana homeland under South African labor law.

The mass firing of workers is a common practice in South Africa, where employers often use dismissals to isolate and intimidate union activists and workers. Last year, South Africa's largest mining company fired 14,000 black workers at a gold mine near Johannesburg.

Strikers and their supporters picket the Chicago Tribune.

17,000 at Chicago rally back cause of Tribune strikers

Chicago—Loud and clear the message went out to the management of the Chicago Tribune Co.—"Union-busters aren't wanted here!"

More than 17,000 union members, their families and friends joined in a Jan. 4 march of solidarity supporting the 1,125 members of three locals who have been on strike against the newspaper since last July 18. The Chicago AFL-CIO conducted the rally at the two main gates to the Tribune's production plant.

The Tribune's attorney tried, but failed, to obtain a court order to block the rally.

Members of more than 100 local unions in the area took part in the demonstration and brought messages of support and encouragement.

Leaders of the three unions on strike—Web Pressmen Local 7, Typographical Union Local 16 and ITU Mailers Local 2—responded by vowing to continue the fight for fair contracts.

Hiring hall issue

The key issue for both the Mailers and the Web Pressmen centers on management's attempt to do away with the hiring hall. The unions have traditionally had a determining role in the hiring of subs and extras. For the Typographical Union, the issues include jurisdiction and mandated transfers of members with lifetime job guarantees to other duties.

"This is a day of solidarity, when all of us honor the valiant men and women who, day after day, night after night, in fair weather or foul, are on the picket line for this union cause," Chicago AFL-CIO President Edward F. Brabec told the rally. "They are the heroes and heroines of today's labor movement. We are proud of their courage and loyalty."

Brabec pointed out that the Tribune management has flatly rejected requests from the City Council, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, the Archbishop of Chicago, and the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service to bargain with the three locals to reach a just settlement.

Although the rally started at 10 a.m., participants arrived as early as 5 o'clock, in time to meet some of the Tribune delivery trucks. After hearing the throng chanting, "Shut down the Trib," one driver chose not to enter the plant area. A cheer went up signaling a minor victory in the war wrought by the Tribune's union-busting management.

Wave of marchers

At just that moment, spirits were lifted higher by the sounds of bagpipes as the Shannon Rovers pipe band appeared, followed by a wave of 3,000 members of Electrical Workers Local 134.

Painters District Council 14 bused in 500 members who had gathered at its headquarters. Members of several other unions met at the Plumbers' Hall for bus service to and from the rally site provided by Transit Union Local 241. All 61 local affiliates of Steelworkers District 31 were represented at the rally.

It was the largest outpouring of union members in Illinois since June 2, 1981, when 20,000 gathered in Springfield to protest anti-union legislation pending in the General Assembly.

Two days before the rally, the Tribune sought an injunction to prevent the unions from holding the rally. But Cook County Circuit Court Judge James Murray obtained an agreement under which the newspaper told its employees they have no right to intentionally interfere with the unions' lawful assembly at the plant, while the unions instructed their members not to block vehicles or individuals from entering or leaving the plant.

In the very early morning before the rally marshals arrived, 37 persons were arrested outside the plant gates. More than 100 Chicago police were present, many on horseback. Most of those arrested were charged with disorderly conduct.

ITU Vice President Alan Heritage called the rally a success that "gave a message to the Tribune, warning the paper that the nation's workers won't let it bust unions." He blamed the violence on agitators sent by the Tribune.

Following the rally, the Tribune returned to court seeking a permanent injunction against mass picketing and demonstrations at the plant. Attorneys for the unions will will argue against the motion on Jan. 17.

Sporadic bargaining between the Tribune and the unions continues, but without progress, according to the Chicago Newspaper Union Employees Unity Council.

The unions began negotiating with the company when their contracts expired in January 1983 and continued to work at their jobs for 2½ years while seeking a just settlement.

Shortly after the strike began last July 18, the Tribune hired King, Ballow & Little, a law firm notorious as union-busting management consultants.

New delay hit

Unions press OSHA on benzene standard

By Arlee C. Green

Six unions and a public citizens group vigorously protested the Labor Dept.'s timetable for a final safety standard on benzene, asking a federal appellate court to order the department to issue a new rule by July 15.

The Secretary of Labor and the Occupational Safety & Health Administration told the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia that the agency needs another 14 months to complete its work on a new standard aimed at reducing worker exposure to the cancer-causing chemical from the current 10 parts benzene per million parts air to one part per million (1 ppm). Some 27,000 workers are exposed to benzene at levels about 1 ppm.

OSHA issued a proposed standard on Dec. 10, just one day before it was ordered by the court to produce a reasonable timetable for completion of a final standard.

But the agency insisted that it needs until Apr. 8 to complete its required hearings, plus two months extra to keep the hearing record open for additional comments. "Four to five months" are needed for a staff analysis, agency lawyers said, and then "two to three months" for an internal review which includes getting approval of the rule from the White House's Office of Management & Budget.

The Labor Dept. said it would issue a final benzene standard by Feb. 10, 1987.

The Public Citizen Litigation Group and the six unions—Steelworkers, Rubber Workers, Chemical Workers, Painters, Allied Industrial Workers, and Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers—told the court that the projected schedule "offers, at best, a perpetuation of the plodding, business-as-usual pace" that has characterized the agency's efforts over the past several years.

Close watch urged

Labor lawyer George H. Cohen urged the court to retain jurisdiction over the case and to require OSHA to file written progress reports with the court every 60 days. Further, OSHA should be required to tell the court of any proposed action that might caused the agency to deviate from its schedule, Cohen said.

The unions asked the court "continue to keep the Secretary's feet to the fire," stressing that his behavior in producing a benzene standard is "indicative of an overall pattern." They said the "Secretary's norm is to wait until the eve of a hearing and then take some action designed to deflect the court's attention from his interminable delays."

Their petition asked the court to require a final benzene standard by July 15—a date by which OSHA earlier projected it would produce a final standard.

OSHA had issued a benzene standard in 1978 which the Supreme Court remanded back to the agency in 1980 for the sole purpose of conducting a quantitative risk assessment to establish a justification for embarking on benzene rulemaking. Thus, the unions told the court, rulemaking on benzene has been in progress for more than five-and-a-half years.

The American Petroleum Institute and the Chemical Manufacturers Association intervened in the case on the behalf of the Labor Dept. and called the proposed 14-month timetable "ambitious."

The two industry groups urged the court to automatically extend any deadline it sets for OSHA by the amount of additional time the agency decides to keep the hearing record open on the request of interested parties.

Confined space hazard

Meanwhile, in an unrelated effort, the Steelworkers petitioned OSHA for a comprehensive standard governing entry to confined spaces. The action was prompted by the deaths of two USWA members who died of carbon monoxide exposure after entering a zinc condenser at the St. Joe Zinc's smelter in Monaca, Pa.

The USWA called a draft standard being circulated by OSHA for internal review "seriously deficient," but urged that it be released as a proposed standard in order to prompt discussion and begin the action on reaching a final standard.

F.M. Schaufenbil dies at 70, head of textile union

Lawrence, Mass.—Francis M. Schaufenbil, president of the United Textile Workers since 1972, died Jan. 1 of pneumonia following an earlier stroke. He was 70.

Schaufenbil began his union career as a woolen weaver in Prairie du Chien, Wis. where he helped organize UTW Local 2563 and became its president in 1940. He rose through the ranks of the textile union, elected president of the Wisconsin Council of Textile Unions in 1941 and appointed midwestern area organizer. Schaufenbil also was named international vice president in 1941, serving 16 years until he was elected UTW secretary-treasurer in 1957. He became international president in 1972 and was elected to new four-year terms at the last four union conventions.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue expressed their sorrow at Schaufenbil's death in a letter to his wife, Dorothy, and praised his lifelong commitment that "made life better for countless workers."

Other survivors include six children and 16 grandchildren.

Vernon Mustard, a UTW vice president and Canadian director, was named acting president by the union's executive board pending formal action on the presidency at the board's February session for a term that will run until UTW's 1988 convention.

Trib slapped for stalling arbitration

Chicago—The 7th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, in sharply rejecting a request by the Chicago Tribune to stay a lower court order that it arbitrate a dispute with Graphic Communications Local 2, warned that the court "will not hesitate to mete out sanctions" in the future against those who bring such meritless cases.

A three-judge panel of the appeals court declined to impose any sanctions against the newspaper, but stressed, "We are concerned that some companies may be trying to reduce the credibility of unions by dragging out the grievance process in collective bargaining agreements by means of pertinacious challenges to orders to arbitrate, a tactic we do not wish to encourage. We shall not impose sanctions in this case, but let this opinion be a warning."

The grievance concerned the Tribune's decision to bypass the union hiring hall to hire certain workers directly. Company lawyers told the court the collective bargaining agreement and the obligation to arbitrate with Local 2 had expired.

The Tribune's bypassing of longstanding hiring hall procedures also is a key issue for other unions currently striking the newspaper.

Judge Richard A. Posner in a six-paragraph opinion for the appeals court panel said, "Not only has the request for a stay no merit, but the whole class of requests it illustrates has no merit, a point we wish to emphasize in order to discourage the making of such requests in the future."

Pattern of delay

Declaring that "arbitration is supposed to be swift," the judge pointed out that if orders to arbitrate are routinely stayed pending appeal, "then the typical arbitration will proceed as follows:

"The union demands arbitration; the employer refuses; the union sues to compel arbitration; the employer resists the suit; the district court orders arbitration; the employer appeals; the order is stayed pending appeal; the court of appeals affirms; at last, years after the dispute arose, the arbitration can begin. This pattern would make a mockery of arbitration as a swift and effective remedy in labor disputes."

The Tribune argued before the court that it would suffer irreparable harm if the stay were denied, mainly because it would incur a "substantial expense in time and money."

The court held, however, that "the fact that an order to arbitrate imposes a cost . . .does not show irreparable harm. Otherwise, every order to arbitrate would be deemed to create irreparable harm, and it would be easy to get such orders stayed. That, however, would fly in the face of the strong federal policy in favor of arbitrating disputes in general and labor disputes in particular."

The judge's opinion added that "the only harm an order to arbitrate does is to make the party against whom the order is issued litigate a dispute in a forum not of his choosing."

Judge Posner concluded that cases in which an order to arbitrate does cause irreparable harm "will be extraordinarily rare, this case is not one, (and) employers who seek stays merely on the ground that the arbitration may turn out to be a wasted expense of time and money are whistling in the dark. . ."

Labor and civil rights have "common goals," King tells AFL-CIO's 1961 convention.

Commitment to union cause brought King to numerous picket lines.

Signing of the Civil Rights Act by President Lyndon Johnson in 1964 was a milestone in King's career.

King and labor leaders join President John Kennedy following 1963 march on Washington that spurred passage of the civil rights law.

King's legacy to America more than a holiday

Continued from Page 1

But labor wanted more than just another day off from work. It wanted to focus the nation's attention on the aspirations of the labor movement and the civil rights movement which were at the heart of King's lifelong struggle for justice.

A year ago, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland named President Murray Finley of the Clothing & Textile Workers as labor's representative on the Martin Luther King Jr. Federal Holiday Commission.

In addition to serving on the commission headed by King's widow, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Finley organized a trade union committee to coordinate labor's own program to honor Dr. King, stimulating central bodies and individual locals to take the lead in marking the holiday.

From coast to coast, a wide range of community activities will pay tribute to King's life and his dream:

- In New York City, there will be a showing of a film on King's life and a series of readings from his speeches.
- In Dallas, there will be exhibits at high schools and colleges, a parade, a banquet, a musical, and a wreath-laying ceremony.
- In both San Francisco and Atlanta, there will be labor breakfasts, marches, and massive outdoor rallies.
- In Denver, there will be a dinner to raise $100,000 for the Martin Luther King Center in Atlanta, with the State AFL-CIO kicking off the campaign with a $10,000 contribution.
- In Houston, there will be a noontime rally and an evening candlelight service.

And so it will go across the country—from a dinner-dance in Detroit to scholarship award ceremonies in Milwaukee and Cedar Rapids, Iowa; from a march in Albany, N.Y., to labor breakfasts in Los Angeles and Asheville, N.C.; from a theater presentation in Buffalo to a rally in Milwaukee.

The community celebrations will demonstrate, as Finley put it, that King's memory "lives on today in the heart of the trade union movement."

Labor and the civil rights movement, Finley continued, have been "joined in a noble cause to break the shackles that bind the human spirit and to free humanity from age-old prejudices and fears."

The Montgomery, Ala., minister soared to national prominence with his leadership of a bus boycott that challenged, and ultimately overcame, the South's entrenched pattern of racial segregation.

At labor's side

In addition to his civil rights leadership role, King had marched at labor's side throughout his public career, recognizing what he called the "duality of interests" which bound the two movements together.

As he told the 1961 convention, black Americans "support labor's demands and fight laws that curb labor" because blacks are "almost entirely a working people" and share the common goals of "decent wages, fair working conditions," and a better life.

"Any crisis which lacerates you," he told convention delegates, is "a crisis from which we bleed."

It was that understanding that led King—writer, teacher and speaker—to become an activist in the proud tradition of trade unionism, putting his reputation as well as his life in jeopardy by personally participating in dozens of organizing drives and strikes over nearly two decades.

It was that same activist spirit that took King to Memphis, where 1,200 predominantly black members of AFSCME Local 1173 went on strike in February 1968 when the city refused to recognize the union.

He led 5,000 marchers through the streets in an attempt to bring the city to terms. But the event was marred by an outbreak of violence—the first in King's long tradition of peaceful protest. A follow-up march, scheduled for a week later, had to be cancelled because of snow.

Determined to lead a successful demonstration in his non-violent tradition, King returned to Memphis where, on Apr. 3, he gave what was to be his last public address.

"You are demanding that this city will respect the dignity of labor," he told the striking AFSCME members.

"So often we overlook the work and the significance of those who are not in professional jobs, of those who are not in the so-called big jobs.

"But let me say to you tonight that whenever you are engaged in work that serves humanity and is for the building of humanity, it has dignity and it has worth."

The assassin's bullet ended Dr. King's life less than 24 hours later—but his efforts were not in vain.

The march of sanitation workers that he had gone to Memphis to lead became an outpouring of 40,000 mourners and led to a settlement in which the union finally gained recognition from the city.

Unmet goals

As America prepares to honor Martin Luther King's memory and to celebrate his life, the trade union movement is determined to touch the conscience of the nation about the need to continue to work toward his twin goals of equality and justice.

"Much has been accomplished, but we all know victory is yet to be won," Finley said. "Dr. King's goals remain our goals; his dreams remain our dreams. We will continue the struggle, no matter how long or how difficult, until those goals and those dreams become a reality."

Panel appointed in Hormel dispute

Austin, Minn.—Gov. Rudy Perpich (D) has intervened in the five-month-old strike of the Food & Commercial Workers at the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. plant here.

The governor announced formation of a panel consisting of two retired federal judges and a University of Minnesota law professor. They will select a fact-finder whose job it will be to try to bring both sides together.

The union promptly agreed to the procedure, and there were indications the company might not go forward with its plan to reopen the plant following two successive votes by the 1,500 meatpackers in UFCW Local P-9 rejecting a proposed settlement.

In balloting at the union hall, 61 percent of the members voted against the proposed agreement, while 58 percent of those responding by mail ballot also turned it down.

Perpich held separate meetings with UFCW and company officials in an effort to resolve the issue, expressing concern about the consequences that could result if the company attempts to resume operations either with new employees or with present workers willing to cross picket lines.

Mediator Hank Bell's three-year proposal calls for a base wage of $10 an hour, a wage freeze in the second year and a 10-cent-an-hour raise in the third year.

Oil industry talks continue as OCAW extends contracts

Denver—negotiations continued between the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers and the nation's major oil companies as the union extended contracts covering some 46,500 oil industry workers that expired at midnight Jan. 7.

The contract extensions, which are subject to termination on 24 hours' notice, cover 265 oil refineries, petrochemical plants, crude oil producers and pipelines, as well as petroleum marketing operations nationwide.

The decision to remain on the job came as the OCAW's National Oil Bargaining Policy Committee convened here to review contract proposals from the major companies and decide on the next step in the current round of negotiations.

Union goals

The union went to the bargaining table asking for substantial wage increases in each year of a two-year agreement, more protection for workers in the event of layoffs and plant closures, and additional company contributions toward health care insurance premiums.

The job security issue was high on the OCAW agenda because of continued shrinkage in employment opportunities in the industry. In the last five years, over 20,000 refinery jobs have been lost—about half of them union jobs. To help insulate its members against the adverse impact of unemployment, OCAW called for higher severance pay, longer recall rights, expanded transfer rights and higher relocation allowances.

Rank-and-file members overwhelmingly approved the bargaining goals and authorized union leaders to call a strike if they decide that company offers are unacceptable.

In spelling out the union's goals, OCAW President Joseph Misbrener emphasized that "workers in the capital-intensive petroleum industry deserve and expect fair economic treatment from companies that still are the richest and most powerful in the world."

OCAW members, Misbrener said, "work under extremely hazardous circumstances." Seven oil workers were killed in refinery fires and explosions in a three-week period in December, he pointed out, and 17 others died in an explosion at a refinery in Lamont, Ill., earlier in 1985.

At air safety news conference, President Howard Johannssen, right, and Executive Vice President Mark Schneider of the Airways Systems Specialists.

Cutting FAA funds imperils aviation safety, union warns

A union representing skilled technicians who install and maintain the intricate electronic equipment used for air traffic control has warned that a threatened slash in Federal Aviation Administration funds would endanger air safety.

The warning came from the Professional Airways Systems Specialists, an affiliate of the Marine Engineers and bargaining representative of most of the 7,200 FAA computer repair and electronics specialists. Its president, Howard Johannssen, said the new cuts that will be required to meet the Gramm-Rudman timetable for a balanced budget amount to "fiscal terrorism."

"Terrorists hold a handful of passengers as hostage," he said. "The effect of the cuts forced on FAA by the Gramm-Rudman law will hold the entire American air traveling public as hostage."

Congress already knocked $55 million out of the FAA's current budget, Johannssen noted, and an additional $135 million cut the agency said it must make would be "intolerable" in terms of passenger safety.

FAA Administrator Donald D. Engen, anticipating that the Gramm-Rudman law will compel a 5 percent budget cut in March, announced a hiring freeze except for air traffic controllers, aviation inspectors and security personnel.

Employment cutbacks may be needed in addition to a freeze, the FAA indicated.

Johannssen noted that his small union of electronics specialists has maintained "a low public profile" and avoided alarmist language. But the force of skilled specialists has been declining in recent years, he stressed. If further cuts are allowed, repairs to complex air controller equipment will soon take hours rather than seconds or minutes, he said.

"Every second of down time" in the sophisticated equipment, Johannssen told a news conference in Washington, "is a potential danger for aircraft, their passengers and crews."

He urged Congress to exempt the FAA from the Gramm-Rudman budget cuts, which he said would be an act of "appalling irresponsibility." It would "almost inevitably lead to the death of passengers and aircraft crews," Johannssen warned.

"We don't want one penny of public funds wasted. But we don't want one life of an air traveler wasted either," he said.

OSHA 'numbers game' hit, inspection quality questioned

The AFL-CIO expressed concern over the quality of job site inspections done by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration in the light of pressure by the agency on its enforcement officers to "get the numbers up" on total inspections.

Margaret Seminario, associate director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, said OSHA field personnel have told her that inspections have become "more of a numbers game, as regional offices do what they can to get the numbers up. Our concern is that they are not doing the careful, thorough job they should be."

There has been a significant drop in the amount of time an inspector spends on a jobsite and that figure continues to drop, she said.

She noted that the recently released OSHA inspection figures for 1984 showed a small increase in enforcement activity with fewer "records check" inspections, and a very small rise in the number of citations and penalties over the previous year.

Lagging penalties

But the number of citations and amount of penalties are "nowhere near" what they were before the Reagan Administration took office, Seminario said. "The recent increases may indicate the Secretary of Labor (William E. Brock) is more willing to enforce the law, but there is a long way yet to go."

The Labor Dept. was unable to explain why there was a significant increase in the number of occupational injuries and illnesses in 1984, even in industries the agency had targeted for increased inspections.

Seminario noted that building construction was targeted as a high-risk industry. An OSHA enforcement officer can visit a single building job site and inspect the operations of each contractor or subcontractor and get credit for an average of eight walkaround inspections.

OSHA said it conducted 71,303 inspections in fiscal year 1985, approximately the same total as during fiscal 1984.

Of the 71,303 inspections, 64,167 were walkaround checks of working conditions, with the remainder being records inspections where only the safety records of a company were checked.

OSHA inspectors cited 119,706 violations and proposed penalties of $9,190,706 in fiscal 1985. Employers contested less than 3 percent of the inspections with citations, OSHA said.

State programs

The 25 states and territories that operate their own OSHA-approved programs conducted 114,215 inspections during the same period, with 1,834 records checks.

The penalties proposed by states and territories were $8,309,314 on 265,435 alleged violations. The number of cases contested by employers was under five percent.

Meanwhile, OSHA announced three new inspection programs on Jan. 7 to slightly alter its targeting efforts. Under one program, OSHA will devote five percent of its planned safety inspections, or about 700 inspections, to manufacturing concerns with lost workday injury rates below the average private sector rate.

Under a separate program, another 700 inspections would be allocated to nonmanufacturing companies in selected industrial classifications.

For both these programs, OSHA personnel will first conduct a records check and then have the option of continuing with an inspection if the lost workday rate for a firm is below the national average. If it is above, then a full inspection will be conducted, OSHA said.

The third new program will spot-check companies in high-hazard manufacturing, giving a full inspection to every tenth company whose records it checks, regardless of whether its lost workday rate is below the national average.

'86 conventions slated by AFL-CIO affiliates

Below is a list of conventions scheduled for 1986 by AFL-CIO national and international affiliates, state central bodies and fraternal organizations. Changes and additions will be reported.

DATE	ORGANIZATION	PLACE
Mar. 24-26	Louisiana	Baton Rouge
April (no date)	Metal Polishers	not set
Apr. 14-16	Mississippi	Jackson
Apr. 15-18	Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh
Apr. 20-23	New Jersey	Atlantic City
Apr. 21-	Communications Workers	Washington
Apr. 21-25	Woodworkers	Portland, Ore.
Apr. 28-May 2	Canadian Labor Congress	Toronto
May 8-10	North Dakota	Jamestown
May 14-16	Arizona	Prescott
May 26-June 9	Ladies' Garment Workers	Hollywood, Fla.
May 28-30	Indiana	French Lick
June (no date)	Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union	Bal Harbour, Fla.
June (no date)	Upholsterers	Las Vegas, Nev.
June 1-6	Auto Workers	Anaheim, Calif.
June 8-12	Pattern Makers League	Las Vegas, Nev.
June 9-11	Idaho	Coeur d'Alene
June 9-13	Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees	Chicago
June 9-13	Office & Professional Employees	Montreal
June 11-13	Ohio	Cleveland
June 12-14	South Dakota	Sioux Falls
June 23-27	State, County & Municipal Employees	Chicago
June 24-25	Oregon	Portland
July (no date)	Elevator Constructors	not set
July 3-7	Teachers	Chicago
July 11-19	Maintenance of Way Employees	Kansas City
July 13-18	Firemen & Oilers	Las Vegas, Nev.
July 15-18	Stove & Appliance Workers	Las Vegas, Nev.
July 16-	Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers	Las Vegas, Nev.
July 19-20	Nevada	Las Vegas
July 20-25	Letter Carriers	St. Paul, Minn.
July 21	Theatrical Stage Employees	Hallandale, Fla.
July 28-Aug. 1	California	Sacramento
July 28-Aug. 1	Plumbers & Pipe Fitters	Las Vegas, Nev.
August (no date)	Fire Fighters	Las Vegas, Nev.
August (no date)	Government Employees	Las Vegas, Nev.
August (no date)	Tile Finishers	not set
August (no date)	Typographical Union	Hershey, Pa.
Aug. 4-9	Iron Workers	Las Vegas, Nev.
Aug. 6-10	Professional & Technical Engineers	Bal Harbour, Fla.
Aug. 11-15	Postal Workers	San Francisco
Aug. 11-15	Boilermakers	Hollywood, Fla.
Aug. 21-23	Montana	Great Falls
Aug. 21-23	Virginia	Norfolk
Aug. 25-28	New York	Kiamesha Lake
Aug. 25-28	Washington	Spokane
Aug. 25-29	Steelworkers	Las Vegas, Nev.
Sept. 8-12	Transit Union	Toronto
Sept. 12-18	Missouri	St. Louis
Sept. 14-17	Minnesota	Duluth
Sept. 15-17	Illinois	Chicago
Sept. 15-19	Electrical Workers	Toronto
Sept. 17-19	Connecticut	Hartford
Sept. 19-21	Vermont	not set
Sept. 22-26	Chemical Workers	Las Vegas, Nev.
Sept. 25-29	Electronic Workers	Miami Beach, Fla.
Sept. 28-Oct. 3	Broadcast Employees & Technicians	Bal Harbour, Fla.
Oct. 1-3	Massachusetts	Boston
Oct. 2-4	South Carolina	N. Myrtle Beach
Oct. 5-10	Carpenters	Toronto
Oct. 6-9	Wisconsin	Milwaukee
Oct. 6-11	Telegraph Workers	St. Louis
Oct. 12-17	Sheet Metal Workers	San Antonio, Tex.
Oct. 13-17	Marine & Shipbuilding Workers	Fort Lauderdale, Fla.
Oct. 15-17	Georgia	Atlanta
Nov. 10-19	Air Line Pilots	Bal Harbour, Fla.
	AFL-CIO MEETINGS & EVENTS	
Feb. 17-21	Executive Council	Bal Harbour, Fla.
Mar. 17-21	National Education Conference	Piney Point, Md.
Apr. 14-18	Lawyers' Conference	Chicago
Apr. 25-30	Union-Industries Show	Kansas City
Apr. 28-29	Secretary-Treasurers' Conference	Kansas City
May (no date)	Executive Council	not set
June 22-27	Community Services Conference	San Diego
Aug. 5-7	Executive Council	Chicago

Mine Workers settle Massey coal strike

A bitter 15-month strike by the Mine Workers against the A.T. Massey Coal Co. operations in West Virginia and Kentucky ended with an agreement that the company will bargain with the union as a single employer and provide the UMW with relevant information it had requested.

In accepting the settlement of unfair labor charges proposed by an NLRB regional director, the company acknowledged that the workers who had been striking over these issues were entitled to reinstatement as unfair labor practice strikers. The coal company must dismiss strikebreakers it had hired if necessary to provide jobs for workers entitled to reinstatement.

Still pending are various unfair labor practice charges against both the company and the union that are not affected by the settlement.

EDITORIALS

Changing the Spots

UNION MEMBERS across the country signed and collected signatures on an open letter to South Africa's Bishop Desmond Tutu, assuring him that "Jerry Falwell does not speak for me" and that decent Americans consider apartheid "a moral outrage."

It is not just on South Africa that Rev. Falwell's particular brand of right-wing politics has put him outside of the American mainstream. Nor was the open letter to Bishop Tutu the only sign of dissent from Falwell's claim to be the political voice of the "moral majority" of Americans.

National polls by both parties have shown an increasingly negative reaction to Falwell's self-anointment as a political kingmaker. In his home base of Virginia, last November's election found the Falwell-endorsed candidates for state office soundly trounced by a mainstream Democratic slate.

Since the Moral Majority name has lost its political value, the ingenious Mr. Falwell plans to establish a new and openly political organization called the Liberty Federation and dedicated at least initially to supporting the presidential candidacy of Vice President Bush. The Moral Majority will be merely a subsidiary of the new group, it was explained, although sharing the same executive director.

The Vice President, seeking to shed the perhaps undeserved label of "moderate" that has proved such a handicap at Republican national conventions, professes to be delighted by the Falwell embrace.

Others may choose to keep a 10-foot-pole distance from Falwellian politics, but Mr. Bush has signed on as the principal speaker at the Liberty Federation's first meeting later this month.

Whatever its value in Republican convention delegates, a Falwell embrace is a strange starting point for a presidential campaign.

Union members aren't the only Americans who have been saying, loud and clear, that "Jerry Falwell does not speak for me."

The Shell Game

THE LETTER to Bishop Tutu expressed the moral support of Americans for the struggle to end a vicious system of government-enforced racial segregation and discrimination.

Fortunately, there are ways to provide more concrete support—such as the consumer boycott the international trade union movement has launched against the products of the Shell Oil Co.

This multinational corporation cannot escape responsibility for the firings of black workers at a South African coal mine it jointly owns and for the blatant union-busting tactics it has employed against the union representing its mine workers.

Support for the Shell boycott is a trade union issue, in South Africa and in every country of the free world.

It was sought by South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers and the Miners International Federation, and the call for support came from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Clearly, this is a trade union issue. As the AFL-CIO statement noted, "Shell has earned this consumer boycott by its corporate misdeeds in South Africa."

Shell can lift the boycott by joining the growing list of companies that have chosen disinvestment over participation in unjust social and labor policies.

Not Good Enough

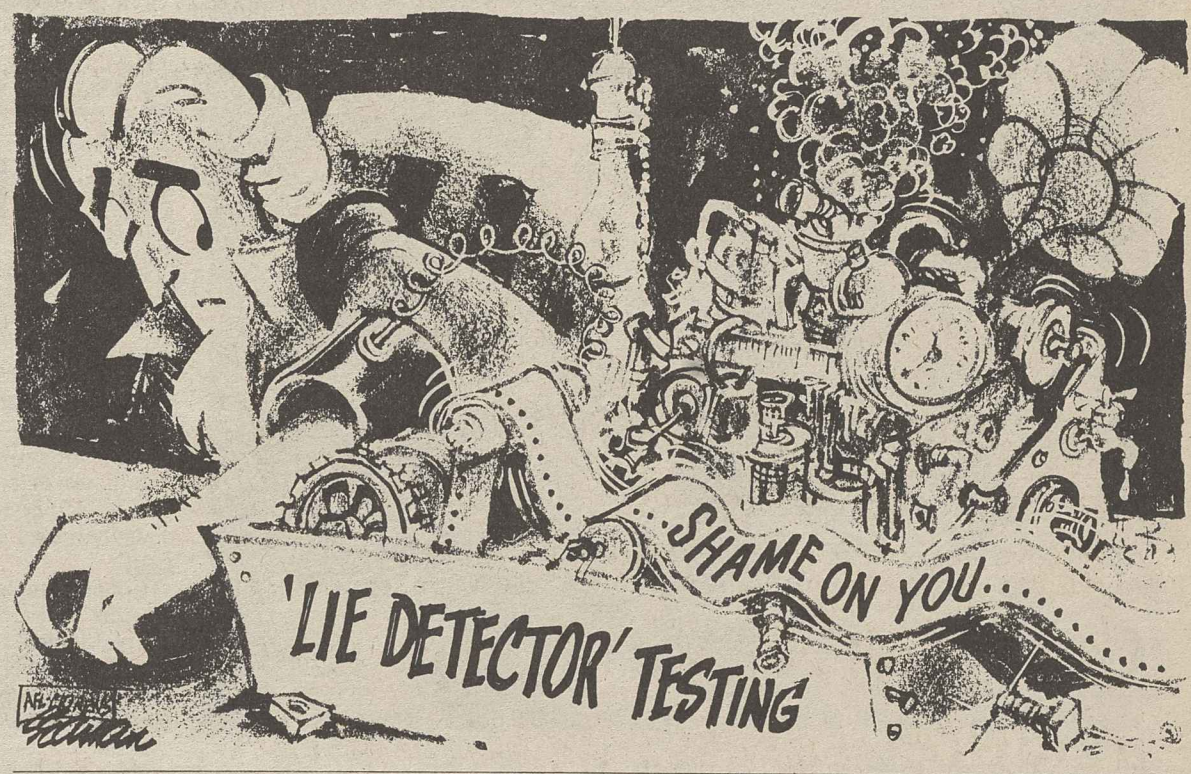
ANY REDUCTION in unemployment is welcome, but it's not contrariness that keeps the trade union movement from joining in cheers for the economy's performance.

As the White House sees it, the target of "only" 6.7 percent unemployment by the end of 1986 is now well within reach. But for 8 million workers still without jobs, that's not nearly good enough.

The Administration takes comfort in the continued job growth in eating and drinking establishments. If only America could eat and drink its way to prosperity.

We can do better. We must.

Truth to Tell . . .



Washington Window

American dream fades for post-War generation

By Press Associates Inc.

The media have made much of the Yuppie, the acronym for "young, upwardly mobile professionals." The stereotypical, have-it-all Yuppie drives a BMW, drinks imported Chablis, owns a luxury condo and a state-of-the-art stereo, wears Gucci shoes and eats out at up-scale restaurants.

Boosted by Madison Ave. and Hollywood, the Yuppie has become so ingrained in American popular mythology that he or she has almost become synonymous with the post-War "baby boom" generation, usually defined as those 78 million Americans born between 1946 and 1964.

However, a recent study by the congressional Joint Economic Committee punctures the myth of a Yuppie majority. Sure, Yuppies exist and they're more visible in their expensive imported cars and pricy restaurants than the less affluent. But they're by no means typical of their generation, the study points out.

Typical young family

In 1984, the typical young American family consisted of a husband and wife and a pre-teenage child, the study says. Fewer than half the couples aged 25-34 owned their homes. Their combined pre-tax income totalled $25,157, hardly enough to pay for a BMW and eat out regularly. If this is the case, what are young families spending their money on? The answer comes as no surprise to those families: "basic necessities."

The baby boom generation, the congressional report says, "has experienced a dramatic decline in its ability to pursue the conventional American dream: a home, financial security, and education for their children."

In the decades prior to the 1970s, young people rightly expected to live better than their parents, the report observes, but that is not now the case.

Citing a father-son example, the report says that a young man who left home in the 1950s or 1960s could expect by age 30 to be earning a third more in inflation-adjusted dollars than his father earned when the young man lived at home.

But today, a 30-year-old man is making about 10 percent less in real earnings than his father did when the young man left home, the report points out, adding: "The fact that the man's father owns a house with easy mortgage payments only sharpens the contrast in their economic status."

In 1973, the average 30-year-old earned $23,500 in inflation-adjusted dollars. By 1983, that figure had dropped to $17,520, a 26-percent decline. Average family income in this age group fell 14 percent during this decade despite a large increase in two-earner households.

To purchase a median-price home in 1973, the average 30-year-old spent 21 percent of gross monthly earnings on mortgage payments. By 1983, he or she had to spend 44 percent, which usually puts homeownership out of reach. That is despite the fact that today fewer than half of all new housing units are detached single-family dwellings as compared with more than 60 percent in the 1970s.

Hard choices

"Younger workers have been particularly hard-hit by the economic conditions of the past decade," said JEC Chairman David R. Obey (D-Wis.) in commenting on the report. "Young families are having to make many hard choices."

"They spend 14 percent less on furniture than an equivalent family in 1973, 30 percent less on clothes, 15 percent less on personal care, and 38 percent less on charitable contributions. . . .Young families in 1983 also had considerably more debt," Obey noted.

"We clearly have a serious problem in terms of making it possible for a substantial portion of one generation of Americans to share in the standard of living that most Americans once took for granted."

AFL-CIO news

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Burning Christmas trees warm SIU pickets.

Striking Seafarers set nets for fair share of fish catch

New Bedford, Mass.—In biting winter winds blowing in off Buzzard's Bay, 600 Seafarers entered the third week of their strike against 50 boatowners in the nation's richest fishing port, with no progress in sight on negotiations for a new contract.

The deepsea fishermen, who have worked without a contract since the previous agreement expired nine months ago, walked off the job Dec. 27 when the Seafood Producers Association rejected union proposals which centered on both economic and union-security issues.

Under the expired contract, crews on ships engaged in harvesting scallops in the North Atlantic received 64 percent of the value of their catch, while crews aboard draggers received a 54-percent share.

But in both instances, the crews must share such expenses as the cost of food, fuel and ice with boat owners. Growing foreign competition on the once-productive Georges Bank has led to overfishing, so that in many instances there is little left of the crew's share after expenses have been deducted.

Compounding the problem, the SIU said, has been the fact that the fishermen are considered independent contractors, rather than employees of the fishing fleet. They therefore must pay social security taxes as self-employed individuals—a rate half again as high as workers on employers' payrolls must pay.

The SIU went to the bargaining table seeking an increase in the fishermen's share of the catch and asking that they be considered regular employees, so that the shipowners would be liable for half the social security tax. In addition, the fishermen want fleet owners to man their ships through the union's hiring hall—a standard practice in the industry.

Nine-month wait

Although the previous agreement expired in March 1985, SIU members continued to honor the contract through nine months of negotiations, walking off the job only after contract talks broke down just after Christmas. There have been only sporadic, and inconclusive, meetings since then.

The strike has idled most of the 253-boat fleet, and the SIU has vowed to keep the port closed until a settlement is reached.

With its fishing fleet accounting for an annual catch of nearly $108 million, New Bedford is one of the nation's most lucrative fishing ports. It ranks second only to San Pedro, Calif., in the value of its catch.

Fed clamps down on 'junk bond' use in corporate raids

A Federal Reserve Board decision restricting the issuance of so-called junk bonds was welcomed by the AFL-CIO as a move to curb destructive corporate takeover raids that weaken the economy.

The 3-2 decision put the Fed at odds with the Reagan Administration, which argued that "mergers are good for the country."

AFL-CIO Deputy Research Director Henry B. Schechter expressed labor's contrary view in a comment to the Federal Reserve System's Board of Governors.

Junk bonds are high-risk securities, not backed by tangible assets, that are issued to finance the takeover of companies and often result in saddling the entire enterprise with a heavy burden of debt. The new regulations would limit the use of borrowed funds to purchase stock.

AFL-CIO Vice President Wayne E. Glenn expressed the federation's concerns at House hearings last June, and stressed that dollars used to finance and to fend off corporate takeovers "is money that is not available for strengthening the national economy."

The nation loses when capital and management skills are diverted to unproductive use, Glenn noted. "The time, effort and imagination that corporate managers devote to waging and combatting takeover battles are time, effort and imagination that are being siphoned off from the more important tasks of building better products and providing better services."

Devastating outcomes

Too often, he noted, a captured company is milked of its assets and then discarded, leaving workers jobless and communities shattered.

A Justice Dept. official said the Administration's position is that business competition shouldn't be regulated and that takeovers make management pay more attention to stockholders.

The Administration argument failed to convince Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, who cast the deciding vote on the heavily-lobbied issue. His opponents on the issue sought unsuccessfully to put off a decision pending a "study" of the problem.

1985 'recovery' leaves actual unemployment stuck in double digits

Much of America never recovered from the 1982 recession and the real level of joblessness was at double-digit levels throughout 1985.

That's the thrust of a report by the Full Employment Action Council and the Roosevelt Centennial Youth Project, titled "Three Years of Recovery: Where Are the Jobs?"

It notes that the official unemployment rate for 1985—at 7.2 percent—was higher than the rate for all but six of the last 35 years.

Counting underemployed and discouraged workers as part of the labor force pushes the real jobless rate to 13 percent, the study notes. But even using the lower official rate, blacks, Hispanics, teenagers and women heads of families all experienced double-digit joblessness.

Among blacks, the 15.1 percent official rate for 1985 translates into 24.6 percent real unemployment, and the 10.5 percent Hispanic unemployment rate represents a real rate of 18.3 percent.

Both the persistence and the nature of unemployment suggest the need for targeted government action, the report says. It urges "more adequate funding of existing programs such as the Job Training Partnership Act and the Job Corps," along with "resources for new initiatives" including community employment programs, youth job projects and conservation activities. Instead, it notes, programs to deal with structural unemployment are being cut back and "the so-called recovery may continue to bypass millions of workers and their communities."

The report examines the "uneven and incomplete" recovery from the recession. Employment in the service sector was up by 1.8 million over the last year. But manufacturing-sector jobs dropped a further 173,000.

"Since 1979, before the last two recessions, employment in the manufacturing sector has dropped 1.6 million," the report shows. It cites the "serious implications for family living standards" because pay levels in the service sector average only two-thirds of manufacturing pay.

Extended joblessness

Duration of unemployment is longer than before the last recession began, the study points out. At latest count, 2.2 million persons had been out of work for 15 weeks or more, and 1.2 million for 27 weeks or more. But only about one-third of the unemployed and just 1 percent of those out of work for more than six months were receiving unemployment compensation.

The report shows that the real jobless rate was higher last October than in 1979 in 39 states. The largest increases over that period were in West Virginia, Louisiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Mississippi, Texas, Oklahoma, Ohio and Arkansas.

Thirteen of the nation's 20 largest metropolitan areas also had higher real jobless rates. Houston, Cleveland, Chicago and Pittsburgh posted the biggest increases.

8 million remain 'trapped' despite dip in jobless rate

Continued from Page 1

An estimated 20 million people were unemployed at some time last year, the federation declared. But no more than 40 percent of them received any benefits.

Those who did get benefits received an average of $122.15 a week—less than a third of the average weekly wages of jobs covered by unemployment insurance, and less than three-fifths of the official poverty rate for families of four.

For the long-term unemployed—those out of work 26 weeks or longer—"the situation was far worse," the AFL-CIO asserted. Of 1.2 million workers in that category in December, only 1 percent qualified for assistance under stringent rules of the federal-state jobless insurance system.

All of those receiving extended benefits were in Puerto Rico, the federation said. "Not a single one of the long-term unemployed workers in the 50 states" received such benefits.

"No other government among the industrial democracies behaves with such brutal disregard toward its citizens who are unemployed through no fault of their own," the AFL-CIO asserted.

"America desperately needs a humane unemployment insurance program that helps, rather than excludes, those who need it."

December's barely perceptible decline of one-tenth of 1 percent in the unemployment rate left most categories of workers in virtually the same position they faced at the start of 1985, the BLS conceded. The jobless rates for adult men, adult women and whites declined only marginally in the 12-month period, while those for teenagers, blacks and Hispanics showed no improvement.

Emphasizing a pattern that has become all-too-common in an America plagued by job-destroying imports, BLS reported that of the 320,000 new jobs created in December, 260,000 were in the service-producing sector and only 60,000 were in the goods-producing sector.

The average workweek of production workers edged up one-tenth of 1 percent in December, while weekly overtime went up three-tenths of 1 percent and average hourly earnings rose nine-tenths of 1 percent.

In the last 12 months, BLS reported, the nation's labor force increased by 1.8 million, with adult women accounting for 80 percent of the growth. This was one more indication of the growing trend toward two-earner families to help balance the household budget.

'Rainy day' funds for states endorsed

The federal government should encourage and help states maintain public services during recessions despite a falloff in tax revenue, the House Government Operations Committee urged.

Its recommendations, based on a subcommittee study, reflected bipartisan agreement that state economic stabilization funds are a desirable countercyclical device. These "rainy day funds" can be built up in prosperous years and used to prevent cutbacks when there is a greater need for public services or tax increases at a time when a lagging economy needs stimulus.

A number of states have adopted such contingency reserves, but the study noted that the amounts available are generally inadequate to meet anticipated needs.

Most of the committee Republicans dissented, however, from the recommendation that the federal government provide incentives for states to build up such funds and consider more direct assistance to help states and cities cope with recessions.

Rep. Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.), who heads the Intergovernmental Relations subcommittee that prepared the report, said the failure to plan ahead worsened the severity and hardships of the last recession.

"The lack of any coherent federal anti-recession policy has left the country extremely ill-prepared to cope with an economic downturn," Weiss stressed. "We are creating a situation where many people will suffer unnecessarily. This is blatantly irresponsible," he said.

Recommendations for federal actions included:

- Speeding up the calculation of federal matching funds to states under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program so that states get the increased level of funding closer to the time that it is most needed.
- Consideration of changes in unemployment insurance funding that would ease the burden on states with high and persistent joblessness.
- Allowing states and cities to keep income from temporary investment of bond proceeds—known as arbitrage earnings—if the income is earmarked for a rainy day fund. Arbitrage earnings now are claimed by the federal treasury.

While conceding that the federal deficit makes large-scale direct financial aid to cities and states impractical, the report urged Congress to "examine the feasibility of providing matching funds in order to leverage state resources in fighting recession."

In a related area, State, County & Municipal Employees President Gerald W. McEntee joined with representatives of city and state governments in urging that the federal government's revenue-sharing program be reauthorized.

Otherwise, McEntee warned, states and communities will not be able to "perform their vital roles." The program was developed as a bipartisan response to real needs, McEntee said, and "those needs have not disappeared."

AFL-CIO news

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NLRB pattern of anti-worker bias continues

By Gene Zack

A National Labor Relations Board hand-picked by President Reagan continues to show a pro-employer, anti-worker bias in all its activities, the AFL-CIO Lawyers Coordinating Committee charged in a new report.

In the two-year period since 1983, when Reagan's appointees attained majority control of the NLRB, there was an unmistakable shift in the direction of favoritism toward management, the committee said in the December issue of "The Labor Law Exchange."

Statistics compiled by the committee showed what it called "a marked aversion" to finding employers guilty of unfair labor practices and "an equally notable willingness" to rule unions guilty of such practices.

The report updates an earlier analysis of the Reagan labor board and covers the first two years of Chairman Donald L. Dotson's tenure. Under Dotson, it found, the board sustained complaints against employers in 50 percent of the cases, while complaints against unions were sustained about 85 percent of the time.

Sharp contrast

The pattern "contrasts sharply" with the NLRB's record in two previous periods: from September 1975 to August 1976, when the members were all Republican appointees, and from September 1979 to August 1980, when three of the four members were Democrats.

Despite the markedly different political complexions of those previous boards, the committee said, they each "ruled against employers and against unions with almost equal frequency." Under the even-handed approach in those previous periods, complaints against employers were sustained 84 percent of the time, while those against unions were upheld in 74 percent of the cases.

But all that has changed during the first two years of the Dotson board. Since 1983, the NLRB increased its dismissal rate 300 percent in cases involving complaints against bosses, while the percentage of dismissals of complaints against unions decreased almost 40 percent.

The same contrast is evident in representation cases, the lawyers' group asserted.

In the Republican-controlled 1975-76 period, representation cases were decided in accord with the employer's position 35 percent of the time. Management prevailed 46 percent of the time in the Democratic years of 1979 and 1980.

In Reagan's grasp

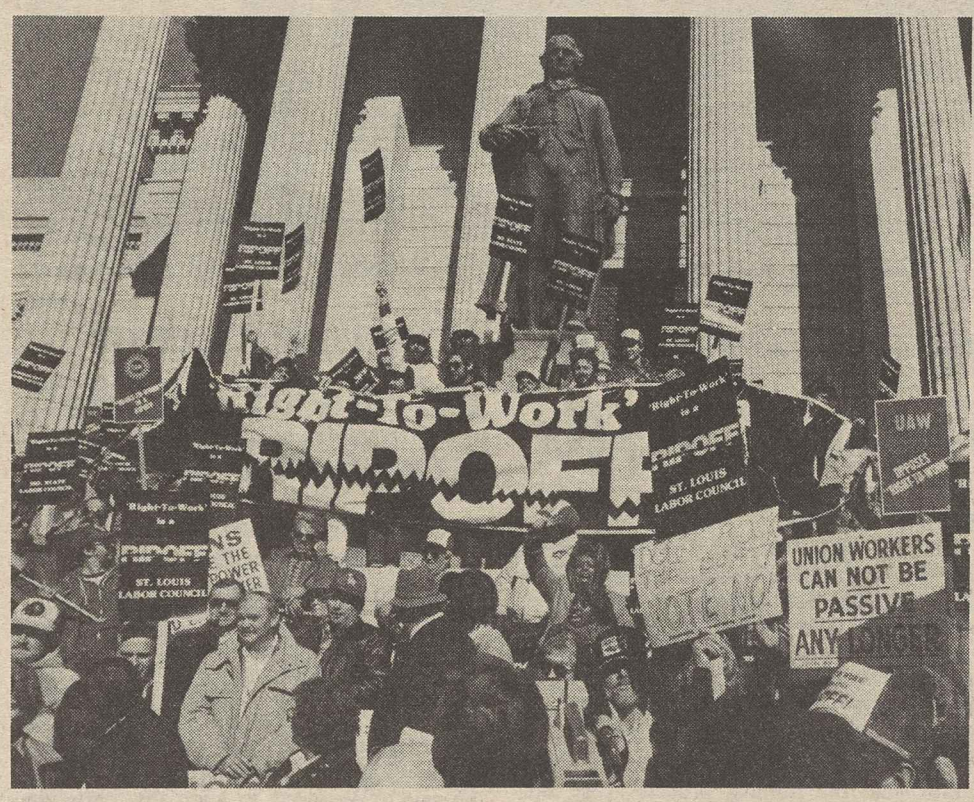
But with control of the NLRB firmly in President Reagan's grasp, the percentage of representation decisions favoring employers rose sharply to 72 percent in the 1983-84 period—more than double the rate under the 1975-76 board dominated by Republican appointees. It declined only slightly, to 66 percent, during 1984-85.

In a series of articles analyzing the NLRB's metamorphosis into a blatant management tool under the Reagan Administration, the lawyers pointed out that:

- While Dotson insists the board has merely sought to restore a labor-management balance upset by the alleged "excesses" of President Carter's labor board under the chairmanship of John Fanning, the figures totally disprove that argument.

Continued on Page 5

Sharp budget slashes target vital programs



Missouri unionists crowd state capitol to protest efforts for an open-shop law in the 1986 legislative session. Voters rejected the RTW issue in 1978.

Missouri unionists rally to squelch RTW revival

Jefferson City, Mo.—Nine thousand union members massed at the state capitol delivered a strong message to labor's foes: Missouri's workers don't want an open shop law in 1986 any more than they did in 1978.

The Missouri AFL-CIO sponsored the Jan. 8 rally on the opening day of the state legislative session. Bipartisan pledges came from the state's key officeholders, including Republican Gov. John Ashcroft, that the "right-to-work" idea would not be reborn in this legislative session.

Ripoff denounced

Bearing placards that read, "Right-to-work is a ripoff," the unionists representing AFL-CIO affiliates, the Mine Workers and the Teamsters, heard Ashcroft declare: "We do not need this divisive issue. The people registered their view strongly in 1978. Reviving the issue now would take Missouri backward, not forward.

"You can count on this: It will receive no support from this governor."

The enthusiastic crowd roared its hardy approval.

Ashcroft stressed that the mass turnout was a "healthy reminder that working men and women are the source of our state's greatness."

The demonstration is part of a multi-pronged campaign by the state federation's Right-to-Truth Committee against the backers of the anti-union, open shop measure. The committee also had set up a speakers' bureau, placed newspaper ads and contacted legislators.

Missouri AFL-CIO President Daniel J. McVey, who heads the committee, told the throng, "If actions speak louder than words, the labor community through its turnout here today has squelched the faintest hopes that Missouri will adopt the 'right-to-work-for-less' law in 1986."

He noted that workers in the 21 right-to-work states earn an average of $1.26 per hour less that their peers in union shop states, a wider gap than the 90 cents per hour difference that existed in 1978 when the voters rejected a RTW constitutional amendment.

Continued on Page 2

Cuts threaten federal jobs, agency funds

By David L. Perlman

Government agencies were ordered to turn back $11.6 billion of funds already approved by Congress to comply with the recently enacted Gramm-Rudman timetable for balancing the budget by 1991.

The directive, required by the labor-opposed law passed last month, will leave a number of programs in near shambles and government workers uncertain where the budget ax will fall.

Under the law, military spending will take half the cuts. But Congress gave President Reagan some flexibility in the first installment of defense reductions and he used it in part to protect his "Star Wars" strategic defense initiative from cuts. With personnel functions also exempt, the result will be sledge-hammer reductions in other defense functions.

Safety net exempted

Congress immunized some domestic programs from cuts, including social security benefits and such safety-net functions as Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children and food stamps.

Some other programs, including Medicare, will have to take only 1 percent cuts for the balance of this fiscal year, as compared with the 4.3 percent reduction in other domestic programs. But the haste with which Congress abandoned the budget decisions it had adopted just a few months ago resulted in a witches' brew of contradictions.

State unemployment compensation benefits were excluded from cuts. But the law was silent on railroad unemployment benefits—which also are funded from employer payments and are not a drain on general revenues. As a result, the list of mandatory cutbacks issued by the Office of Management & Budget and the Congressional Budget Office includes $7.8 million in railroad retirement benefits.

Social security benefits will continue to include the full cost-of-living adjustment. But federal retirees will not get this year's

Continued on Page 2

Amoco accord sets pattern for oil industry bargaining

Denver—In a major breakthrough, the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers won a new two-year contract with Amoco Oil Co., and two other major oil companies quickly accepted similar agreements to set an industry pattern.

The first crack in the multi-billion-dollar oil industry's united front came when Amoco reached agreement with the OCAW for 160 workers at its Yorktown, Va., refinery and then placed a similar offer on the table in negotiations at refineries in Texas City, Tex., and Mandan, N.D. Thirty other Amoco facilities were expected to follow suit shortly.

The progress of talks at these installations will depend on the resolution of local issues such as work rules and scheduling, the union said.

Following on Amoco's heels, Atlantic-Richfield Corp. accepted the master agreement covering its 3,200 OCAW members, and Chevron agreed to the contract terms for 2,000 workers at its Port Arthur, Tex., refinery.

The union expects the package—which provides wage increases, improved health insurance coverage and continuation of current requirements for six months' advance notice of plant closings—will ultimately be accepted by the entire industry, with which the OCAW is bargaining for 46,500 of its members.

The settlement calls for a $1,000 bonus upon ratification of the contract and a 2-percent wage increase in the second year. Employer payments for health insurance will be increased by $7 a month for family coverage and $2 for individual coverage in the first year, and by $5 per month for families and $1.50 for individuals in the second year.

Retention of the plant-closing notification

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LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

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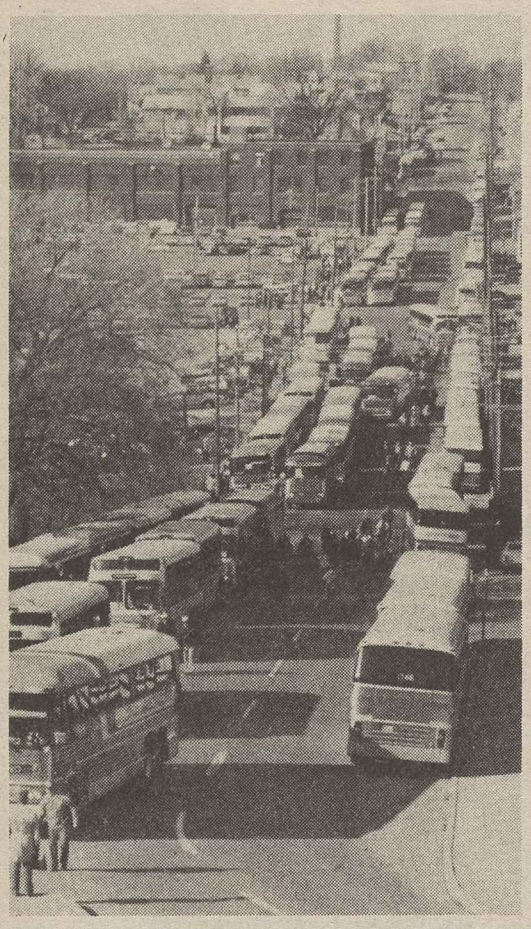
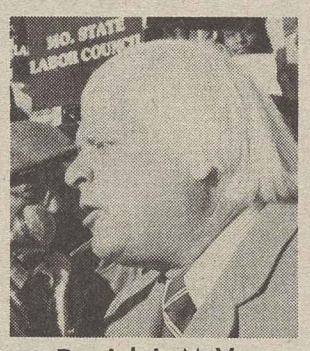


Convoy of buses brought union members to the capitol rally.

Gov. John Ashcroft

Lt. Gov. Harriett Woods



Daniel J. McVey

Deep budget cuts threaten jobs, programs

Continued from Page 1

COLA added to their pensions. And railroad pensioners will get the full COLA on the social security tier of their retirement pay but only a 1 percent COLA on the employer-funded amount.

The instructions to government agencies said employees should be furloughed only if other means of reducing costs are inadequate, but difficult-to-confirm reports of furlough notices were widespread.

Job safety inspections, school assistance, housing programs, employment and training activities, mass transit grants, low-income housing repairs and disaster relief are a sampling of the programs for which funds are "sequestered," the government word for revoked.

Congress gave the Internal Revenue Service added money to improve its collection of income taxes—and then took it away and more in the Gramm-Rudman cuts.

Court challenge

Even as the funding reductions were being ordered, a three-judge federal court was considering a constitutional challenge to the law brought by 12 House members in a case almost certain to reach the Supreme Court.

The cuts that have been announced will take effect Mar. 1, unless Congress should otherwise reduce the anticipated deficit, and will apply to outlays for the balance of the current fiscal year, which runs through Sept. 30, 1986.

Since the fiscal year will be five months under way on Mar. 1, a reduction of 4.3 percent of this year's appropriations translates into a substantially higher percentage of funds that the various government departments have not yet spent.

The across-the-board cuts being imposed are just a prelude to the budget battle coming up.

The law requires the President to submit a budget to Congress this year that will hold the deficit for fiscal 1987 to $144 billion—a sharp drop from the current estimate of about $220 billion.

Tax hike opposed

The deficit reduction target for that and future years can be met by raising revenues as well as by further spending cuts, but President Reagan served notice that he has ruled out any form of tax increase.

The President's press aide, Larry Speakes, confirmed reports that Reagan had told his staff that anyone in the White House who advocated a tax increase as an alternative to spending cuts "should resign."

The Administration was reported to be readying a budget to be sent to Congress in early February that would impose $60 billion in domestic spending cuts and at the same time raise defense spending—the largest segment of the budget—by 3 percent. Reagan has asked a newly formed conservative group, Citizens for America, to mount a national campaign to win support for his proposed budget cuts.

The President has also indicated that he will ask Congress to amend the budget process so that the resolution setting spending ceilings for congressional appropriations is subject to a presidential veto. But even a Congress which in the Gramm-Rudman bill loosened its constitutional grip on the government's purse strings isn't likely to cave in to Reagan on that issue.

Teachers set pilot project to develop 'thinking' skills

Hammond, Ind.—Three schools here will serve as pilot sites for the National Critical Thinking Project, a program developed by the Teachers to help children enrich their judgment and reasoning abilities.

The program was launched Jan. 17 and will run through February at Spohn Middle, Eggers Middle and Hammond High School.

AFT President Albert Shanker credited the high degree of cooperation between the teachers union and the Hammond school system with bringing about the district's selection.

Shanker said the AFT targeted critical thinking skills among students and teachers as a top priority to prepare children for an increasingly complex world.

"The amount and nature of the information, misinformation and disinformation that constantly bombards us, coupled with the continuous demand for new skills in an increasingly complex age, suggests that never before have skills in rational thought and reasoned judgment been so urgently needed," he said.

"This is what teacher professionalism is all about, teachers themselves developing and defining their profession," he said.

The Critical Thinking Project calls for a "training of trainers" program where teachers plan and conduct training sessions for other teachers and counselors that will emphasize thinking skills for children in all grades.

Debbie Walsh, director of the AFT program, said the training process gives individual teachers an opportunity to become more involved in developing those strategies and to "share techniques that expand and enhance our skills in extending student thinking."

The "Training of Trainers" program will be available to all Teachers's affiliates beginning this summer.

The union's Critical Thinking Project also includes an information clearinghouse to field questions from educators and audio-visual materials to help teachers in staff training.

Missouri labor rallies to squelch latest RTW bid

Continued from Page 1

Democratic Lt. Gov. Harriett Woods, who comes out of the Newspaper Guild, recalled that the "right-to-work" issue was buried in 1978 by a 3-2 ratio. "We won before and we will win again," she declared.

And Atty. Gen. William Webster noted that in his former legislative district in Joplin, Mo., the issue was easily defeated in 1978. "I believe that attitude still stands," he said. "We need to keep this particular nonsense out of Missouri."

The president pro tem of the Senate, Democrat John Scott, expressed his opposition to RTW, as did the Republican floor leader of the Senate, Richard Webster, who said, "It is not a problem this year, but it might be some year. You have sent the message you are united."

House Republican floor leader Roy Cagle promised, "I will work with you to see this proposal buried once and for all."

House Speaker Bob Griffin, a Democrat, termed the RTW issue "frivolous," and said not one of the 57 House committees would send such a bill to the floor for debate.

The state federation action was prompted by the revival of the Missourians for Right-to-Work group during the past year. It has been making a pitch to citizens for contributions to aid in its drive for a RTW law.

The demonstrators converged on the capitol city from all corners of the state in a fleet of 162 buses. "We used every bus in the state that had a union driver," State AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Don Owens said.

There were 68 buses from St. Louis and 35 from Kansas City and smaller numbers from the locations of the other nine central bodies across the state. Seven blocks of West Main St. were blocked off to traffic to provide parking for the buses, 23 of which contained retirees who were driven directly to the rally site.

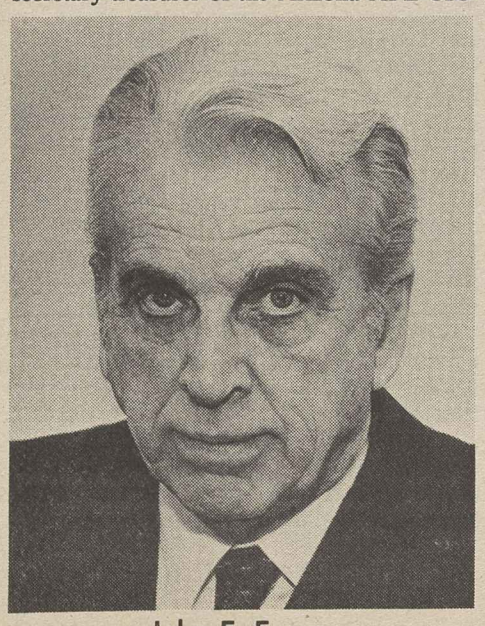
"Labor had its finest hour," Owens exclaimed. "We did more for labor's image in that one hour than at any other time I can remember."

John Evans dies at 66, head of AFL-CIO Housing Trust

John E. Evans, chief executive of the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust, died Jan. 14 at Sibley Hospital in Washington from complications arising from food poisoning. He was 66.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, in a letter to his wife, Arlouine, praised the "uncommon breadth of knowledge and experience" that Evans brought to his work in the labor movement. They lauded his lifelong service on behalf of working men and women, declaring it "will literally benefit trade unionists for generations to come."

Evans first came to the AFL-CIO in 1968 as urban affairs director. He had been secretary-treasurer of the Arizona AFL-CIO from 1963 to 1967, when he was appointed special assistant for labor standards to the U.S. Secretary for Housing & Urban Development. A member of the Laborers, he was research director of the Arizona Building & Construction Trades Council at the time of his election to the top executive post in the state federation.



John E. Evans

From 1974 to 1982, he held posts as a bankruptcy trustee for the U.S. District Court in Phoenix, area director for HUD, and special assistant for HUD Indian programs.

Returned in 1982

Evans returned to the AFL-CIO staff in 1982 when he was appointed chief executive officer of the federation's Mortgage Investment Trust. The following year he was named chief executive officer and financial manager of the newly created Housing Investment Trust, which later absorbed the MIT. The Housing Investment Trust was established by the AFL-CIO as a vehicle for the investment of union-negotiated pension funds in union-built, government-insured construction projects and housing mortgages.

Evans was born in British Columbia and grew up in Oak Park, Ill. A navy fighter pilot during World War II, he graduated from the University of Arizona and completed his studies at the Sorbonne in Paris and Trinity College in Dublin. He had been a resident of Washington since joining the federation staff.

In addition to his wife, survivors include two children.

A funeral mass was scheduled Jan. 18 at St. Theresa Church in Scottsdale, Ariz., with burial in St. Francis cemetery.

Reagan's car lot

In the exclusive White House parking lot, it's foreign imports three-to-two.

That's what a Scripps-Howard News Service reporter found in checking 72 cars belonging to high-level White House staffers entitled to use the special parking facility.

Forty-three of the vehicles were foreign-built, most of them from Japan. The import ratio of close to 60 percent in the White House parking lot is nearly double the foreign penetration of the U.S. auto market.

Auto imports have risen sharply since President Reagan abandoned the voluntary restraint agreement that set an annual ceiling on Japanese cars sent to the United States. If the parking lot survey is a barometer, "Buy American" isn't a very popular slogan around the White House these days.

Seven open seats

Retirements spark Senate control fight

Four Republican and three Democratic senators whose terms expire this year have announced that they will not seek re-election, resulting in an unusually high number of open seats that could affect control of the Senate in the next Congress.

Republicans now hold a 53-47 majority in the Senate. But of the 34 seats at stake in the November election, 22 are held by Republicans and 12 by Democrats. Open seats, without an incumbent, are usually most vulnerable to turnover.

The most recent Senate dropout was Colorado's Gary Hart, who is completing his second six-year term. Hart, who sought the Democratic presidential nomination last year and is trying to raise funds to pay off his campaign debt, said he is "still interested" in the presidency.

The other Democrats stepping down are Louisiana's Russell B. Long, who was first elected in 1948 and is second in seniority among the 100 senators, and Thomas F. Eagleton of Missouri, completing his third term.

On the Republican side, the retirees are Senators Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Paul Laxalt of Nevada, Charles McC. Mathias Jr. of Maryland and John P. East of North Carolina.

Goldwater was elected to the Senate in 1952 and re-elected in 1958. After time out to run as the Republican presidential candidate in 1964, he was again elected to the Senate in 1968 and re-elected in 1974 and 1980. Laxalt and Mathias are both completing their second Senate terms. East, who has been in poor health, is in his first term.

Other retirements or primary defeats could create additional open seats, adding wild cards to the contest for control of the Senate.

By contrast, only four senators did not seek re-election in 1984 and there were only three open seats in the 1982 Senate elections.

Major turnover

In 1980, when a major political turnover gave the Republicans control of the Senate as well as the presidency, nine seats were not defended by an incumbent in the general election. Five senators retired and four were defeated in their party primaries.

Republican incumbents who are expected to seek re-election are James Abdnor (S.D.), Mark Andrews (N.D.), Alfonse D'Amato (N.Y.), Jeremiah Denton (Ala.), Robert Dole (Kan.), Jake Garn (Utah), Slade Gorton (Wash.), Charles Grassley (Iowa), Paula Hawkins (Fla.), Robert Kasten (Wis.), Mack Mattingly (Ga.), Frank Murkowski (Alaska), Don Nickles (Okla.), Bob Packwood (Ore.), Dan Quayle (Ind.), Warren Rudman (N.H.), Arlen Specter (Pa.) and Steven Symms (Ida.).

Democratic incumbents expected to be on the ballot are Dale Bumpers (Ark.), Alan Cranston (Calif.), Alan Dixon (Ill.), Christopher Dodd (Conn.), Wendell Ford (Ky.), John Glenn (Ohio), Ernest Hollings (S.C.), Daniel Inouye (Hawaii) and Patrick Leahy (Vt.).

McDonnell cited for safety breach in 2 IAM deaths

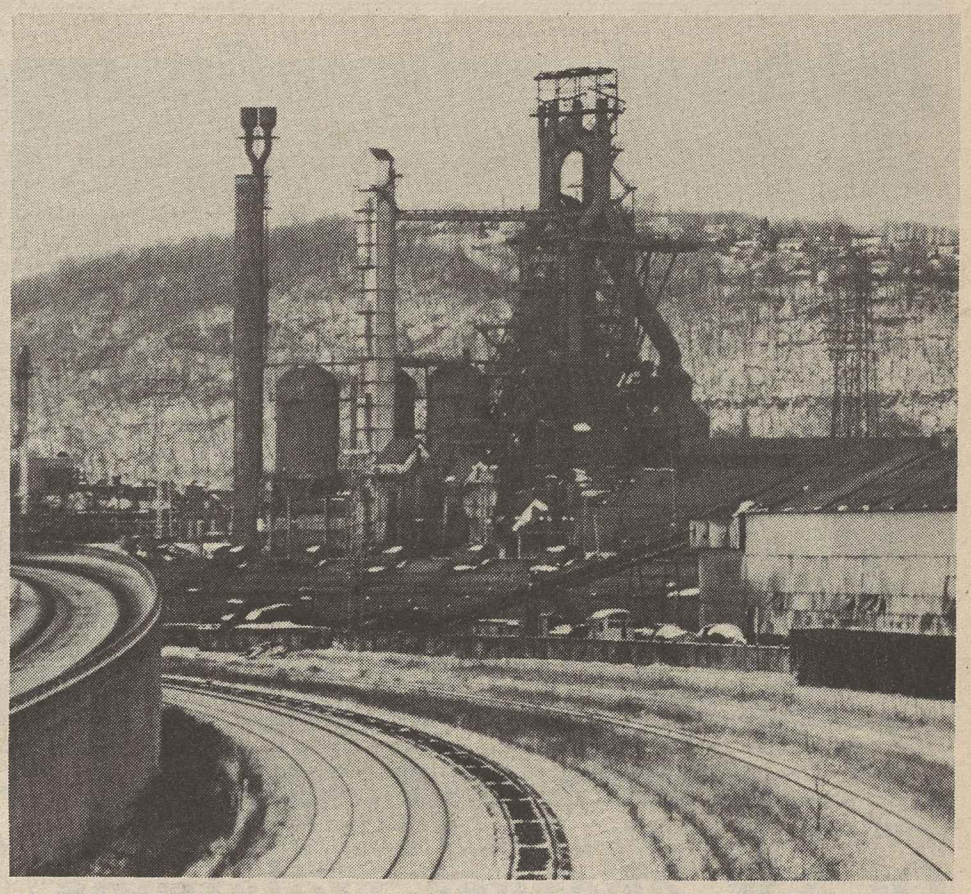
St. Louis—The McDonnell Aircraft Co. was cited for eight federal safety violations following the deaths of two members of Machinists District 837.

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration proposed fines totaling $44,300 for the violations that occurred on Oct. 3, 1985, when IAM members Donald L. Barron, 50, and Frank C. Garman, 61, were sprayed with hydrofluoric acid during the transfer of 4,500 gallons of the highly corrosive chemical from a tanker truck to a 6,000-gallon holding tank.

An OSHA investigation found that a plastic ventilation line ruptured when the tank overflowed. Two safety devices were missing from the tank–a volume gauge and a neoprene blow-out plug, District 837 Safety Director Ernest Johnson said.

Citations against the St. Louis-based company, a division of McDonnell Douglas Corp., included four "willful" violations, and two serious repeat violations. The company has 15 days to appeal the citations.

OSHA also found that the workers were not wearing the required protective equipment, that workers were assigned to enter the area without the proper respirators, that the available respirators were neither convenient nor properly stored, that the company failed to frequently inspect the respirators, that others assigned to assist in the clean-up of the spill were not properly informed of the hazards and the company failed to establish an adequate rescue plan.



Silent Dorothy Six towers over U.S. Steel plant near Pittsburgh.

Reopening blast furnace not feasible, report finds

Pittsburgh—A Steelworkers-commissioned study on the viability of Dorothy Six, a giant blast furnace in U.S. Steel Corp.'s Duquesne Works, brought disappointing news to a labor and community coalition that has struggled to save the 22-year-old furnace and more than 1,000 steel jobs.

The study by Lazard Freres & Co., a New York consulting firm, concluded that Dorothy Six cannot be reopened and operated at a profit under current conditions in the steel industry.

The USWA commissioned the feasibility report after U.S. Steel announced plans to demolish Dorothy Six in October 1984, six months after the furnace was permanently shut down. The union was joined by the Tri-State Conference on Steel, a coalition of church leaders, community groups, and government officials.

USWA District Director Andrew Palm said the eight-month study "to save jobs and the economic viability of the Mon Valley" was worthwhile because its findings could bolster efforts to reopen mills in steel-producing areas.

He pointed out that the report confirmed the union's contention that some domestic steelmakers could compete with imports if U.S. facilities were fitted with modern equipment.

The Lazard report indicated that a market for domestic steel slabs exists, but making that product at the Duquesne facility would require construction of a $200 million continuous caster to produce high quality steel efficiently. Start-up costs, including the caster and other repairs, would run nearly $300 million. While operating costs could be kept to the "break even" point, Lazard estimated that total production costs, including transportation and financing, could reach $263 a ton, too far above current import market selling prices of $195-$225 a ton.

The study also cited the high volume of imported steel (which exceeded 2 million tons in 1985), falling steel prices, and the reluctance of lenders to invest in the steel industry as additional operating problems for Dorothy Six.

Investors criticized

The Tri-State Conference called the findings "not surprising, in a world where every steel industry is either heavily subsidized or owned outright by its government except in this country." The coalition also criticized lenders for neglecting domestic industries while "investing in foreign steel mills and speculating on unproductive mergers."

Some community leaders in Duquesne argued that the feasibility study delayed the inevitable demolition of the U.S. Steel facility, postponing the steelmaker's plans to build an industrial park on part of the site.

But Palm disagreed, pointing out that the union's objective was to save jobs and maintain basic steel production in the Mon Valley.

"We are putting corporate America on notice, that before a company throws workers out of jobs, we are first going to find a way to require access to operating data and the financing of studies by independent organizations to give us information that prevents a shutdown," he said.

"We must now find other ways to require U.S. Steel to re-invest in its remaining Mon Valley facilities and to prevent further shutdowns of any single department or plant operation."

'Recovery' sputters

Job crisis deepens in 25 states

The government reported that unemployment rates in 25 states and Puerto Rico increased in the 12-month period ended in November in what is seen as further evidence that the "recovery" from the Reagan Recession continues to sputter.

During the same period, the level of joblessness remained stagnant in four additional states and the District of Columbia, the Bureau of Labor Statistics said.

Unemployment was in the double-digit range in four states—13.6 percent in West Virginia, 11 percent in Louisiana, 10.2 percent in Alaska, and 10 percent in Kentucky. Puerto Rico had a jobless rate of 20.3 percent.

In 21 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, the jobless rate exceeded the 7-percent national average.

The largest increases in unemployment were recorded in Nebraska, where the jobless rolls shot up 2.5 percentage points, Wyoming, which had a similar 2.5-percentage point jump, and Arizona, where the rate increased 2.2 percentage points.

The continuing erosion in job opportunities as the result of the tidal wave of cheap foreign imports was evident in BLS figures showing the employment pattern across the country between November 1984 and November 1985.

While nearly every state showed job gains in services, retail trade, finance, insurance, real estate and government, 39 states posted reductions in manufacturing employment and 31 had job losses in mining, BLS reported.

One-third of the manufacturing job losses were centered in three states—Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania—which have been devastated by automobile and steel imports. Texas accounted for one-fourth of the mining job losses, which were concentrated in oil and gas extraction.

Of the 253 metropolitan areas for which November unemployment statistics were available, McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, Tex., showed at 17.1-percent joblessness rate—the highest in the nation. Beaver County, Pa., was next in line at 14.3 percent.

In other economic developments:

- BLS reported a four-tenths of 1 percent rise in producer prices in December, much less than the increase of eight-tenths of 1 percent in November and the hike of nine-tenths of 1 percent recorded in October.

Fuel costs

The December increase was paced by a 2.8-percent rise in wholesale gasoline prices, a 1.5-percent increase for fuel oil, and a 2.5-percent boost in electricity costs. Producer prices for food advanced eight-tenths of 1 percent.

The producer price index rose only 1.8 percent last year—but the consumer price index increased almost twice that rate, BLS reported.

- Retail sales rose 1.9 percent in December, the biggest gain in three months, the Commerce Dept. reported. The strong holiday showing helped lift total sales by 6.3 percent for all of 1985—well below the 10.5-percent increase for the previous year.

The strength of December's sales figures was centered in the automobile field, where the reinstitution of manufacturers' cut-rate financing deals resulted in a 5.7-percent increase over November's sales figures. Without the bright auto picture, retail sales would have climbed only a modest nine-tenths of 1 percent last month—scarcely enough to sustain any long-term recovery linked to consumer buying.

- While the auto industry's incentive program carried over into the new year, the pace of consumer buying slowed dramatically, with the industry reporting that sales plunged 8.3 percent from Jan. 1 through Jan. 10.
- Although declines in interest rates and only moderate increases in prices made home ownership more affordable in 1985 than at any time since the late 1970s, a new study showed that the percentage of Americans who own homes has declined to a 17-year low.

The report, issued by the League of Savings Institutions, said that home ownership trends continued a downward slide that began in 1980.

Beginning with the post-World War II era, the percentage of American families who owned their own homes rose steadily to a peak of 65.6 percent in 1980, the league reported.

That rate has fallen in every year since then, hitting 63.9 percent in the third quarter of 1985. The report called this the "lowest level since 1968."

Bertram Gottlieb dies, former staff economist

Bertram L. Gottlieb, a former member of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Economic Research, died Jan. 2 at Georgetown University Hospital of pneumonia, diabetes and kidney failure. He was 64.

Gottlieb worked for the federation as an industrial engineer from 1957 to 1966, and later as assistant research director.

He was research director of the Transportation Institute, operated jointly by the Seafarers and maritime management, from 1968 to 1974, when he left to become an independent labor arbitrator.

Jobless lose benefits as employers get tax breaks

While two-thirds of the nation's jobless were denied unemployment compensation benefits in 1985—the highest disqualification level in the program's 50-year history—some employers who fought for stricter eligibility requirements are being rewarded with substantial cuts in state unemployment taxes.

The AFL-CIO branded the states' action as "unconscionable," and renewed its call for a major overhaul of the unemployment insurance system so that it regains its original role as a program "that helps, rather than excludes, those who need it."

The purpose of unemployment insurance is to put a floor of protection under workers who lose their jobs through no fault of their own, according to Bert Seidman, director of the Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security. But today, he asserted, "the program fails miserably in living up to that promise."

Seidman sharply disagreed with economists who claimed that lower jobless levels made it possible for the states to slash employers' jobless insurance rates.

Unemployment is hovering just below the 7-percent level, he pointed out. But the amount of money being paid out under the federal-state system has been curtailed because of cutbacks initiated by the Reagan Administration with the enthusiastic backing of employers.

The Reagan assault has resulted in tougher standards which have disqualified large numbers of workers from receiving regular benefits, while the elimination of extended unemployment benefits has left the long-term jobless without any assistance, he said.

Severe impact

The result, Seidman declared, is that less than one-third of the unemployed—and virtually none of the long-term jobless except a handful in Alaska and Puerto Rico—are receiving benefits.

It is not just the long-term jobless who are adversely affected, he pointed out. Many of those trying to survive without benefits are the ones who never get on the rolls because of "harsh disqualification measures," or who lose their eligibility prematurely.

"It is unconscionable, that the employers who fought tooth-and-nail to make the unemployment compensation laws more restrictive are now being rewarded by substantial slashes in their unemployment insurance taxes," Seidman stressed.

The drive to lower employers' insurance costs is being paced by California, which will chop its rate almost 24 percent this year. In Massachusetts, employers will pay 16 percent less in unemployment taxes in 1986 than they did last year, and only half as much as they did in 1984. Arizona is lowering its rate 15 percent from the 1985 level.

The disclosure of the state action came as the Center on Budget & Policy Priorities was reporting that only 32.6 percent of the jobless got benefits last year. The study, based on an analysis of Labor Dept. data, emphasized that this was the lowest level of benefit payments since the program was inaugurated in the depths of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Unemployment insurance coverage last year was "dramatically less" than at any time in the 1970s, according to John Bickerman, the center's research director.

"The 5.6 million persons without benefits was more than 2 million persons greater than in any year in the 1970s," Bickerman pointed out, and was almost unchanged from 1982, when unemployment hit double-digit levels at the bottom of the Reagan Recession.

Administration blamed

The center blamed much of the drop in coverage on the Administration's decision, in which Congress concurred, to end the supplemental compensation program in March 1985. That program provided payments for an additional 8 to 14 weeks to jobless workers who had exhausted all other benefits. Elimination of the supplemental program drove 340,000 of the unemployed from the benefit rolls.

Although present law permits jobless workers to draw benefits for a maximum of 26 weeks, Bickerman said, many jobless workers fail to qualify for the maximum "as a result of tougher eligibility criteria."

Unemployment Insurance Benefits

Payment Trend—1975 to Present

(number in thousands)

Year	Percent of Unemployed Covered	Monthly Average Not Receiving Benefits	Jobless Rate
1975	76%	1,903	8.5%
1976	67%	2,444	7.7%
1977	56%	3,076	7.1%
1978	43%	3,535	6.1%
1979	42%	3,559	5.8%
1980	50%	3,819	7.1%
1981	41%	4,881	7.6%
1982	45%	5,873	9.7%
1983	44%	6,002	9.6%
1984	34%	5,636	7.5%
1985	33%	5,602	7.2%

Source: Center on Budget & Policy Priorities

OCAW charges violations, sparks House safety probe

Erwin, Tenn.—The health and safety concerns of 370 Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers on strike against a nuclear fuel plant here have sparked a congressional investigation into both the union charges and the response by the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Members of OCAW Local 3-677 struck Nuclear Fuel Services Inc., a subsidiary of Texaco Inc., last May 15. The plant makes weapons-grade uranium to power the U.S. Navy's nuclear ships and submarines.

Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.), chairman of a House Energy Subcommittee, has requested that the NRC provide him with the results of its investigation into 60 charges made by OCAW against the company.

In a letter to NRC Chairman Nunzio J. Palladino, Markey asked why the agency permitted the company to restart limited operations, even though NRC officials in July 1985 had assured the union that it wouldn't do so until all allegations were thoroughly investigated.

Markey also asked to see NRC's responses to the violations OCAW cited, many of which were listed in a letter to the NRC from OCAW Vice President Robert Wages.

The union asked that the plant's reduced operations permit be suspended and that the NRC hold an open hearing in Erwin, Tenn., to establish whether the facility can be re-opened on a limited basis without jeopardizing the public's health or safety.

Contamination cited

Included among OCAW's 60 safety complaints were that vending machines in the workers' lunchroom were contaminated with radioactive dust, that there have been repeated instances of airborne releases and radioactive contamination of sites on and off the plant grounds, that radioactive wastes are improperly buried on the plant grounds resulting in "hot" spots, and that the company fails to carry out proper monitoring by deliberate avoidance of "hot" spots.

Strikes at the plant over safety issues are not new. In 1979, there was a three-month strike during which management personnel attempted to run the plant with the result that 50 pounds of high-grade uranium was lost. It was never found.

OCAW Legislative Director Nolan Hancock pressed the call for a congressional investigation. "In my opinion, we have a damn serious problem down there."

He said the company made a number of contract proposals which the union feels are designed to eliminate "hot" workers—those whose have been overexposed to nuclear materials so that their "body-burden" exceeds the NRC's exposure limit.

The company demanded the right to conduct a testing and evaluation program. The union warned that the program, using tests developed, administered and graded by the company, would be used to screen out "hot" employees.

Company demands

Hancock said the company is insisting that all grievances be written and handled on a worker's own time. Previously, union members used the grievance procedure to bring health and safety concerns to management's attention.

OCAW District 3 Director John Williams, who had worked at the plant in the 1960s, said that "they are really trying to bust the union. No one would have any protection if the company got what they wanted."

Williams said that OCAW members no longer have any faith in the NRC's desire to uphold its own regulations. He added that if the union does settle its contract dispute with the company, "then the plant will be cleaned up and run right, or otherwise, they might as well shut it down."

A survey conducted by the local revealed that nearly two-thirds of its long-term members have serious illnesses, including cancer, heart, circulatory, back and kidney problems. A follow-up study is now being done by OCAW's occupational physician, Dr. Kenneth Miller.

Another recent incident underscored the problems at the facility when a truck driver carrying a gun entered the plant area to haul away a tanker loaded with radioactive material. On leaving the plant, the strikebreaker fired the weapon at the local union hall, OCAW reported. The driver is currently free on bond, pending a trial on an assault with a deadly weapon charge.

1986 conventions

The Fire Fighters will hold its convention in Las Vegas, Nev., Aug. 4-9.

The Theatrical Stage Employees will convene in Hollywood, Fla., July 14-18, instead of July 21 in Hallandale, Fla.

The Professional & Technical Engineers will meet in Bal Harbour, Fla., July 27-Aug. 1, instead of Aug. 6-10.

The Sheet Metal Workers will hold its convention in Chicago, Aug. 25-29, instead of Oct. 12-17.

The Chemical Workers will hold its convene in Las Vegas, Nev., Oct. 20-24, instead of Sept. 22-26.

Boston craft unions build homes workers can afford

Boston—An innovative housing project spearheaded by two building trades unions is drawing strong praise from community and city leaders.

Through the Bricklayers & Laborers Non-Profit Housing Co., union craftsmen are building 18 single family homes on abandoned property bought from the city, to be sold to neighborhood residents at affordable prices.

Bricklayers Vice President Tom McIntyre, who serves as president of the non-profit company, saw the project as a way to help "the two-dollar bettors," working families pushed out of their communities by the city's skyrocketing prices for land and housing.

Patrick Walsh, business manager for Laborers Local 223, serves as treasurer for the union-operated development firm.

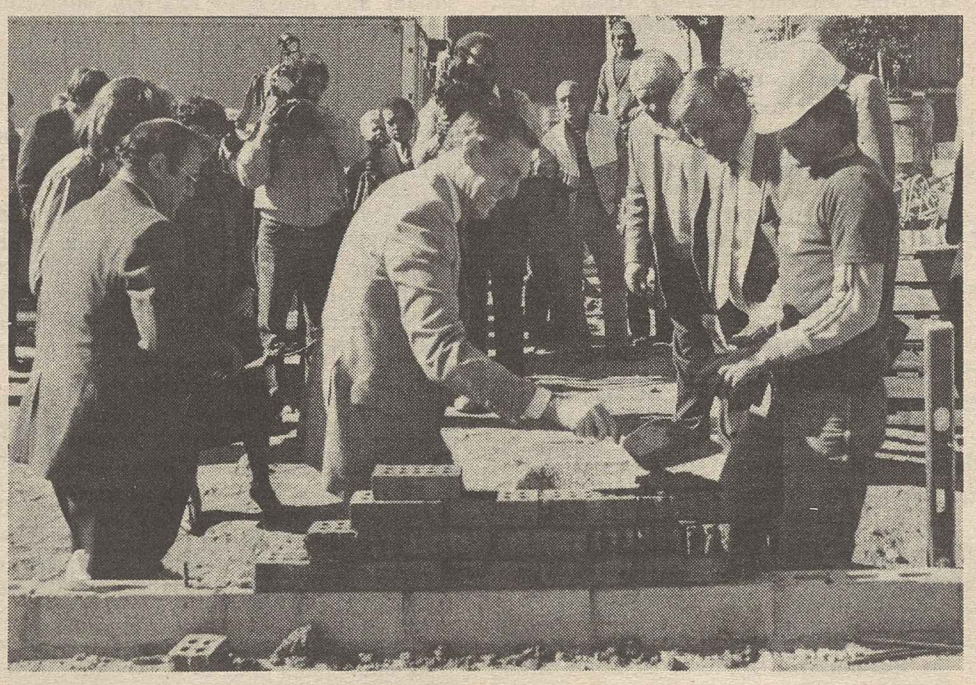
McIntyre proposed that city-owned land—abandoned schools, burned out buildings, vacant lots—be sold for $1 to a non-profit developer who, with the help of union craftsmen and an interested bank, could turn the property into family homes. Buyers, who must be neighborhood residents, would save on both the land cost and the developer's profit.

Tract awarded

Last June, the Bricklayer-Laborer team was awarded a tract in a south Boston neighborhood. Union craftsmen and apprentices set to work in September and expect to finish the homes in early spring. Families will be moving in by May.

A local attorney working with the unions has drawn up deed restrictions to ensure that neighborhood residents, not real estate speculators, benefit from the union project.

The 18 houses, designed by architect Bill Rawn, will sell for around $70,000, about one-third of their value in Boston's real estate market.



Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn tries his hand at laying brick during a visit to the south Boston Bricklayers-Laborers housing construction project.

New booklet issued on media relations

A new pamphlet produced by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Information shares some "nuts and bolts" advice with local unions working to sharpen their public relations skills.

"Trade Unionists and the Hometown Media," covers the basic rules for working with newspaper, television and radio reporters and offers suggestions to help trade unionists improve the public's perception of labor's goals, activities and accomplishments.

The pamphlet offers how-to advice for union spokespersons, from writing a press release to handling a radio interview.

Single copies of the publication, No. 170, are available free to union media representatives and officials from the AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Labor spurs pay floor hike in Northeast

Three New England labor federations spearheaded drives that have raised their state minimum wage levels above the federal rate of $3.35 per hour.

Maine, Massachusetts and Vermont joined Alaska and Connecticut, along with the District of Columbia, as the only states with minimum wage levels above the federal rate.

The minimum wage in Maine rose 10 cents an hour on Jan. 1, 1986, to $3.55. This was the second step in a three-part boost won by the Maine AFL-CIO for the state's workers in 1984. The state's minimum floor will go to $3.65 an hour there next Jan. 1.

Cost-of-living link

Maine AFL-CIO President Charles O'Leary said that in 1987 the federation will press the legislature for a measure linking the minimum wage to a cost-of-living index.

The Massachusetts AFL-CIO celebrated the New Year with the signing of a new minimum wage law on Jan. 7 that will boost the hourly wage floor in the state to $3.55 effective next July 1.

The state federation had pressed for the past four legislative terms to get the minimum rate increased. Federation President Arthur R. Osborn said, "We filed. We fought. And we won. We're very proud of it."

The federation was able to use the upswing in the economy and the low jobless rate in the state (about 4 percent) to get the measure overwhelmingly passed by both houses of the legislature, he said.

Pay boost

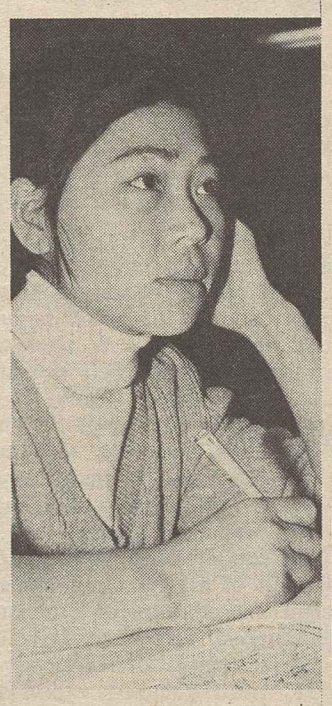
"While many feel this won't help union wages, they are wrong," Osborn said. "There are many contracts based on keeping the pay scales a certain distance above the minimum wage."

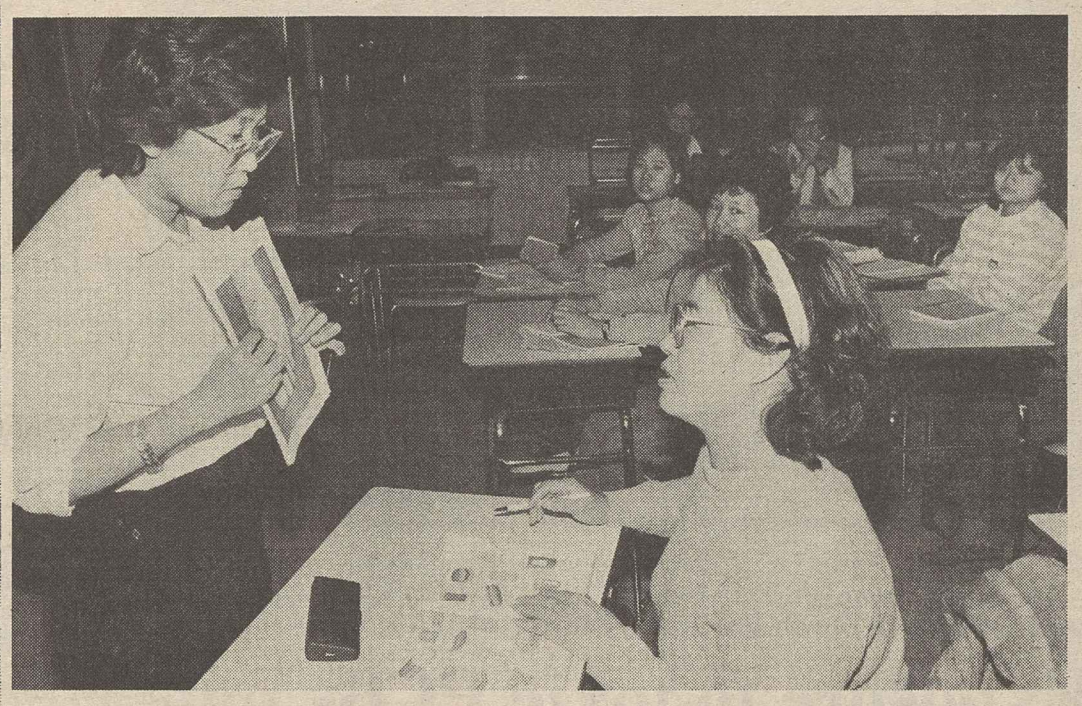
There are also workers in restaurants, retail and the garment industry who will benefit from this, Osborn said. "We helped a lot of workers in Massachusetts and a lot of our members, too."

The new law provides for additional hourly rate increases of 10 cents on July 1, 1987 and on July 1, 1988, when the pay floor it will reach $3.75.

The Vermont AFL-CIO also won a three-stage boost in the state's minimum wage rate starting next July 1 when the hourly pay floor will jump to $3.45. This will be followed by further increases of 10 cents in each of the following two years. The new minimum rates apply only after an employee has worked for an employer for 90 days.

Other states with minimum hourly rates above the federal level of $3.35 are Alaska at $3.85 and Connecticut at $3.37. The District of Columbia has a variety of minimum wage rates between $3.50 and $3.95, based on occupation.





Helping educate new Americans

New York—The Ladies' Garment Workers, whose immigrant founders made their union the educational center for an earlier generation of workers is repeating its success story for today's new Americans.

Nearly 800 ILGWU members are enrolled in classes that teach English or prepare students for high school equivalency examinations.

"We're filling a real need," program director Rosa Mejias said. The evidence bears her out.

Similar classes, also funded by the city and state, serve locals of the Auto Workers, Clothing & Textile Workers, State, County & Municipal Employees, and Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees.

A class offered to members of one of the ILGWU locals and their families has students from China, Korea, Turkey, Colombia and Afghanistan. "They have to learn English," the ILGWU's Cara Metz noted. "There's no other language in which to communicate."

At another local's class, teacher Sharon Starr speaks of her delight in working "with people who really want to learn."

A Chinatown-based local, with four levels of classes from beginning to advanced, has a waiting list for the next round of classes.

Most of the students come to classes after a full day at the shop. As Maria Antunes wrote in an essay for her high school preparation class, "Living is much more exciting than surviving, that is what dreams are for. To dream is to build. Each time a man dreams, the world steps forward."

Amoco accord sets pattern for oil industry bargaining

Continued from Page 1

provision was important to the union, which has been concerned about job security in the face of shrinking employment opportunities in the industry. In the last five years, over 20,000 refinery jobs have been lost.

The contract, which was ratified by the OCAW's 12-member National Oil Bargaining Policy Committee, ultimately will cover 4,800 Amoco workers—more than 10 percent of the total involved in the industry-wide contract talks.

OCAW President Joseph Misbrener anticipated that the pace of industry talks would step up in the wake of the acceptance of contract terms by Amoco, Arco and Chevron. He pointed out that Amoco had taken the lead in the current round of negotiations, presenting offers to the union that were later mirrored by the other oil giants.

The union's rejection of Amoco's first two proposals paved the way for the final settlement.

OCAW's contracts with the industry expired at midnight Jan. 7, but the union extended the agreements indefinitely, subject to a 24-hour cancellation notice, to give the collective bargaining process a chance to work without a strike.

The union is currently negotiating a total of 265 separate contracts covering refineries, petrochemical plants, crude oil producers and pipelines, and petroleum marketing operations.

OCAW went to the bargaining table determined to insulate its members from the adverse effects of job losses and to gain fair economic treatment from oil companies which Misbrener described as "the richest and most powerful in the world."

Rank-and-file members earlier endorsed bargaining goals that included longer recall rights, expanded transfer rights and higher severance pay and relocation allowances.

CLUW gets grant for project series

Hollywood, Fla.—The Coalition of Labor Union Women has received a grant of $50,000 from the Ford Foundation to help develop a series of projects aimed at raising the awareness of the problems faced by working women.

As a part of the program, CLUW is planning a a national Working Women's Awareness Week for May 4-10. CLUW will work with its local chapters and AFL-CIO affiliates to encourage the planning of special events and union newspaper articles to help raise the awareness of women's issues, CLUW Executive Director Laura Walker said.

Another project will involve the Collective Bargaining Clearinghouse on Women's Issues, which will collect contract language on pay equity, technological change, day-care, and other issues. This will be combined in a booklet with model contract language and suggestions on how to win this type of contract benefits through the collective bargaining process.

Reagan-packed NLRB exhibits hostility to unions

Continued from Page 1

There have been 30 cases thus far in which the board reversed earlier precedents. Only 13 of those original cases were decided by the Fanning board. Almost an equal number—12 cases—overturned precedents predating the Carter era, and the remaining five overruled decisions that occurred when Republican appointees were in the majority.

- Under Dotson's chairmanship, the NLRB has made it "more difficult for employees to obtain union representation" by siding with management in favor of larger, rather than smaller, units for bargaining purposes—even though the units sought by workers would have met previous tests for an appropriate unit.

The end result has been to "deny union representation to a group of employees who have a community of interest and who desire such representation" by forcing them into a much larger unit, often involving workers in remote locations.

- In its day-to-day activities, the board has demonstrated its "hostility to unions and collective bargaining" through a pattern of "fact-twisting, rule-misapplication and procedural pettifogging that disdains every aspect of employee rights" contained in the National Labor Relations Act.

This is evident, among other things, in the imposition on workers of "norms of polite behavior more appropriate to genteel social gatherings than to the give-and-take of shop-floor disputes," while countenancing management's "most outrageous" alibis for its anti-union activities and characterizing employers' "most threatening conduct as benign."

Freedom claims

The committee noted that, prior to taking over the NLRB helm, Dotson wrote that collective bargaining frequently led to "the destruction of individual freedom." Since assuming the chairmanship, the lawyers charged, Dotson has made it clear that what he favors is "the worker's 'freedom' to be powerless."

In none of the decisions reversing previous board rulings did the board favor the interest of workers over the interests of employers, the publication pointed out. "Every single rule change announced by the Dotson board has redounded to the employers' benefit."

An analysis of the decisions made by a board dominated by Reagan appointees revealed this distinct trend:

"If a case presents a conflict between the employer's freedom to manage its business and the union's right to bargain about matters affecting the bargaining unit, management prevails.

"If the perceived conflict is between the employer's right to control the workplace and the rights of individual employees, the employer again prevails."

It is only when the issue comes down to one between union members who want to act collectively, and individual members who don't want to join them in their concerted actions, does the Dotson board come down on the side of "individual rights."

The upshot of the string of NLRB decisions upholding management—even when it engages in such illegal tactics as discharges, threats, coercion and the refusal to bargain—is that the board has demonstrated to employees "the futility of turning to the NLRB for protection of their rights," the publication insisted.

Although there have been wide political swings in the presidency since the NLRB was created in 1935, the lawyers said, this is the first time that one party had seized control in order to "club the other side into submission by attempting to demonstrate that the law has lost all vitality and cannot be counted on to provide the protection it promises."

With the board's decisions increasingly anti-union, a final article in the publication suggests that unions "consider arbitration as an alternative" to turning to the NLRB to enforce contractual rights guaranteed by the labor relations act.

Private action

Such issues as the protection of individuals engaged in primary and sympathy strikes, the problems of "double-breasting" under which employers shift to a non-union subsidiary work that should be done under union contract, plant closings, and the binding of a successor employer to an existing contract in the event of a merger or a takeover might all be handled more successfully through the arbitration procedure.

Private action is hardly an adequate substitute for the public rights enunciated by existing labor law, the publication said, but since the board has abdicated its responsibility, workers and their unions are left with "no other sensible option."

PED President Gerald W. McEntee speaks at conference on hazardous PCBs. Seated, from left, PED Federal/Postal Director John Leyden, WISH Executive Director Vernon McDougall, and PED State/Local Director Al Bilik.

Exposure to toxic PCBs puts government workers in peril

The health hazards posed to government workers by exposure to the highly toxic chemical PCB were detailed at a health and safety conference sponsored by the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept.

PED President Gerald W. McEntee stressed the department's concern that "public employees work in many of the buildings where PCBs (polychlorinated byphenyls) leak and burn."

PCB exposure can cause damage to the liver, nervous system and skin and is suspected of causing cancer and birth defects.

The chemical was used primarily as a coolant in electrical transformers and in fluorescent light bulbs and carbonless copy paper until it was banned by the Environmental Protection Agency in 1979. Today, more than 100,000 large transformers and 3 million large capacitors, many of them deteriorating, contain PCBs.

"While PCBs are a hazard to everyone, they put public workers in special jeopardy," said McEntee, who is president of the State, County & Municipal Employees. "Custodians are expected to clean up leaks, not knowing what they are. Sewage treatment workers are exposed when dumped chemicals flow through the plant. Fire fighters must put out deadly PCB fires."

Leaking transformers

McEntee told the audience of occupational health professionals that the General Services Administration recently found that about 25 percent of the PCB transformers in public buildings under its care are leaking. Even in the White House and the Smithsonian Institution, leaking transformers have caused problems.

When PCBs are heated in a fire, they can produce dioxins, some of which are a thousand times more harmful than the original PCBs. Toxic smoke from PCB fires often travels through a building's ventilation system, contaminating the entire building and posing a threat to all those inside.

Rand Condell, president of the New York Public Employees Federation, an organization affiliated with the Service Employees and the Teachers, told the conference participants that an 18-story state office building in Binghamton, N.Y., has stood vacant since February 1981 following a fire which resulted in PCB contamination.

Condell said his organization has established strict clean-up requirements that must be met before any union members re-enter the building to work in any of the 22 state agencies housed there.

Postal mishaps

Letter Carriers Sec.-Treas. Richard O'Connell warned that hundreds of postal facilities nationwide could experience a PCB mishap similar to one that occurred in 1982 in Tulsa, Okla., where a burning PCB transformer exposed postal workers to toxic smoke.

"We want to know which buildings have PCB transformers near or in them," O'Connell said. "We want to know what condition they are in and how well they're protected against fire and explosion. And we want a commitment from postal management that all PCB transformers will be replaced as soon as possible."

John Leyden, executive director of PED's Federal/Postal Division, pointed out that government workers are exposed to serious dangers on the job because of a lack of effective coverage by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration.

This applies also to most state and municipal workers, said Al Bilik, executive director of PED's State/Local Division. "We simply can't tolerate the threat of PCBs."

Other speakers and moderators included: AFL-CIO safety specialist Margaret Seminario, Fire Fighters safety director Richard Duffy, Government Employees industrial hygienist Neil Davis, and Vernon McDougall and Matthew Gillen of the Workers Institute for Safety & Health.

Also addressing the conference were Dr. Stephen Levin of Mt. Sinai School of Medicine in New York; Denise Keehner of the Environmental Protection Agency; Carol Oppenheimer, former head of New Mexico OSHA; William Billingsley, director of GSA's Fire & Accident Protection, and Leo Carey, deputy director of OSHA Field Operations.

FAST employees win pay gains in new pact

A strike by employees of the AFL-CIO Food & Allied Service Trades Dept. was settled with approval of a new four-year contract by the 12 employees involved, who are members of Newspaper Guild Local 35.

While the AFL-CIO was not involved in the dispute, FAST offices are situated in the federation's headquarters building. The strike began Jan. 2, after expiration of a previous contract, and the picket line came down on Jan. 10, when the settlement was ratified.

All entrances to the AFL-CIO were picketed during the first two days of the strike, and federation employees in bargaining units refused to cross the lines. The Guild then agreed to remove pickets from an entrance reserved for employees of the AFL-CIO and other non-involved union offices in the headquarters building.

The settlement, reached with assistance from the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, provides wage increases and a FAST contribution to individual retirement accounts established for each employee. Average annual pay for professional employees will rise from about $17,000 to about $27,000 after four years.

No givebacks

CWA drafts agenda for phone bargaining

Lifetime job security and contract improvements without givebacks will be top-of-the-agenda issues in this year's bargaining by the Communications Workers with AT&T and the regional Bell operating companies.

That was the thrust of meetings in Washington of both the American Telephone & Telegraph Bargaining Council and the Regional Bell Operating Council, attended by some 600 local union leaders.

The AT&T contract talks will begin early as the result of a joint union-management agreement to advance the termination date of the national agreement. It was to have expired in August. Instead it will expire May 31, with negotiations expected to begin in early April, CWA President Morton Bahr said.

If an agreement isn't reached, the union would be free to strike on June 1.

Bahr said the agreement to move up the contract date with AT&T will allow the union to put its full attention to the various regional Bell contracts that expire on Aug. 9. Since the breakup of AT&T, about 130,000 CWA members are covered by the AT&T contract while some 325,000 are under separate contracts at seven regional telephone companies.

Bahr named CWA Executive Vice President John C. Carroll to chair the union's national bargaining committee.

Job security will be central to the AT&T negotiations, Bahr indicated, and a lesser factor in the operating companies where employment has been more stable.

In both negotiations, he said, pay and pension improvements will be sought, along with a reduction of job pressures, improved health coverage and better labor-management relations.

Bahr stressed in remarks to both groups that the CWA will resist "concessionary bargaining" and any demands for a two-tier wage system.

"The companies don't need concessions and won't get concessions," Bahr said. "They may have broken up the Bell System but they haven't broken up this union," he told the applauding bargaining council delegates.

Health care benefits

On health care provisions, Bahr said that any changes that would result in lower benefits, reduced quality of services or greater cost to members will be viewed as concessions and resisted.

He put on the same high-priority level as the other union issues a process for dealing with the unregulated side of an employer's operations.

He said CWA will insist on agreements in all five of its units at AT&T before signing any AT&T contract.

Three of the Bell operating companies are resisting regional contracts covering all of their units, but elsewhere there will be regional bargaining with separate tables to negotiate specific issues affecting particular units. CWA considers the regional bargaining approach best for both the workers affected and the operating companies, Bahr said.

IUD urges trade law actions on labor standards violators

The AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. has called for vigorous enforcement of provisions of U.S. trade laws that require compliance with internationally recognized labor standards by nations receiving preferential treatment in trade with the United States.

Recently enacted laws that require observance of international standards include legislation setting up the Caribbean Basin Initiative and measures that reauthorized the General System of Preferences and the Overseas Private Investment Corp.

A resolution adopted by the IUD executive council said enforcement of these provisions could bring about a significant improvement in workers' rights in nations that sell their products in the United States.

To carry out the legislation, the IUD said, the United States should insist that its trading partners observe International Labor Organization conventions guaranteeing the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively, and requiring effective occupational health and safety standards.

Imports produced under "working standards and conditions which violate internationally accepted levels" have contributed to job losses in the United States, the IUD noted. "Using the power of our marketplace to oblige these countries to meet international standards will benefit not only their workers but our own as well," the resolution asserted.

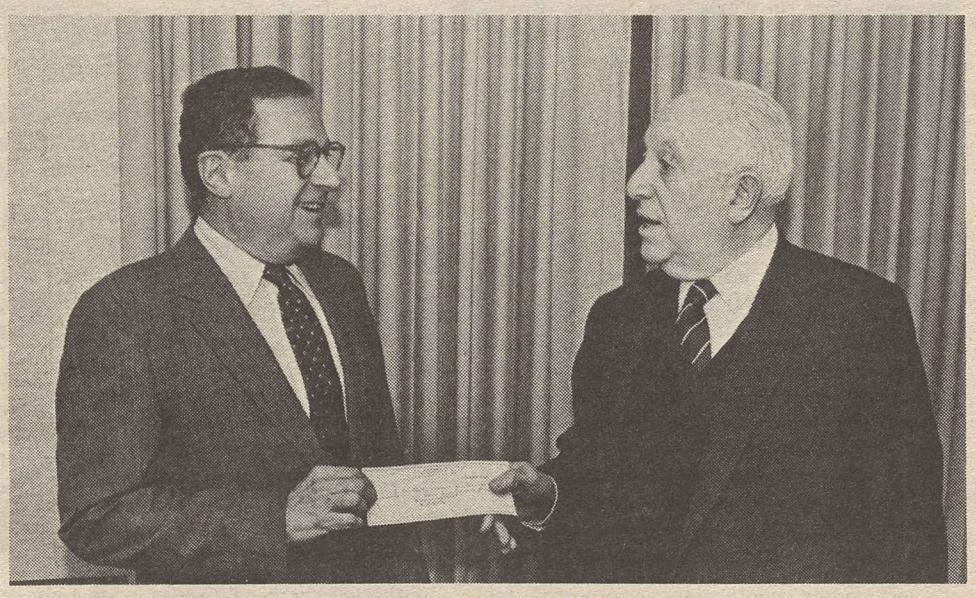
Health fund finances study of cancer linked to asbestos

The labor-backed Workplace Health Fund has launched a coordinated research program aimed at finding a successful treatment for mesothelioma—a currently incurable cancer of the chest and abdomen caused by asbestos exposure.

WHF President Howard D. Samuel, also president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., said an initial grant of $17,250 will go toward designing a research plan that incorporates the latest developments in specialized cancer studies.

The grant money was raised through donations by AFL-CIO affiliates, in response to a letter from Asbestos Workers President Andrew Haas and Eula Bingham, former head of the Occupational Safety & Health Administration.

The research plan will be developed by Dr. Irving Selikoff of the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine at City University of New York.



Workplace Health Fund President Howard D. Samuel presents $17,250 grant to Dr. Irving Selikoff for asbestos-related cancer research project.

Research consortium

An authority on asbestos research, Selikoff plans to involve more than a dozen research institutions and universities across the nation in the project, each with its own special emphasis on cancer research.

Some 10,000 workers are expected to die annually from asbestos-related diseases for the next three decades, Selikoff noted. Of these cases, nearly a third will die specifically of mesothelioma for which there is no available treatment.

"Without a significant breakthrough, the future is hopeless for mesothelioma victims," he said.

The Workplace Health Fund is a voluntary health agency specializing in occupational disease research and education. The fund has begun forming local chapters, the first of which was established in the Washington area.

EDITORIALS

We Share the Dream

A GOAL THAT the AFL-CIO has pursued for 15 years will be realized Monday when the American people celebrate the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. for the first time as a national holiday.

Trade unionists honor Dr. King's memory because we share the dream of dignity, justice and equality which he expressed and embodied. He shared our struggle to realize that dream in daily life.

The unity of purpose that exists between the labor movement and the civil rights movement was never better expressed than in 196l, when Dr. King came before the AFL-CIO convention and said this:

"I look forward confidently to the day when all who work for a living will be one with no thought for their separateness as Negroes, Jews, Italians or any other distinctions. This will be the day when we bring to full realization the American dream—a dream yet unfulfilled, a dream of equality of opportunity, of privilege and property widely distributed; a dream of a land where men will not take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few; a dream of a land where men will not argue that the color of a man's skin determines the content of his character; a dream of a nation where all our gifts and resources are held not for ourselves alone, but as instruments of service for the rest of humanity; the dream of a country where every man will respect the dignity and worth of the human personality."

DR. KING never wavered from his commitment to the cause of working people or his support for their unions. He walked the picket lines with workers seeking justice and union recognition just as he marched to advance the cause of civil rights.

We will never forget that he met his death from an assassin's bullet while supporting the peaceful efforts of Memphis sanitation workers to achieve dignity and a living wage through collective bargaining.

And we will never stop pursuing the goal of equal rights, equal justice and equal opportunity for all Americans that Dr. King lived for and died for.

On this observance of the Martin Luther King holiday, I urge all union members—all Americans—to join in special community events that not only pay tribute to Dr. King's memory, but exemplify his spirit.

—AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland.

Second Thoughts

JUST ABOUT no one, it seems, is bragging any more about the so-called Gramm-Rudman bill as the path to a balanced federal budget. And for very good reason.

A mechanical formula for reducing funds already appropriated by Congress is no way to run a government or decide on priorities. That should have been obvious from the start, but foresight has not been the hallmark of this Congress.

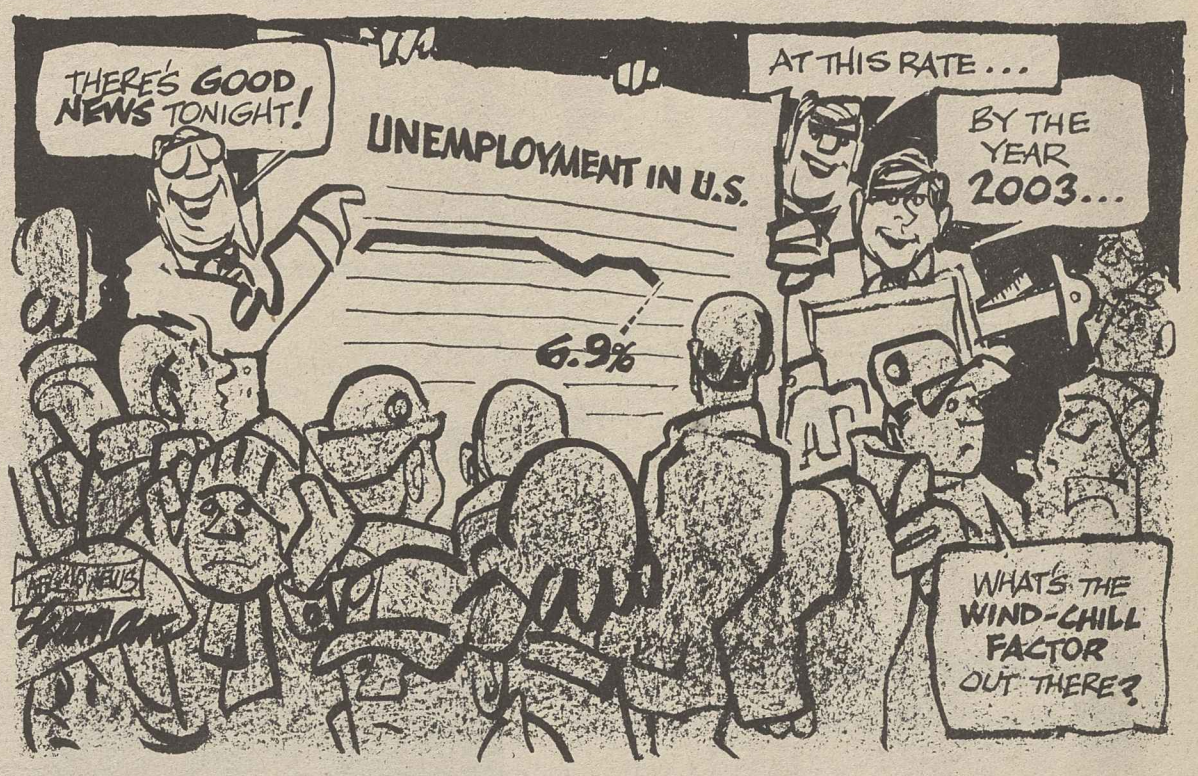
Now that the first installment of the mandatory budget cut is almost upon us, members of Congress who so recently were trumpeting its virtues have fallen silent. The President who was so quick to embrace its concept now hems, haws, and bemoans the lack of flexibility.

It would be tempting but unproductive for the labor movement and the few other groups that foresaw the outcome to mutter an "I told you so" and let the cooks stew in their own broth.

In reality, though, no one can afford to be indifferent to the consequences.

Both Congress and the President have the responsibility to address America's revenue needs as an alternative to dangerous neglect of either the public welfare or the nation's defense. Budget deficits will be smaller if tax revenues are greater.

The tax reform bill the House passed and sent to the Senate is, at the President's insistence, revenue-neutral. But it doesn't have to be. If more revenue is needed, as members of both parties increasingly acknowledge, it makes a lot of sense to achieve this through tax reforms. But tax reform does not mean a value-added national sales tax that would shift the burden still further onto middle-income Americans who spend most of what they earn because they don't have "surplus income" for investments.



Washington Window

Benefits of AT&T split bypass most consumers

By Press Associates Inc.

Consumers were supposed to reap big benefits from the divestiture of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. through telephone service competition.

But two years after divestiture, the Consumer Federation of America reports that the primary beneficiaries of increased competition from the Bell System breakup have been big businesses that rely on volume use of long distance transmission and computer equipment.

According to the CFA's recent study, average residential phone customers "continue to pay more and get less for their phone service dollar."

Increases in residential flat rate service, which features unlimited local calling, have averaged 35 percent or $3.74 a month since divestiture on Jan. 1, 1984. The service for which consumers paid $10.55 a month two years ago now costs $14.29.

The cost for the cheapest residential measured local service has increased from $5.15 a month before divestiture to $7.81—a 52 percent hike.

The trade-off for the local rate hikes was to be lower long-distance rates spurred by competition and, indeed, long-distance rates are lower.

However, for the 75 percent of consumers who make few long distance calls, the CFA said, the long distance rate reductions "do not even come close to offsetting post-divestiture local rate increases." The CFA said that only those who make more than about $40 a month in long distance calls are coming out ahead.

Local rate boosts

Most of the local rate hikes stemmed from $4.7 billion in revenue increases granted to local telephone companies by state regulators. The local companies had asked for some $9 billion in revenue increases. Another $2.7 billion in revenue requests are still pending. The CFA projects that, if regulators grant a similar proportion of the requests, the total increase in telephone charges soon could reach $6.1 billion.

The CFA said the local rate hikes point to a trend in the post-divestiture market mixture for telephone companies that serve both local monopolistic and competitive markets to maximize profits by shifting costs from the most to the least competitive services.

That is why the local phone companies have been asking for steep rate increases, according to CFA. Their strategy since divestiture has been to "squeeze as much money as possible out of local ratepayers" to help finance diversification into profitable, but also more competitive markets, such as full service information operations.

The strategy evidently has been successful because they have outperformed most other industries and utilities since divestiture in profit margins, return on equity, sales growth, and earnings per share of stock.

Non-union moves

Communications Workers President Morton Bahr recently criticized the regional phone companies for using the profits of their regulated and unionized business to set up non-union enterprises.

"We refuse to be left behind as these companies diversify at the expense of consumers and the workers who produce the revenue," Bahr said.

It is unlikely that the FCC will move to correct the current problems because the agency contributed to the local service increases. Thanks to the FCC's decision to transfer some $2 billion in long distance access charges to local service phone bills, residential customers, whether they make long distance calls or not, now pay one dollar a month for a "subscriber line charge" to cover equipment costs formerly charged to interstate long distance callers. This charge will rise to two dollars a month in June 1986.

The answer, said CFA, is legislation to require that the cost of equipment used to provide local, long distance and computer service is equitably distributed among those services. If those who use each service pay for their actual costs, then local phone rates would remain reasonable while other services would be competitively priced.

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE

ALERT!

Senate Action To Begin Soon

1986: The Final Round In The Critical Fight Over Tax Reform

Threat Of Tax On Benefits Still Very Real In Senate

Almost immediately after the House passed the Ways and Means Tax package last month, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-KA) announced that employee benefits and the deduction for state and local taxes would both be 'fair game' when the Senate takes up tax reform.

"We will need to revise the bill," he told NBC News December 18, "and two places to revisit for revenues are state and local taxes and fringe benefits."

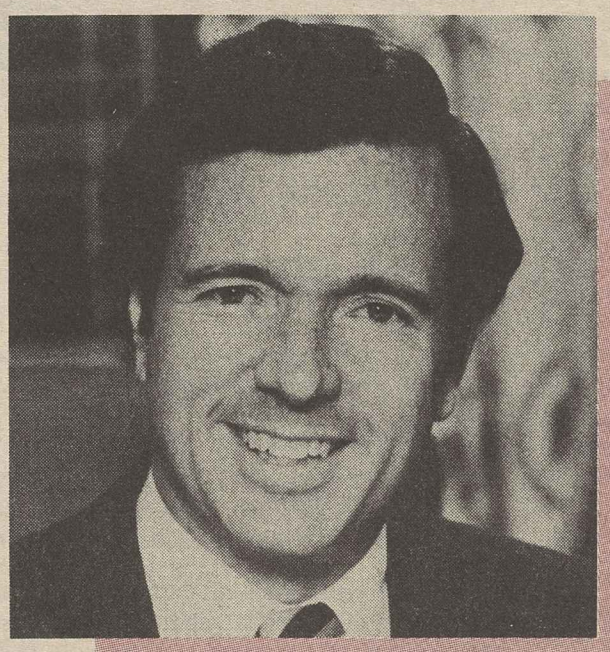
In a last-minute letter to wavering GOP House members, President Reagan urged their vote for the tax bill while promising them he would veto any tax bill that failed to restore certain breaks for business and wealthy individuals. Reagan was thus able to turn an apparent defeat into a victory. Now taxwriters will have to look to employee benefits and elimination of the present deduction for state and local taxes to pay for them. Also look out for a national sales tax to appear as a new source of revenue.

> "We will need to revise the bill, and two places to revisit for revenues are state and local taxes and fringe benefits."
>
> —Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole

In his letter to Congress, the President promised a full $2,000 personal exemption which favors high-income taxpayers, incentives for industry and a top tax bracket of only 35 percent. None of these were in the House version, but they must be in the final bill, the President vows.

Special Gramm-Rudman Supplement Coming In Next Issue Of Alert

Everything working families need to know about Gramm-Rudman—the cuts, the time tables, the impact on programs, will be contained in a special supplement to the next AFL-CIO *Legislative Alert*. The comprehensive report, prepared by the AFL-CIO Legislative Department, is a 'must read' for all labor leaders, activists and concerned families.



Senator John Heinz

Senate Resolution The Key To Victory For Workers

Just as in the House last year, the campaign in the Senate for a truly fair tax system could center around a "Sense of the Senate" resolution. In the House a resolution with 278 House members' signatures opposed any tax on employee benefits. Members of the tax-writing committee got the message and struck from the House bill the tax on health, education, legal, death and worker compensation.

Now, in the Senate, it is important that senators co-sponsor the resolution as soon as possible to demonstrate broad opposition to the benefits tax scheme.

Senator John Heinz (R-PA) will introduce the measure and other Republicans and Democrats on the tax-writing Senate Finance Committee are expected to co-sign.

It is particularly important in the Senate, with its loose procedures, to get as many members as possible to sign the resolution before the tax bill comes to the floor. Any senator can offer one amendment, but will be less likely to do so once he has signed the resolution.

Contact your two senators today!

Things Could Move Fast

The Tax Reform Bill is now in the Senate Finance Committee where five days of hearings are scheduled, ending on February 6. This means serious committee work could begin late in February.

The AFL-CIO would be seeking to maintain the gains in the House-passed bill while working to revise provisions that, under the House rules, were not considered during House action, such as the double taxation of public employee pensions.

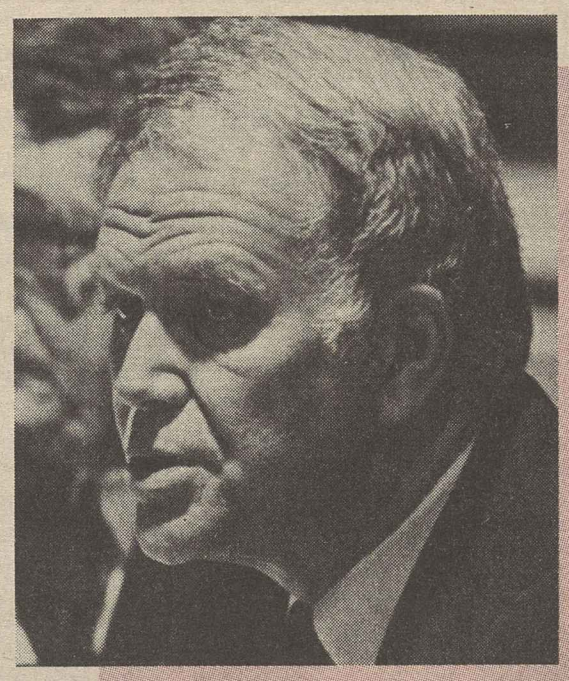
AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland presented the federation's views to the Senate tax committee on July 24, 1985.

Chairman Bob Packwood (R-OR) has long opposed taxing employee benefits and in remarks before the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, 1985, promised he would keep any benefits levy off the bill when it reaches his committee. But pressure from the President and Senate colleagues will be strong to reconsider the tax.

The AFL-CIO is making a preliminary assessment of the mood of the Senate. A grassroots campaign will be shaped to meet the need.

During House consideration of the tax bill, a nation-wide coalition was formed to preserve the deduction for payment of state and local taxes. Made up of 51 organizations representing state and local elected officials, teachers, and union members, The Coalition Against Double Taxation will be working with the AFL-CIO to save this important provision.

Federation support for the House measure came after extensive computer runs of hypothetical situations by its Research Department showed that an overwhelming majority of union members and their families would pay lower taxes under the House version.



Senator Bob Packwood

Most family incomes far below 'comfort' level

More than two-thirds of all American households have incomes too low to allow them to achieve what the government considers to be a "comfortable" standard of living.

That conclusion emerges from a report published jointly by the Commerce Dept. and the business-oriented Conference Board, which analyzed the amount of money American families have left over after meeting basic, everyday expenditures.

For the nation's elderly and for minorities, the figures were even grimmer. The study showed that 93.5 percent of all black families, 97.5 percent of Hispanics and 82 percent of households headed by people 65 and over failed to meet the "comfortable" test.

The Census Bureau and the Conference Board's New York-based Consumer Research Center used the comfort measure to describe households with "discretionary income." To reach this category, a family had to have spendable income at least 30 percent higher than the average for similar families.

The figures would have been even more depressing if the Commerce Dept. had used an updated basis for its study, according to AFL-CIO economist Ann Draper. Instead, it constructed its economic model on Labor Dept. guidelines which the Reagan Administration abandoned in 1981.

In the past, Draper pointed out, the Labor Dept. used three different budgets for four-person households—so-called high-, medium- and lower-income budgets. The high-income budget estimate on which this latest survey was built has not been used for five years and therefore is "hopelessly outdated," Draper said.

"What the Census Bureau and the Conference Board have done is to concentrate on those in the higher budget range," she observed. "The result is that this study reflects living standards of the 1960s rather than the 1980s.

"Because the luxuries of yesterday have become the necessities of today," Draper continued, "it would take an income of 40 percent above the average, rather than 30 percent, for a family to have disposable income sufficient to put them at or above the 'comfortable' level."

Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.), chairman of the Special Committee on Aging, said the study pointed up the fact that "the elderly have the highest concentration of poor and near poor of any adult age group."

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AFL-CIO news

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JANUARY 25, 1986

MEMO FROM COPE
PAGE 8

Labor was a major presence in San Francisco tribute to Martin Luther King.

Sharing the dream

Martin Luther King's dream of an America of economic equality and social justice saw him marching on countless union picket lines during his career. Union members who share the dream march in Atlanta as America marks the first observance of its newest national holiday to honor the memory of the civil rights leader who was slain while trying to help striking sanitation workers win justice and union recognition. (Story, Page 5.)

Sluggish growth heightens dangers of new downturn

By Gene Zack

The nation's economy grew at a sluggish 2.3-percent pace in 1985, posing what the AFL-CIO said could become the threat of a substantial economic slowdown.

It was the worst showing since the depths of the Reagan Recession in 1982, when the gross national product—the broadest measure of America's economic health—actually declined 2.1 percent.

By comparison, economic activity advanced 6.6 percent in 1984 and 3.4 percent in 1983.

Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald said the figures made clear that "there's a sword of Damocles hanging over our heads."

Trade, budget deficits

The economy, he asserted, is plagued by "a major trade deficit and a major budget deficit," both of which have skyrocketed in the five years since the Reagan Administration came to power.

The situation will not improve in 1986, Oswald declared, unless these "overhanging threats" are removed.

Specifically, he said, the government must act to stem the tide of imports before American workers and industry drown in a sea of red ink. At the same time, action is needed to bring down the record-shattering federal deficit caused by the Reagan tax cuts tilted in favor of the wealthy and corporate America, combined with the Administration's unrestrained Defense Dept. expenditures.

Oswald said there was another indication of troubled times ahead. The GNP inflation index grew at a disturbing 4.5-percent rate in the final quarter of the year—a warning that the American consumer might be faced with price increases more substantial than those experienced in recent years.

The GNP figures released by the Commerce Dept. showed that the economy grew only slightly more than half as fast as the Administration had been predicting. In February 1985, when President Reagan sent his budget message to Congress, he forecast a growth rate of 4 percent for the year.

Apparently untroubled by the fact that its past predictions have been far off the mark, the Administration insists that there will be a sharp rebound in 1986, with the economy growing at a 4-percent rate. Many private analysts disagree with this rosy assessment. They are expecting the economy to perform—at best—much the same as it did in 1985.

Continued on Page 3

'Privatization' bid threatens security of pension plans

A proposal to turn the pension plan insurance program over to private insurers is percolating through the Administration, but the AFL-CIO wants no part of it.

Labor "fought hard" to get a government guaranty of private employer pension plans and will resist any attempt to weaken or destroy the federal insurance program, AFL-CIO Social Security Director Bert Seidman said.

Administration officials, including the director of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., have been openly advocating "privatizing" pension plan insurance. They want private insurance companies, not the gov-

Continued on Page 6

Trade, budget, tax battles reopen

By David L. Perlman

Congress returned for its second session to face politically thorny problems of trade imbalance, taxes and budget that will affect just about everyone who works for a living or is looking for a job.

Its election-year agenda also includes controversial bills dealing with such matters as lie detectors in private employment, immigration reform, curbs on double-breasted contractors, the sale of Conrail and compensation for occupational diseases.

There are issues important to federal and postal workers, including the shaping of a new retirement system and re-enactment of portions of a vetoed bill that will pave the way for insurance company refunds to active and retired workers. And a bill to remedy a Supreme Court interpretation of laws barring discrimination by recipients of federal funds remains stalled unless the House can avoid a battle over abortion language.

Gramm-Rudman dilemma

The biggest dilemma is how Congress will comply with the deficit reduction timetable of the Gramm-Rudman balanced budget law it adopted in the first session.

The first-stage budget cut, which will take effect Mar. 1 unless Congress chooses an alternate way of reducing the deficit, will slash $11.7 billion from funds already earmarked for government programs, both domestic and military. A much bigger deficit reduction—estimated at close to $60 billion—will have to be made in the next fiscal year's budget. President Reagan will submit the Administration's recommendations in his budget message to Congress in early February.

Republicans as well as Democrats are now saying openly that budget cuts alone can't achieve the deficit reduction demanded by Gramm-Rudman and that tax increases are essential. A Republican leadership group got a preview of the President's budget intentions at a White House meeting with Reagan, and made little effort to cover up disagreements.

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1/25/86

Lag in minimum wage undercuts law's intent

By Sar A. Levitan and Isaac Shapiro

The day President Reagan took office, the minimum wage was $3.35 an hour—$134 for a 40-hour week. It still is. But $3.35 does not buy what it did in 1981. After adjusting for inflation, the value of that wage has declined by 25 percent. In fact, for the first time in nearly four decades, it has fallen below 40 percent of the average private hourly wage. The minimum wage should be raised to $4.33—that is, $173.20 a week—to restore it to its traditional level of 50 percent of the average private hourly wage.

Since 1938, the government has maintained a floor on wages in order to achieve a minimal socially acceptable standard of living for all protected workers without eliminating too many jobs. The minimum wage is the most direct, comprehensive means of increasing the earnings of the working poor.

Rather than seeking to adjust the minimum wage to keep pace with the rising cost of living for adults, for five years the Administration has favored cutting the minimum wage by 25 percent—to $2.50—for youth. Though this proposal has been stymied, Congress also has failed to raise the minimum wage, thus allowing it to erode in real terms for all workers.

Sar A. Levitan is director of the George Washington University's Center for Social Policy Studies. Isaac Shapiro is a research associate there. This article, which first appeared in the New York Times, Jan. 16, 1986, is reprinted with their permission.

The necessity of insuring minimum wage standards remains. Despite the nation's economic progress since the minimum wage law was enacted, labor markets where wages are low, employment unstable and working conditions miserable still persist.

Job-loss argument

The traditional argument against the minimum wage is that it causes a loss in jobs: Employers would hire more workers at wages below the mandated minimum. The Federal Minimum Wage Study Commission, appointed by President Jimmy Carter, estimated, in its 1981 report, that a 10 percent increase in that wage decreases teenage employment by 1 percent, and concluded that the employment loss for adults is less than for youth. It recommended an increase but did not specify any sum.

The minimum wage may indeed cause a loss of some jobs, but its positive aspects outweigh this loss. It provides income for millions of workers. The Labor Dept. estimated the last time the wage was boosted, from $3.10 in January 1981, that some 5.5 million workers would potentially get $500 more that year if they worked full-time.

A reasonable minimum wage reinforces the work ethic. Few would disagree that work should be more lucrative than welfare. Working is better for an individual's self-esteem and increases a poor person's chances of breaking out of the poverty cycle. Society also benefits from a drop in welfare costs and increased productivity.

Policy makers should set the minimum wage at $4.33, because that is a level where only a few jobs are lost but where income and work-incentive effects are substantial.

The current minimum wage is too low to bring a family out of poverty. The 1985 poverty level for a family of three was $8,600. An individual who works full-time year-round at today's minimum wage would earn $6,964 a year. Thus, 2.1 million people worked full-time year-round in 1984 but they and their families remained in poverty.

What about the controversial sub-minimum wage for youth? Youth unemployment is a grave problem. The overall youth unemployment rate is triple that of the average 6 percent adult unemployment rate; for black teenagers, the unemployment rate is more than six times that of all adults.

Main issue

But a sub-minimum wage for youth might not provide sufficient incentive for employers to hire disadvantaged youths, who need basic education and training to qualify for jobs. Moreover, if there were a sub-minimum wage, youths would displace adult workers because they would be cheaper to hire. Worst of all, the debate over a youth sub-minimum wage distracts attention from the more important issue of the substantial erosion in the minimum wage for all workers.

The Congress should elevate the minimum wage to a reasonable level without any further delay. Five years of neglect is far too long.

Private washroom, too?

Tired of being considered a "peon" where you work?

Cheer up. It's possible for your boss to transform you, overnight, into a "professional" or even an "executive."

The Labor Dept. says that workers getting paid as little as $155 a week—$3.87 an hour—can be classified as "executives," while those making $170 can be put into the "professional" category.

If you're making $250 or more a week, there's even more exciting news. If your boss defines your duties the right way, you could become a "high-paid executive."

There's only one catch. If you move into one of those classifications, you'll lose your overtime pay.

The Reagan Administration is taking a look at the regulations, but hasn't said whether it wants to change the salary or duty tests.

President Carter tried in 1981, but employers objected, saying the new salary tests were too high.

After all, who knows "professionals" and "executives" better than the boss?

Mississippi's Claude Ramsay mourned as fighter for rights

Jackson, Miss.—Claude Ramsay, who retired Jan. 1 after more than two decades as president of the Mississippi AFL-CIO, died Jan. 18 of a heart attack. He was 69.

Despite his official retirement, Ramsay had planned to remain active with the state federation in his role as president emeritus, and was preparing to work as a union lobbyist in the state legislature at the time of his death.

He was one of the trade union pioneers in the long struggle for civil rights and voting rights in Mississippi. In 1963 Ramsay joined with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and area churches in a successful lawsuit to force television and radio stations in Jackson to end racial segregation practices.

His "extraordinary contributions" to racial, social and economic justice "will be remembered and honored as long as the American labor movement endures," AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue said.

They expressed to his wife the sorrow felt by trade unionists everywhere "who had the honor to work with him closely and to count him as a personal friend, as we did."

Thomas Knight, who succeeded Ramsay as president of the state federation, said in a funeral address that "the common people of Mississippi, black and white, have lost one of the best friends they ever had."

In what was considered one of his major legislative accomplishments, Ramsay worked closely with his long-time friend and political ally, then-Gov. William Winter, to win passage of a mandatory school attendance bill.

On the trade union front, Ramsay fought successfully for improvements in the state's unemployment insurance and workers' compensation laws and was generally credited with making the 80,000-member state labor movement into a major force in Mississippi.

For the underdog

In an unusual editorial tribute, the Jackson Clarion Ledger hailed Ramsay as a "defender of the common man," adding that his achievements were of particular significance because of what the newspaper conceded was Mississippi's long "history of opposition to organized labor."

The editorial eulogized Ramsay as "a prophet of change and a catalyst for change," praising him in particular for having been "among the earliest of white Mississippi leaders to fully espouse and fight for civil rights"—a stance which, the newspaper said, "frequently put him at odds not only with management but with many inside the labor movement."

At funeral services in the Baldwin Chapel here, Gov. William Allain led a delegation of public officials which included former Gov. Winter, former Gov. William Waller, members of the state legislature and the mayor of Jackson. Burial was in Greene County.

Besides his wife, Mae Helen Ramsay, he is survived by six children and 17 grandchildren.

John G. Blair dies, union editor, PR chief

Arlington, Va.—John G. Blair, retired information director for the National Council of Senior Citizens and a former union public affairs director, died Jan. 13 of Parkinson's disease at the Carriage Hill nursing home.

Blair, who was 68, served as public affairs director for the State, County & Municipal Employees from 1966-68 and again in the early 1970s. He also worked on the House Administration Committee staff.

He joined the Cleveland Plain Dealer news staff in 1939 as a reporter, working his way up to associate editor. He was a member of the Newspaper Guild Local 1 and served as editor of the union's strike newspaper during a 129-day walkout in 1962-63.

Full goals of social security still unmet after five decades

New York—The comprehensive package of programs enacted some 50 years ago as the Social Security Act has been compromised into a fragmented, tight-fisted, uncoordinated system that often fails to meet genuine needs, the AFL-CIO said.

But Bert Seidman, director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, stressed that there is hope for restoring the program to its original goals.

In a speech to the Industrial Relations Research Association, Seidman noted that the original Social Security Act provided more than "just retirement protection for the elderly." It included unemployment insurance, grants to the states for means-tested programs such as Aid to Dependent Children, and grants for services, such as maternal and child health care, public health and rehabilitation.

The result of five decades of administrative and legislative erosion, Seidman lamented, is that the unemployment insurance program is in "shambles," the current program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children is leaning to a workfare scheme to the detriment of the children it is supposed to help, and Medicare still fails to cover many of the items needed by the elderly.

"Our failure to recognize and meet genuine needs has put us far behind most other industrialized countries," he said. "Only when we begin to assess both needs and resources realistically will we begin to fulfill the hopes and aspirations" of those who enacted social security.

Unmet goals

Seidman acknowledged that the old age, survivors and disability insurance programs have generally fulfilled the goal of providing benefits to the elderly, the disabled and survivors of workers who paid into the program, and Medicare has aptly aided the elderly and severely disabled with their health care costs since 1965.

But two labor objectives remain unfulfilled, Seidman said.

The first is a national health care program. "There is increasing recognition that we must provide health care coverage for the growing number—now 35 million—without it," Seidman said.

Second is the use of general revenue funds to pay part of the cost for social security benefits.

Other improvements that ought to be made, he said, include:

- Higher benefits, especially for the lower paid who are most dependent on social security.
- Better treatment of women commensurate with their current role in society and the economy through an earnings sharing approach.
- A less harsh definition of disability.
- Special attention to the needs of the "old-old" who are the fastest growing group among the elderly.

Lack of standards

Seidman expressed surprise and concern that "there is virtually no public indignation" over the sorry state of the unemployment insurance system. The program was born with defects that have become devastating in recent years, he declared. He noted that it is essentially a state program, and there are no federal minimum standards governing benefit levels, duration of benefits, qualifications for or denial of benefits, or other aspects of the program to determine its effectiveness.

He termed the system "regressive" because it taxes faltering firms and declining industries the heaviest and said there is a strong incentive for employers "to challenge the benefit entitlement of every displaced worker."

Seidman compared the situation today in which seven of every 10 jobless workers do not receive benefits to a decade ago when seven of every 10 unemployed workers did receive them.

On Medicare, Seidman said that the current emphasis on reducing costs makes sense, but only if the way in which the costs are controlled does not harm the program's beneficiaries by reducing their access to quality medical care.

From the beginning, Medicare failed to cover many items the elderly particularly need, including long-term care, Seidman said. And it is bogged down in "red-tape forms and procedures that are particularly difficult for the elderly and the mentally impaired to cope with," he added.

ATU calls for new Greyhound talks

Phoenix—The Transit Union announced its willingness to return to the bargaining table with Greyhound Lines Inc. after members soundly voted down a management demand for major givebacks.

By a vote of 4,600 to 3,202, ATU members rejected a proposal that would have wiped out the jobs of more than one-third of the 10,000 members in the bargaining unit and frozen wages of the remaining employees for the next four years.

ATU's Council of Greyhound Locals—which had submitted the contract to the membership without any recommendation—said it is prepared to "negotiate any time" and warned members to be prepared for a renewal of company "scare tactics."

Before the vote, Greyhound had threatened to shut down various regional operations and shift business to non-union subsidiaries unless workers agreed to the harsh new contract terms.

The proposal rejected by ATU members would have eliminated some 3,000 bus terminal jobs by turning over terminal operations to "commission agencies" run by independent operators whose employees would not be subject to the union contract.

The contract would have replaced one that ended a bitter seven-week strike in 1983. That agreement imposed 11.8-percent wage cuts, although it did provide for a 4-percent improvement in employer contributions to the pension fund.

Trade, budget deficits slow GNP growth

Continued from Page 1

The nature of the slowdown was pointed up by the figures for the last quarter of 1985. A month ago, the government was talking about a 3.2-percent rise in the fourth quarter. Instead, the economy grew at only an anemic 2.4 percent annual rate in the three-month period.

The Commerce Dept. blamed the sharp downward revision in the growth figures for the fourth quarter on a continuing decline in American exports, a larger-than-expected jump in imports, and unanticipated increases in consumer prices, particularly in housing. The government attributed most of the gain during the last three months of the year to a 2.1-percent jump in retail sales.

Meanwhile, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that workers ended up 1985 in worse financial shape than when the year began, with real hourly earnings seven-tenths of 1 percent below what they were at the end of 1984.

It was the weakest year so far in the "recovery," and marked the first December-to-December drop in real pay since the recession year of 1981.

The situation might have been even worse except for a rise of seven-tenths of 1 percent in earnings for December.

Declining hours

Reflecting the generally weak economy, hours worked declined by three-tenths of 1 percent between December 1984 and December 1985. Average weekly earnings rose 3.2 percent over the course of the year—significantly less than for the comparable 1983-84 period.

In constant dollars, real average weekly earnings fell over the year ended in December in six of the eight categories covered by the BLS survey. They ranged from a drop of four-tenths of 1 percent in manufacturing to 2.6 percent in construction.

As further indication of the continuing turn of the economy away from heavy industry, BLS reported that the only two areas to show earnings increases were services, where real wages went up nine-tenths of 1 percent in the 12-month period, and finance, insurance and real estate, where the year-to-year gain was 1.3 percent.

The consumer price index rose four-tenths of 1 percent in December, leaving the CPI at year's end 3.6 percent higher than it was a year earlier.

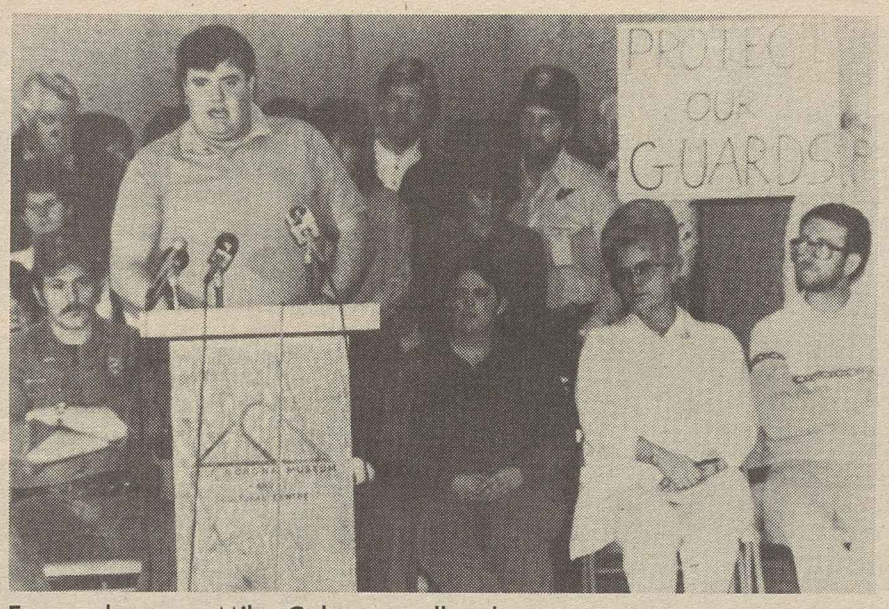
The 1985 increase was somewhat larger than for the previous two years. In 1984, the CPI rose 3.5 percent, while in 1983 it went up 3.3 percent.

The December advance was powered chiefly by increases in the cost of food, heating oil, gasoline and medical care.

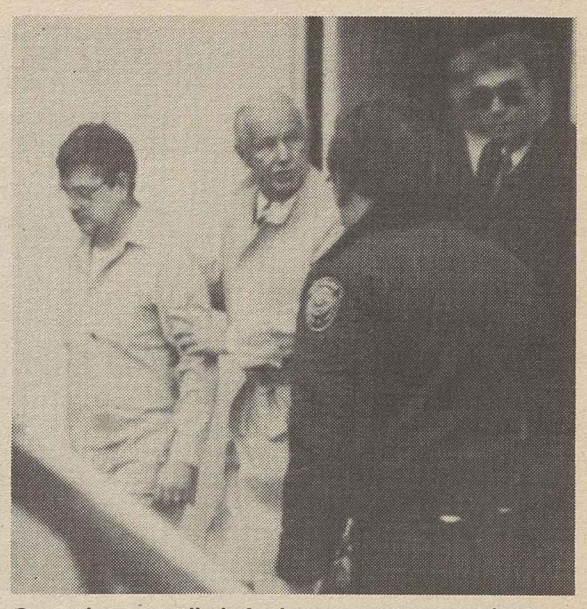
Food prices rose eight-tenths of 1 percent in December and were up 2.7 percent over the year. Heating oil prices continued the very large advances of the past four months, with prices up 1.9 percent in December and 5 percent from a year earlier.

Motor fuel prices rose 1.1 percent following an even larger jump in November, and were 3.2 percent ahead of a year ago.

Medical care costs continued to move ahead at a faster pace than other items.



Former hostage Mike Coleman talks about conditions at the West Virginia prison.



Guard Joe Hill, left, leaves prison with Gov. Arch Moore after two-day takeover.

Prison guards press for contract in aftermath of hostage experience

Moundsville, W.Va.—Corrections officers at the maximum security penitentiary here want a union contract and greater prison security in the aftermath of a New Year's Day prison riot in which 15 guards were taken hostage for two days.

The 178 corrections officers at the West Virginia Penitentiary are members of Communications Workers Local 2055. Under West Virginia law, state workers can join unions but are not covered by collective bargaining agreements.

CWA Local 2055 has called on Gov. Arch A. Moore to negotiate a contract with the corrections officers, declaring that "if you can sign an agreement with prisoners, you can sign one with us."

The Jan. 1 riot broke out around 6 p.m. when inmates grabbed the prison guards in the dining hall and took control of about two-thirds of the facility. One officer with a history of heart trouble was released later that evening.

CWA members organized a support group to help the hostage families over the two-day siege. Ruth Daves coordinated the relief effort, with union members providing food, coffee, counseling, groceries and moral support. The local AFL-CIO central body arranged for counseling and other social services after the hostages were released on Jan. 3 and replaced officers' eyeglasses and shoes that were taken by the inmates. Hostages who lost their paychecks were helped by a collection among the local members.

Union aid cited

The team that negotiated the release of the hostages was headed by CWA member Paul Kirby. Mike Coleman, speaking for his fellow hostages, thanked the union for helping to secure their release.

Two days after the release, some 70 corrections officers refused to take the inmates out of their cells to the dining area, and a committee won agreement from the warden that the prisoners would be kept in their cells until after the officers conducted a "shakedown" to confiscate hidden weapons.

Conditions at the maximum security prison remain unstable, as inmates conducted a week-long work stoppage following the takeover and continue to voice complaints against prison administration.

The corrections officers are seeking better prison security, including building renovations, plus newer equipment and more officers on duty. Currently, two unarmed guards must control 318 unlocked inmates, a situation the union stresses is unsafe.

The CWA local also wants a review of pay scales and job classifications, with pay raises for the guards who now earn about $12,000 a year.

Other contract goals include training for new officers, a grievance system and resolution of all outstanding grievances. Local 2055 also is asking for voluntary extension of federal occupational safety and health standards at the prison, where a review last January uncovered 15 life-threatening violations that have not been corrected.

Changing patterns

Old policies fail today's families

Economic, social and demographic trends have dramatically altered the American family in the past three decades, but government and industry have not yet adjusted their attitudes to deal with this changing situation in the workplace.

That's the conclusion of a panel of labor, industry and academic leaders who took part in a detailed study conducted by the Family Policy Panel under the auspices of the Economic Policy Council.

The panel was chaired by President John J. Sweeney of the Service Employees and Alice S. Ilchman, president of Sarah Lawrence College, who charged in a joint statement that the United States lags far behind most industrialized countries in implementing family policies to deal with the changing economic and social environment.

"A national family policy would strengthen the foundation of the family and the competitiveness of the economy," Sweeney and Ilchman said. A broadly based support system would not only enable parents to deal with "the competing demands of work and family," but also would contribute to worker productivity, the statement suggested.

Nearly half the labor force is female, the panel pointed out, and married women with young children make up the majority of all new labor force participants.

"Fewer than 10 percent of American families fit the traditional mold of a married couple with children where the husband is the sole provider," the study noted. Not only do both parents in most married-couple families work, but the number of single-parent households headed by women has increased rapidly.

Working parents

Most children in the United States today have working parents, the panel emphasized in its 179-page report. This means that the majority of parents "must balance the competing demands of work and family responsibilities."

Given these realities, the union, corporation and educational leaders said, it is essential that all government, economic and social institutions join forces to develop policies that address the twin problems of work and family.

The panel called for:

- A guaranteed six-to-eight-week maternity leave policy that would protect a woman's job rights and provide partial income replacement during that period.
- An unpaid, but job-protected, parental leave for up to six months to allow either parent to spend time with newborn or newly adopted children.
- Development and delivery of affordable, quality child care services, including preschool programs that are broadly available on a voluntary basis.
- Equal employment opportunity and pay equity for women and an end to the policy of "occupational segregation" which stakes out certain employment areas for women at wage levels substantially below what men are earning in the workforce.
- More adequate maternal and child health care services made available either through an extension of Medicaid or through private insurance.
- A high degree of flexibility in scheduling work hours and leave time, and in designing employee benefit packages in order to more fully integrate work and family life.

"By providing a more nurturing environment for our children," Sweeney and Ilchman said, "we are investing in the workers of tomorrow and in the resource that our country is most dependent on for its future economic growth and international competitiveness—human capital."

Other union officials serving on the panel include President Gerald McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees, President Albert Shanker of the Teachers, Vice President Joyce Miller of the Clothing & Textile Workers, President Henry Nicholas of the Hospital & Health Care Employees and Sec.-Treas. James B. Booe of the Communications Workers.

OCAW reaches agreement with 7 more major oil firms

Denver—Seven more oil industry giants have accepted the terms of a pattern agreement hammered out by the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers.

The settlements reached to date will affect more than 33,000 of the total 46,500 members for whom OCAW is bargaining at refineries, petrochemical plants, crude oil operations, pipelines and marketing facilities across the nation.

The pattern agreement, negotiated with Amoco Oil Co. and quickly adopted by Atlantic-Richfield Corp. and Chevron USA, set the stage for acceptance by almost all the major producers and a number of smaller companies.

The latest to come to terms with OCAW were Shell Oil Co., Ashland Oil Co., Union Oil Co., Phillips Petroleum Inc., Mobil Oil Corp., Texaco Inc., and Sun Oil Co.

All have agreed to a package providing a $1,000 cash bonus upon ratification of the contract, a 2-percent wage increase in the second year and increased employer contributions to the health insurance fund.

The agreement also extends existing contract language requiring six months' advance notification of plant closings—a key issue in an industry where 20,000 refinery jobs have disappeared in the past five years.

Meanwhile, negotiations continue with the five remaining major companies in the industry—Exxon USA, Standard Oil of Ohio, Conoco Inc., Tenneco Oil and the Marathon oil, petrochemical and pipeline subsidiaries of U.S. Steel Corp.

Final acceptance of the pattern settlement will depend on the resolution of local issues in the 265 separate contracts being negotiated at oil industry facilities nationwide.

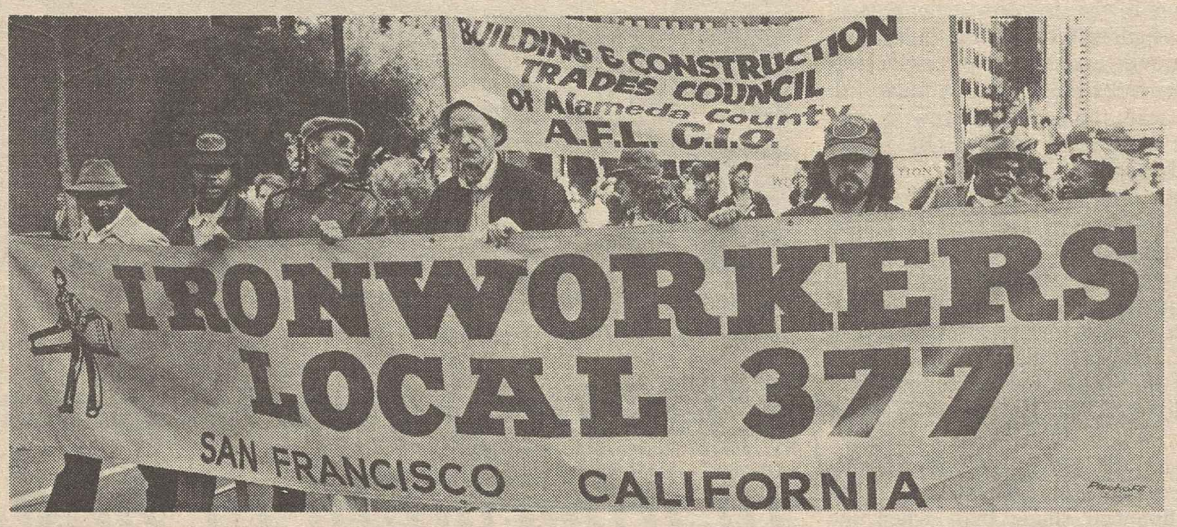
APWU suit challenges budget law

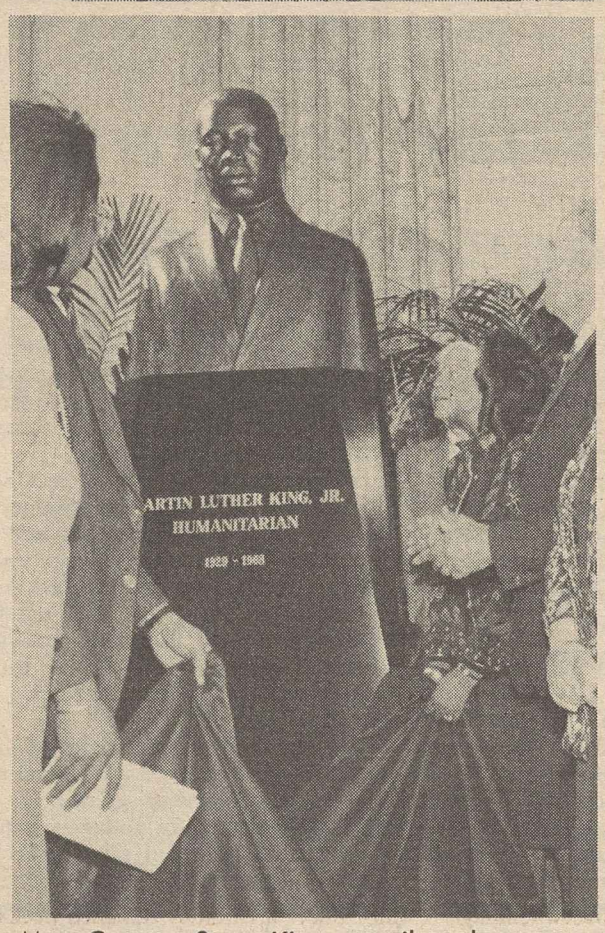
The Postal Workers have brought suit challenging the constitutionality of the budget-slashing mechanism of the Gramm-Rudman Deficit Reduction Act, similar to the suit by 12 members of Congress.

APWU President Moe Biller said the union acted to stop "a shameful and cowardly abrogation of responsibility" by Congress.

The APWU suit, filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, contends that Congress had unconstitutionally delegated its authority over federal spending levels to a non-legislative body, the General Accounting Office.

Retired postal and federal employees have already felt the impact of Gramm-Rudman in a provision that suspends their cost-of-living pension adjustment.

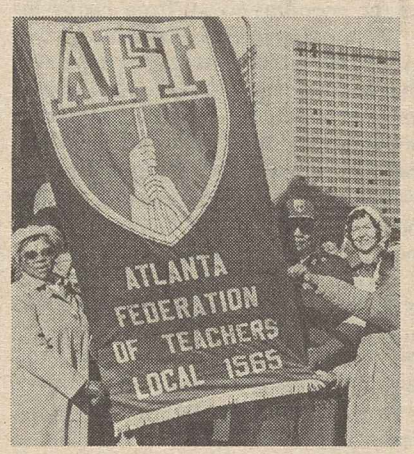


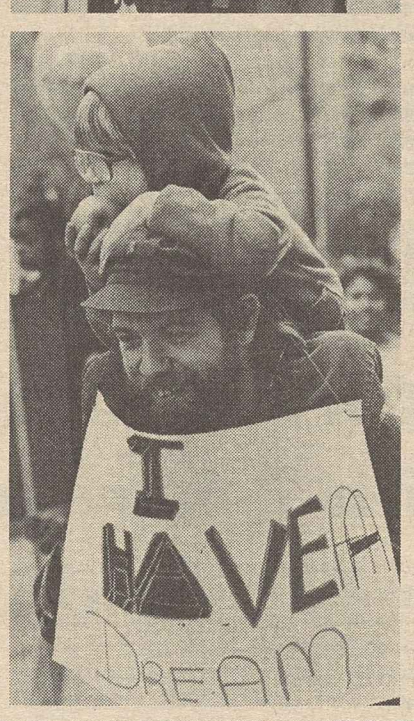


Mrs. Coretta Scott King unveils a bust of her husband in the Capitol Rotunda.

Rallies like this one in San Francisco were held in Atlanta and elsewhere across the nation.

Unions sharing the dream





AFSCME Sec.-Treas. William Lucy, a long-time colleague of the civil rights leader, receives a plaque from Mrs. King in Atlanta.

AFL-CIO Regional Director Humphrey Donahue remembers Dr. King at union celebration in New York.

Unions join rights allies in nationwide homage to Martin Luther King

From coast to coast, in large cities and small towns, trade unionists by the thousands joined hands with their brothers and sisters in the civil rights movement as the nation paid tribute to the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

It was the first celebration in history of a national holiday in honor of a black American—the climax of a 15-year-struggle by the labor movement to have one day set aside each year to remind the nation of the debt it owes to the man and the goals he espoused.

Workingmen and women were involved, as AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland put it, "because we share the dream of dignity, justice and equality which he expressed and embodied," just as the slain civil rights leader "shared our struggle to realize that dream in daily life."

King "never wavered from his commitment to the cause of working people or his support of their unions," Kirkland said. "He walked picket lines with workers seeking justice and union recognition just as he marched to advance the cause of civil rights.

King remembered

"We will never forget that he met his death from an assassin's bullet while supporting the peaceful efforts of Memphis sanitation workers to achieve dignity and a living wage through collective bargaining."

Trade unionists gave ample evidence that they remembered—and that they were sharers of the dream.

- They joined hands and sang songs of freedom and justice at massive rallies in San Francisco and Milwaukee, Washington and Denver, Dallas and Houston.
- They marched through city streets in Atlanta and Seattle, Ft. Worth, Tex., Albany, N.Y., and elsewhere.
- They awarded scholarships in King's honor in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, held special labor breakfasts in Los Angeles, Lansing, Mich., and Ashville, N.C., and sponsored a dinner-dance in Detroit.
- They devoted union meetings to tributes to the civil rights leader in, among other places, Chicago, Cleveland and Baltimore.
- They participated in a special motion picture presentation in Pittsburgh, a nondenominational service in Philadelphia, the awarding of certificates to those who embodied King's commitment and dedication in Charleston, W.Va., and listened to a moving reading of King's "I have a dream" speech by Frederick O'Neal, president of the Actors & Artistes, in a special program in New York.

And on the national scene, the Auto Workers were a primary sponsor of a special two-hour network telecast which brought the Martin Luther King story into millions of American living rooms. The television presentation—which originated in Atlanta, Washington and New York—featured an array of top entertainers and civil rights leaders.

Among the six 30-second UAW messages shown during the telecast was one highlighting the historic alliance between the labor and civil rights movement.

The union took part in the undertaking because, UAW President Owen Bieber explained, it had marched with Dr. King and worked to achieve the landmark civil rights legislation he championed.

Singer Stevie Wonder leads entertainers in finale of network television show which brought King's story to millions of homes under UAW sponsorship.

Steelworkers blast imports, set bargaining goals, strategy

Officers from 550 Steelworkers' locals in the basic steel industry met in Washington to plan bargaining strategies for upcoming contract negotiations.

The two-day Basic Steel Industry Conference, representing 222,000 active and laid-off steelworkers, announced that the USWA is ready to begin talks with the nation's six largest steelmakers—U.S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, LTV Steel, Inland Steel, Armco Inc. and National Steel—on contracts set to expire July 31.

This year, for the first time in 30 years, steel companies will bargain separately, but USWA President Lynn Williams said the union will coordinate negotiations.

In other action, the conference issued a sharp blast at the Reagan Administration's steel import program and overwhelmingly approved a provision calling for rank-and-file ratification of contract settlements.

The new ratification procedure calls for a proposed contract to be approved by the USWA's negotiating committee and the executive board, then to be submitted to a vote of the members directly affected at the company involved in the settlement. Active steelworkers and those furloughed for less than two years would be eligible to vote. In the past, settlements were ratified by an elected industry-wide committee.

The conference criticized the Reagan Administration's voluntary restraint program on steel imports, calling it "a dismal failure." The union has called repeatedly for strict quotas on steel imports and training and retraining programs to help unemployed workers.

Williams said the USWA would urge President Reagan to declare a "national emergency" in steel communities and provide economic relief in those areas.

He also announced the union's new campaign, to convince the public that the crisis in steel "is a national disaster that cuts across all industries" and threatens the nation's welfare.

Bargaining goals set by the conference include wage increases, revised cost-of-living formulas and special early retirement benefits. The union is also seeking job security protections, including a ban on subcontracting and a reduction in overtime hours, as well as improvements in grievance and arbitration procedures and health and safety concerns.

Guarantees sought

Acknowledging that some steelmakers may be in "dire situations," the conference stipulated that companies seeking concessions must offer "a carefully designed package of guarantees and benefits which assures that our members are the beneficiaries and not the victims of the effort to save the company."

Those guarantees include giving the USWA full access to financial records and management's agreement to a financial reorganization providing for greater worker participation in company decisions.

"If the employer is not willing to be completely open about its finances and other business data, we should not discuss any claim of financial distress," the conference statement said.

"Non-bargaining unit employees and other parties with an interest in the company—executives, managers, supervisors, bankers and other creditors—must all share equally in the sacrifice," the conference stressed. It called for concessions to be restored "at the earliest possible time, either in cash or by means of a negotiated profit-sharing, stock ownership or other reward-sharing plan, as the company returns to profitability."

Incomes of most households fall short of 'comfort' level

Continued from Page 1

Although those in the 40-to-64 age group are the ones most likely to have income to put them in the "comfortable" category, Heinz said, "a smaller proportion of the elderly than of other adults have some discretionary income after paying for necessities."

Here are highlights of the Commerce Dept.-Conference Board study:

- The average after-tax income for all households was $20,345, but for those with discretionary income, the average was $34,560—nearly half again as much.
- While 20 percent of all households had a pre-tax income of over $40,000, they accounted for four out of every five discretionary dollars.
- Blacks represented nearly 13 percent of all households, but accounted for only 6.5 percent of the population living in the "comfortable" range. Their household income averaged 72 percent of that of the white community, and their per capita incomes were only 62 percent of whites.
- Some 6.5 percent of American families are Hispanics, but they control only 2.5 percent of the discretionary spending power.
- Discretionary income was largely centered in the 40-64 age group. Although this group represents 40 percent of all American households, it held over half of all discretionary resources.
- Like the elderly, those in the under-30 age group have difficulty maintaining a "comfortable" living standard. They represent 18 percent of all the nation's households, but have less than 10 percent of the total discretionary spending power.

Congress digs in for fight on trade, taxes, budget

Continued from Page 1

The ranking Republican on the House Appropriations Committee, Rep. Silvio O. Conte (R-Mass.), termed the Reagan budget plan "unreal, just unreal."

Budget cuts alone can't "fix the deficit," Senate Budget Committee Chairman Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.) grumbled.

The budget reduction pressure may bring early congressional action on a catchall budget reconciliation bill that was snarled a step short of passage at the close of the first session of Congress.

It makes legislative changes needed to carry out the budget decisions Congress itself adopted before Gramm-Rudman, and would lessen the need for additional budget cuts. Incorporated in the bill are several labor-urged legislative provisions, including an extension of the expired trade adjustment assistance program which the President—but not Congress—wants to end. Another labor-sought measure is the increase in the single-employer pension plan insurance premium, which is necessary to protect the earned retirement benefits of millions of workers.

In its first week back, the House was scheduled to act on a labor-endorsed bill that would give bank depositors quicker access to checks they deposit. The Senate had on its agenda the labor-opposed bill to sell Conrail to the Norfolk Southern Corp.

Before adjournment, the House approved a procedural rule for considering the labor-backed Employee Polygraph Protection bill sponsored by Rep. Pat Williams (D-Mont.). It would prevent private employers—with some exceptions for security-related businesses—from using lie detector devices on employees or job applicants.

Substitute bill

Employer groups are supporting a substitute measure by Rep. C.W. Young (R-Fla.) that would allow such tests if an employee or job applicant doesn't object.

The House passed its tax reform bill late in the first session, and the Senate Finance Committee is the next battleground. Many of the issues the House faced will be refought in the Finance Committee and then on the floor of the Senate, including attempts to tax workers on the value of health insurance and other employer-provided job benefits.

In the House, an AFL-CIO grassroots campaign headed off this threat by getting a majority of House members to cosponsor a resolution opposing the taxation of employment benefits. A similar campaign will seek to commit a majority of the Senate to that proposition.

A committee-approved bill to curb "double-breasting" by construction contractors may provide the most direct test of House sentiment on a "labor issue" since the narrow defeat of the plant-closing notification bill in the first session. The legislation would prohibit contractors from repudiating their pre-hire agreements with unions unless a majority of employees vote against union representation.

The House Judiciary Committee, with input from the Education & Labor and Agriculture Committees, will try to shape an immigration reform bill that can gain majority support on the House floor.

The Senate last year passed a version that the AFL-CIO considered fatally flawed by a provision that would bring up to 350,000 "temporary" foreign workers into the United States each year to harvest perishable crops.

Still to be resolved is the funding mechanism to continue and expand the toxic waste cleanup program. The AFL-CIO supports the House position that the Superfund should come primarily from a tax on chemical and petroleum producers, the chief sources of toxic contamination. The Senate, bowing to the petrochemical industry, proposed a broad-based manufacturing tax similar to a value-added national sales tax.

Committee issue

The impasse was a principal reason for the failure of the budget reconciliation bill to clear Congress before adjournment of the first session. A House-Senate conference committee may decide to deal with the issue in a separate bill rather than as part of the budget process.

With the trade deficit continuing to push up the nation's budget and jobs deficits, Congress will remain under heavy constituent pressure to prevent further destruction of U.S. industry. Its chief accomplishment of the first session—passage of a labor-supported bill to curb textile, apparel, shoe and copper imports—was vetoed by President Reagan.

Congress put off action on the veto until Aug. 6, to keep up pressure on President Reagan and the nations most responsible for the trade imbalance.

Eastern plans new pay cuts from 3 unions

Miami—Eastern Air Lines intensified its drive to wring nearly $500 million in concessions from its three unions, under threats from its lenders to dissolve the financially troubled airline.

The company targeted the Transport Workers for its first salvo, unilaterally imposing wage cuts and stringent new work rules and announcing plans to furlough more than 1,100 of the 7,200 flight attendants represented by the TWU.

Eastern also made it clear it intends to go to the mat with the Air Line Pilots and the Machinists in a move to stave off efforts by lending institutions to put the airline out of business and sell off its assets.

The pay cuts imposed on TWU members, and the ones apparently contemplated for the other unions, come on top of 1984 concessions in which the airline's employees agreed to average wage reductions of 18 percent in exchange for a 25-percent stake in the company and representation on its board of directors—all part of a concerted effort to keep Eastern flying.

The action against the flight attendants came eight hours after the expiration of a 30-day cooling-off period imposed by the National Mediation Board. TWU said it would defer any strike action, pending the outcome of talks with the other two unions.

Pilots in mediation

ALPA is currently engaged in federally mediated talks with the airline, with the mediator expected to start the 30-day cooling-off clock running shortly. This would leave the pilots free to strike by the end of February—the deadline the banks have set.

The situation with the IAM is more complicated. It negotiated a new contract with the company in May 1985, then voluntarily reopened the agreement in September to accept a 5 percent wage cut to help Eastern out of its financial bind.

Although Eastern reported net income of $6.3 million for all of 1985—compared with a $37.9-million loss the previous year—it posted a fourth-quarter 1985 loss of $67.5 million, due largely to intense fare wars on its major routes.

Walter Mason dies, retired labor lobbyist

Silver Spring, Md.—Walter J. Mason, retired legislative director of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. and one of labor's best known lobbyists, died at his home here on Jan. 19 at the age of 81.

Mason was a legislative representative of the AFL and the AFL-CIO from 1947 until his appointment as the building trades legislative director in 1962. He served in that post until his retirement in January 1974.

Mason was born in Jersey City, N.J., but began his trade union career in Barberton, Ohio. There he became president of Local 900 of the Boilermakers and served two terms as president of the AFL central body. He came to Washington in 1945 to represent the AFL on the National War Labor Board and the successor National Wage Stabilization Board.

Labor's grassroots lobbying is stressed by UAW President Owen Bieber.

Union witnesses push curbs on pension plan terminations

Union witnesses urged an advisory panel to recommend legislation that would recognize the claim of workers to funds earmarked for their retirement benefits and take the profit out of employer termination of pension plans.

At issue is whether an employer should continue to be able to tap "excess funds" from a company pension plan by terminating the plan after making provisions to pay off existing obligations.

Labor's contention is that the money a company puts into a pension fund is a form of deferred compensation to workers, and that employees are shortchanged if their company closes out a pension fund in order to pocket a temporary surplus.

That's been happening a lot in recent years, and the AFL-CIO has urged Congress to impose a moratorium on pension plan terminations pending the development of legislation to curb abuses.

Labor testimony

Pension specialists from the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., Auto Workers and Communications Workers pressed for legislative restrictions at a hearing called by a task force appointed by Labor Sec. William E. Brock.

IUD Research Director Richard Prosten said workers in nearly every industry have been shortchanged by employers who terminated pension funds because of greed, not economic need.

Prosten and the other union witnesses stressed that the anticipated cost of pension benefits to the employer is a part of the compensation package shaped at the bargaining table, usually as an alternative to higher cash wages. When investments yield a higher-than-anticipated return, benefits can be improved and payments to retirees increased.

Communications Workers Research Director Ronnie J. Straw said that under present interpretation of federal pension law, if a pension fund's investments do well the company wants to take over the "excess" assets. But if the fund does poorly, the company then expects its workers to make additional contributions in the form of lower wages.

David Hirschland, senior consultant with the UAW's Social Security Dept., said there is urgent need for legislation to stop employers from "expropriating" a pension fund's so-called excess assets.

Over the past five years, he noted, employers terminated some 435 defined benefit pension plans covering more than 500,000 workers and seized over $3.9 billion in excess assets.

The union witnesses said pension plan terminations should be allowed only when an employer can show economic hardship. Even then, they urged, workers should be entitled to a share of the excess assets.

Prosten noted that money set aside for future retirement benefits to workers is being used "to bankroll corporate adventurism." Corporate takeovers often target companies with well-funded pension plans. The group that puts on the raid then closes down a pension plan at the captured company and uses the excess assets to help pay the cost of the takeover.

UAW lobbies Congress on imports issue

Auto Workers locals across the country sent some 1,400 grassroots lobbyists to Washington to carry a message of labor concern over the flood of imports and the shortage of jobs.

UAW President Owen Bieber told the union delegates that the success of labor's program on Capitol Hill depends on the pressure that comes from the home districts of members of Congress.

"We have to stay in regular contact with the politicians," he stressed, "putting their feet to the fire on the issues."

Trade, job, budget and tax policy issues were subjects of three days of workshops and general sessions addressed by House and Senate members. Armed with the facts, delegates made their rounds of Capitol Hill offices to press labor's agenda.

Bieber's keynote to the UAW's annual legislative conference lashed at the indifference of the Reagan Administration to the industrial devastation of its "free market" philosophy.

Rising auto imports mean fewer jobs in steel, aluminum, plastics, rubber and electronics as well as on auto assembly lines, Bieber noted. Workers back home must be made aware "that political action and political effectiveness are the keys to our future," he urged.

'Slapping back'

Bieber was scornful of Democrats in Congress who take campaign funds from business groups, vote against a bill to require advance notice of plant closings, and join the Republicans in referring to labor as a "special interest."

Votes against a plant closing bill and for Gramm-Rudman budget slashes are "a slap in the face of working people," Bieber said, and "we ought to think about slapping back."

Bieber urged the importance of building support for labor's priorities among union members and the general public. "If we're successful in building that grassroots support," Bieber said, "the politicians will follow us and we'll see a lot more friendly faces when we come here to Washington."

'Privatization' plan called threat to pension security

Continued from Page 1

ernment, to be responsible for guaranteeing that workers will receive the retirement benefits they have earned, even if their employer goes out of business or can't keep up payments.

Under this concept, insurance companies would presumably set premiums based on their estimate of the risk involved. The PBGC rate is set by law, differentiating only between single-employer and multiemployer pension plans.

PBGC Executive Director Kathleen P. Utgoff told the New York Times and confirmed to the AFL-CIO News that she doesn't think it's "proper" for the government to be "a monopoly provider of pension insurance" or to "force" employers to buy federal insurance at a specified cost.

The federal insurance program has become "a subsidy program for inefficient companies," she contended.

Seidman retorted that Congress intended to protect the benefits of all workers, not just those in the most stable companies, by requiring funding standards for pension plans and guaranteeing benefits through a federal insurance program.

"No private insurance scheme could provide protection for all employee pension plans as the government does," he stressed.

Seidman was no more inclined to another suggestion that has been floated in Administration circles, to allow companies to choose private insurance as an alternative to the government program. That would leave the government holding the bag for the riskiest programs while private firms skimmed off the low-risk pension insurance.

Utgoff said the concept of privatization of single-employer pension plans will be advanced by the Council of Economic Advisers in the President's Economic Report, but no legislative proposal to Congress is now in the works.

She said exploration of turning the insurance program over to private industry has been confined to single-employer plans, since PBGC has not encountered problems with multiemployer plans where the risk is spread among participating employers and the government's insurance role is less.

Meanwhile, she said, the PBGC remains supportive of the legislation pending in Congress to raise the premium rate for single-employer plans from the present $2.60 a year for each covered worker to $8. A budget reconciliation bill awaiting final action by Congress includes that labor-supported premium increase. It would build up the reserves needed to pay future obligations of insured plans that have gone under.

Schedule of Labor Studies Center courses

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies will offer 11 institutes and workshops in February and March. The schedule:

Psychology of Leadership, Feb. 2-7—An opportunity for participants to increase leadership abilities by expanding their understanding of themselves and others.

Labor Law, Feb. 2-7—A review of laws regulating internal union administration and collective bargaining.

Private Sector Contract Negotiations, Feb. 9-14—A study of the role of key negotiators and bargaining tactics, such as timing, structuring counterproposals and use of mediation.

Alcohol and Drug Abuse, Feb. 17-21—A class covering discipline and discharge growing out of alcohol-related misconduct, and employee assistance programs.

Arbitration Techniques, Feb. 23-28—An institute that will include the presentation of mock cases before professional arbitrators.

Union Publications, Feb. 23-28—A workshop on newswriting and editing cosponsored by the International Labor Communications Association.

Organizing Techniques for Public Employees, Feb. 23-28—A session cosponsored by the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept. exploring the basic attitudes and concerns of public workers, and organizing techniques.

Advanced Organizing, Mar. 3-13—A two-week workshop cosponsored by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization & Field Services.

Computers for Local Unions, Mar. 16-20—An introductory institute for unions thinking of buying computers or upgrading existing systems.

Public Sector Pension Plans, Mar. 17-21—A four-day institute cosponsored by the PED for officers and staff of public employee unions.

An off-campus institute on Organizing in the Construction Industry, cosponsored by the Building & Construction Trades Dept., will be held at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Mar. 9-14.

Five AFL-CIO unions will use the center's facilities during February for their own training programs: Flight Attendants, Feb. 2-7; State, County & Municipal Employees, Feb. 9-14; Newspaper Guild, Feb. 14-20; Fire Fighters, Feb. 18-21, and Bricklayers, Feb. 23-28.

The American Institute for Free Labor Development will have 20 union leaders from Colombia on campus Feb. 2-14 to study Workers in Political Education. On Feb. 21, 35 unionists from 16 Latin American countries will complete five-week AIFLD courses on Teaching Techniques and the Role of Labor in Developing Democracy.

More information about these or other labor studies programs is available from Robert Pleasure, executive director, George Meany Center, 10000 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md. 20903.

EDITORIALS

At the Precipice

THE YEAR-END report on economic growth during 1985 could hardly be worse. It shows a nation not yet recovered from the most severe recession in decades teetering at the edge of a new precipice.

There's another just-released report that also deserves attention from Congress and the Administration. It comes from the nation's mayors, Democrats and Republicans alike.

The United States Conference of Mayors reported on a 25-city survey that showed a sharp rise in the number of homeless and hungry, those in need of emergency food and shelter.

Derelicts? Some, surely. But in New York City, two-thirds of the homeless were families with children. In Yonkers, N.Y., it was 80 percent.

The "new poor" created by the 1982 recession have not been helped by the barely perceptible pace of economic growth, the report noted. Plants that closed have not reopened. Not in this country.

IT IS against this backdrop of an uneven and certainly incomplete recovery that the threat of a new recession must be measured. If a new recession comes, the starting point will not be relatively full employment and reasonable opportunity for those seeking work.

The challenge to Congress and to the White House is to avert that recession and complete the nation's recuperation from the last one. The American economy is still bleeding from a worsening trade deficit, the biggest single cause of the sluggish economic growth.

Meanwhile, there is hunger and homelessness to deal with. And as the mayors are telling us with increasing desperation, the Gramm-Rudman budget straitjacket is not the answer.

Eternal Flame

NO MATTER how often it is stamped upon, the fire of freedom is never extinguished. It continues to burn, always smoldering under the surface and sometimes bursting into bright flame.

In Poland, that nation's free trade union movement is officially banned. But as Lech Walesa reminded us in his message to the last AFL-CIO convention, "Solidarnosc lives on," supported by the Polish people.

The newest government harassment of Walesa is a backhanded testimonial from Poland's rulers to the truth of that statement.

The founder of Solidarnosc is to be put on trial for the "crime" of slandering state election officials by disputing the official count of voter turnout in last fall's parliamentary elections.

Or was the real crime the fact that more than 35,000 Poles courageously joined Walesa and other public figures in signing a call for an end to political repressions and the freeing of all political prisoners?

AS SOUTH AFRICAN authorities can testify, funerals can become powerful political statements in nations that punish dissent. Czechoslovakia has learned that lesson also, a newspaper story from Prague reveals.

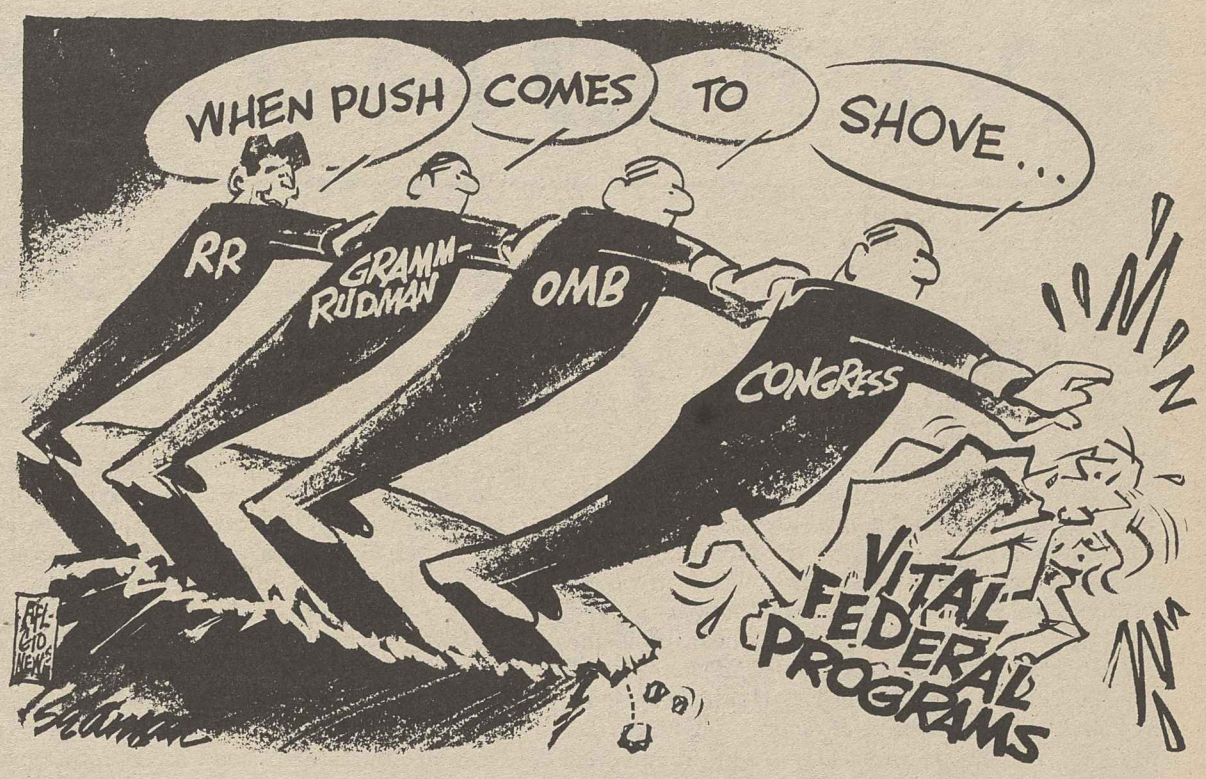
The Czech government sought to give a belated embrace to Jaroslav Seifert, the dissident Nobel Prize-winning poet after he died at the age of 84.

In his lifetime, Seifert had championed freedom's cause and his Nobel acceptance speech was never published in his native land. Now safely dead, he was lauded by government officials at a state funeral.

Later that day, the real mourners turned out 5,000 strong for an unannounced funeral mass that overflowed a Prague church.

A New York Times story noted that plainclothes police took pictures of mourners as they left the church.

That was the real tribute to Seifert, who at the height of totalitarian oppression had this to say: "If an ordinary person is silent about the truth, it may be a tactical maneuver. If a writer is silent, he is lying."



Washington Window

Consumer group faults Congress, White House

By Press Associates Inc.

Before the 99th Congress returned from its holiday recess for its 1986 session, the National Consumers League issued a "Consumer Report Card" on the results of the 1985 session.

According to the NCL, a nonprofit membership group founded in 1899, Congress is in danger of flunking out unless it puts its nose to the grindstone and does a lot of makeup work.

The Republican-controlled Senate got the worst marks on nine consumer-related issues, as did the Reagan Administration. The Democratic-led House was credited with passing good legislation regarding tax reform, toxic waste cleanup and other concerns the Senate has yet to act on.

The NCL called health care "the single most important consumer issue of the 1980s. The crisis in health care delivery and its inflated costs threaten to undermine this country's ability to provide access to affordable, quality health care."

The Administration, it said, "has tried to cut Medicare and Medicaid and has ignored the plight of America's 30 million uninsured. The House rescued Medicaid from Gramm-Rudman, but much work is needed."

On food and drug safety, the league noted that "certain food additives can be damaging or, at worst, life threatening. . . . Improper use of over-the-counter drugs is widespread. . . . Americans need more readily understandable information about the drugs they take and their possible effects in combination with other drugs and food." It added that Congress now must "deal with the consequences of Gramm-Rudman on such important regulatory agencies as the Food & Drug Administration."

Hazardous wastes

On the removal and safe disposal of the hazardous wastes threatening the nation's drinking water, it said the Environmental Protection Agency's administration of the Superfund "has been very poor, with some mild improvement recently." While the House passed a "strong" Superfund bill, its Senate counterpart is "weak."

The NCL said bank deregulation and "changes in banking services have increased costs for checking accounts and diminished opportunities for people without checking accounts to cash checks. Also, the Federal Reserve Board policy of allowing banks to hold, or 'float,' checks for ten days causes undue hardship for many consumers and businesses."

It noted that House legislation to provide strong consumer protection measures as banks phase into interstate banking is stalled, and a bill to limit the holding period for checks to three working days awaits action in the House.

Telephone 'lifeline'

The breakup of AT&T and telecommunications deregulation threaten the system of universal telephone service, the NCL said. "As local rates increase, the poor and some elderly are cut from affordable phone service. Legislation in the House to mandate 'lifeline' phone service for those who cannot afford it is stalled. . . ."

Energy prices, the league said, "are still causing hardship for many poor elderly despite efforts to provide low-income energy assistance." It said Congress has let this issue "slip from its priorities."

Regarding equity for workers, the league criticized the Administration for proposing "a greater burden on working people" by taxing health benefits and unemployment insurance. It noted that the House deleted the provision to tax benefits.

The NCL praised the House for its tax reform bill, which the league said reduces the tax burden on low- and middle-income taxpayers. It criticized the Senate for creating Gramm-Rudman, but credited the House for softening its "potential damage on programs for the poor."

As for the Reagan Administration, League Executive Director Linda Golodner said "the Administration's attitude that the marketplace can regulate itself" and its "wholehearted" support of deregulation have led to the loss of basic protections consumers "had assumed were here to stay."

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MEMO FROM COPE

An Authentic 'Crucial' One

'86 Not Your Average Election Year

This is an election year (you read it here first).

But it's not just your average, everyday, run-of-the-mill, humdrum, tedious, prosaic, matter-of-fact, commonplace, merely *important* election year.

It's an actual *crucial* one. Some of what's involved:

► Control of the U.S. Senate, numerical and ideological—it's up for grabs. Republicans hold the edge now, but Democrats have a decent shot.

► Ideological control of the U.S. House. Democrats have, and unquestionably will retain, a big numerical advantage. But their ideological grip is loose, and even small Democratic losses could tilt the House sharply to the right. Democratic gains, however, would enable the House to beef up people-aiding programs and frustrate GOP attempts to slash them further.

► Statehouses and state legislatures—they share billing with congressional races. Elections for them are the first skirmishes in the battle for positioning in the states in the early 1990s, when state legislatures will be reapportioned and Congress redistricted on the basis of 1990 Census population distribution figures.

► The alignment question—is it re-, de-, un-, non- or none of the above? Is the shifting voter allegiance from Dem to GOP showing up in the polls for real or is it a glitch? Are voters really moving away from *any* strong party identification? Is whatever is happening temporary or long-term?

A closer look at what's at stake follows.

The Senate and House

Democratic hopes for capturing control of the Senate took some jolts lately by the party's failure in a few key states to field candidates with instant statewide strength. In Indiana, a well-known and effective public figure pulled out because of ill health. In North Dakota, North Carolina and Alabama, for various reasons, potential Democratic candidates who'd be swiftest from the starting gate have opted out of the race.

While this does not guarantee continued GOP hold on these seats, it certainly permits incumbent Sens. Jeremiah Denton (Ala.), Dan Quayle (Ind.) and Mark Andrews (N.D.) to breathe a little easier, and it improves GOP prospects in North Carolina, where Sen. John East is stepping down.

A key factor blessing the Democrats and their chances is arithmetic. Of the 34 seats up, 22 are GOP-held, only 12 Democratic. A Democratic gain of just four would shift the present 53-47 GOP advantage to 51-49 for the Democrats, giving them power to organize the Senate, head its committees and set its agenda.

But four would be a minimal gain. Simply by splitting even on the 34 contests at 17 each, Democrats could net five seats. They hope for more than an even split.

In addition to the larger number of its seats at stake, the GOP has more of them at real risk. Even the incumbents mentioned above remain borderline. Along with them, Republican incumbents are expected to face hard sledding in Florida, Idaho, Georgia, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Washington and Wisconsin. And in Maryland, where popular moderate Republican Sen. Charles Mathias is retiring, the GOP needs a minor miracle to hang on.

Democrats, too, hold seats that are touch and go. Retirement of Sens. Gary Hart (Colo.), Russell Long (La.) and Tom Eagleton (Mo.) puts their states in the doubtful column. And it will be no easy cruise to re-election for Sens. Pat Leahy (Vt.) and Alan Cranston (Calif.). Both are special targets of the GOP and of right-wing PACs and the vast sums and organizational clout these groups can generate.

The real stakes in the Senate go beyond control alone. The main problem with present GOP control is the *nature* of it. To a considerable extent, the Senate agenda and its debate are determined by Jesse Helms (N.C.), the senator from the Dark Ages, and his right-wing cohorts.

If the nation is to get on with its business of strengthening the economy, establishing fair trade arrangements, improving education, health and nutrition programs—and other urgent matters—this crowd's hands have got to be removed from the Senate steering wheel.

In the House, numerical control is not at issue. The present Democratic advantage of 253 to 182, however, is deceptive. Some 40-50 of them—the so-called Boll Weevils—vote more often with the Republicans. This stymies passage of people-helping initiatives and was a major factor in early Reagan-Republican legislative successes.

November elections aren't likely to bring any big difference in House *numbers,* but a small-to-fair-sized gain for either party could create a marked change in legislative results emerging from that body.

Governors, Legislatures

The importance of these elections—big in themselves—is overshadowed by their potential long-term impact. Whichever party gets the upper hand in the statehouses and legislatures gains an early edge toward shaping state legislative reapportionment and congressional redistricting that will follow the 1990 Census.

Both parties already are taking aim at beyond-1990 and will pour lots of money and effort into state races this year.

Democrats control in 64 of the 96 state houses, assemblies and senates. The trick is to hold or gain key seats in states where the margin of party legislative control, or lack of it, is slight. Both parties have refined their targeting to a specific, manageable number of marginal seats spread among such states.

Who grabs these swing seats will be positioned strongly for both the 1988 and 1990 legislative elections and for the post-Census period when legislative and congressional lines are redrawn.

In gubernatorial races, the GOP enjoys the same arithmetical advantage Democrats have in Senate contests. Democrats currently are at the helm in 34 states. But of the 36 races for governor in 1986, they must defend in 27 to only nine for the GOP. Some Democratic losses seem all but inevitable. The challenge to the party is to minimize them.

"The real stakes in the Senate go beyond control alone. The main problem with present GOP control is the nature of it. To a considerable extent, the Senate agenda and its debate are determined by Jesse Helms (N.C.), the senator from the Dark Ages, and his right-wing cohorts."

Re-, de-, un-, non-etc.

What's with the American voter? Is he/she no longer more likely to be Democrat than Republican and now nearly equally divided between the parties? Or is he/she moving away from *any* party allegiance?

Some Republicans, soon after 1984 elections, boasted "realignment" had occurred making their gang now the majority party. They made a big production of inviting Democrats to cross over and welcomed about 100 elected Dems into their fold several months ago.

But after disappointing results of a GOP five-state effort to convert registered Democratic voters into registered Republicans, the GOP hasn't been heard from much lately on the subject of "realignment."

Most prudent folks are withholding judgment on the matter, because no one really knows to what extent seeming GOP popularity is hitched to Reagan's. To the degree that it is, "realignment" is properly held in question.

Some small part of the answer will come next November, when Republicans will be running on their own without Reagan heading the ticket.

Senate Elections

D-12 R-22 Total-34

State	Incumbent
Alabama	Jeremiah Denton (R)
Alaska	Frank H. Murkowski (R)
Arizona	* Barry Goldwater (R)
Arkansas	Dale Bumpers (D)
California	Alan Cranston (D)
Colorado	* Gary Hart (D)
Connecticut	Christopher Dodd (D)
Florida	Paula Hawkins (R)
Georgia	Mack Mattingly (R)
Hawaii	Daniel K. Inouye (D)
Idaho	Steven D. Symms (R)
Illinois	Alan J. Dixon (D)
Indiana	Dan Quayle (R)
Iowa	Charles Grassley (R)
Kansas	Robert Dole (R)
Kentucky	Wendell H. Ford (D)
Louisiana	* Russell B. Long (D)
Maryland	* Charles McC. Mathias (R)
Missouri	* Thomas F. Eagleton (D)
Nevada	* Paul Laxalt (R)
New Hampshire	Warren Rudman (R)
New York	Alfonse D'Amato (R)
North Carolina	* John P. East (R)
North Dakota	Mark Andrews (R)
Ohio	John Glenn (D)
Oklahoma	Don Nickles (R)
Oregon	Bob Packwood (R)
Pennsylvania	Arlen Specter (R)
South Carolina	Ernest Hollings (D)
South Dakota	James Abdnor (R)
Utah	Jake Garn (R)
Vermont	Patrick Leahy (D)
Washington	Slade Gorton (R)
Wisconsin	Robert Kasten (R)

** Does not seek re-election*

Governor Elections

D-27 R-9 Total-36

State	Incumbent
Alabama	George C. Wallace (D)
Alaska	Bill Sheffield (D)
Arizona	Bruce Babbitt (D)
Arkansas	Bill Clinton (D)
California	George Deukmejian (R)
Colorado	Richard D. Lamm (D)
Connecticut	William A. O'Neill (D)
Florida	* Robert Graham (D)
Georgia	Joe Frank Harris (D)
Hawaii	* George Ariyoshi (D)
Idaho	John V. Evans (D)
Illinois	James R. Thompson (R)
Iowa	Terry Branstad (R)
Kansas	* John Carlin (D)
Maine	* Joseph E. Brennan (D)
Maryland	* Harry R. Hughes (D)
Massachusetts	Michael S. Dukakis (D)
Michigan	James J. Blanchard (D)
Minnesota	Rudy Perpich (D)
Nebraska	Bob Kerrey (D)
Nevada	Richard H. Bryan (D)
New Hampshire	John H. Sununu (R)
New Mexico	* Toney Anaya (D)
New York	Mario M. Cuomo (D)
Ohio	Richard F. Celeste (D)
Oklahoma	* George Nigh (D)
Oregon	* Victor G. Atiyeh (R)
Pennsylvania	* Richard L. Thornburgh (R)
Rhode Island	Edward DiPrete (R)
South Carolina	* Richard W. Riley (D)
South Dakota	* William J. Janklow (R)
Tennessee	* Lamar Alexander (R)
Texas	Mark White (D)
Vermont	Madeleine M. Kunin (D)
Wisconsin	Anthony S. Earl (D)
Wyoming	Ed Herschler (D)

** Cannot succeed self*

AFL-CIO news

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SATURDAY
FEBRUARY 1, 1986

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

PAGE 5

Trade deficit hits all-time high

Surge in job-gutting imports widens gap to $148.5 billion

By Gene Zack

The nation's foreign trade deficit skyrocketed to a record-shattering $148.5 billion in 1985, eclipsing by 20.4 percent the previous all-time high of $123.3 billion chalked up just a year earlier.

The continued rise in imports and the steady decline in exports demonstrate that "the international economic policies of the Reagan Administration are in shambles," the AFL-CIO said.

Overall, imports totaled $361.6 billion in 1985, up 6 percent from the preceding year. Exports totaled $213.1 billion, a drop of 2.2 percent from 1984.

Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald charged the President with "failing to manage the international economic interests of the United States properly," declaring that Reagan has "presided over the destruction of America's productive capacity."

More than 76 percent of the total deficit racked up last year was in the manufacturing sector, which has taken the worst battering of any segment of the American economy, Oswald pointed out.

Plus to minus

"When the President took office, U.S. industry enjoyed a trade surplus of more than $12 billion in manufactured goods. Five years into his stewardship, that surplus has been replaced by an unprecedented $113-billion deficit," he asserted.

From start to finish, the Commerce Dept.'s trade report painted a dismal picture of an unstemmed tide of imports pouring into the United States, coupled with a steep decline in the volume of American-made goods reaching world markets.

Government studies show that for each $1 billion in sales U.S. producers lose to imports, more than 22,000 American jobs are wiped out.

The trade imbalance with Japan accounted for roughly one-third of last year's overall deficit. Imports from Japan exceeded exports to that country by $49.7 billion in 1985—up more than 25 percent from the $37 billion deficit recorded a year earlier.

The U.S. trade shortfall with Western Europe was $27.4 billion last year, $22.2 billion with Canada, $13.1 billion with Taiwan, $11.6 billion with members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and lesser amounts with Hong Kong, Mexico, Brazil and South Korea.

Historically, the AFL-CIO said, oil imports have been a major cause of the trade imbalance. But while cutthroat price wars have loosened OPEC's stranglehold on the petroleum market, the trade deficit continues to soar to astromonical levels.

In December alone, the American market was inundated by $34.4 billion worth of imports, outpacing exports by $17.4 billion—up 27 percent from the $13.7 billion imbalance recorded the previous month and the highest one-month trade deficit in history.

This included a record $5.5-billion deficit with Japan for the month, fueled primarily by the influx of new passenger cars.

December's deficits with the countries referred to as America's "trading partners" included $3.7 billion with Western Europe, $2.9 billion with Canada, $1.6 billion with the OPEC countries and $1.2 billion with Taiwan.

The $361.6 billion in imports for the entire year included $258.2 billion in manufactured goods, $52.4 billion in petroleum products and $22 billion in agricultural commodities.

In the same 12-month period, the $213.1 billion worth of goods that the U.S. sent to world markets included $145.4 billion in manufactured goods, $29.6 billion in agricultural commodities, $4.7 billion in petroleum products and $4.4 billion in bituminous coal.

Continued on Page 10

'Don't shut it down'

Freehold, N.J.—Bruce Springsteen went back to his hometown as the unannounced, unscheduled star of a benefit concert to back the campaign by Local 8-760 of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers to keep a 3-M plant open and save some 450 jobs.

An audience that had paid $5 each for the union's fundraiser in nearby Asbury Park went wild when Springsteen and saxaphonist Clarence Clemons showed up with Local President Stanley Fischer.

"The Boss"—a title that Springsteen's fans tagged him with—had played the nightclub where the benefit was being held when he started his professional career, and his opening number couldn't have been more appropriate. It was "My Hometown," the ballad from his "Born in the U.S.A." album that tells of the closing of a textile plant in Freehold in 1964. He went on to give a 40-minute performance.

The 3-M plant makes professional video and audio tapes, and the union has run ads signed by Springsteen and country music star Willie Nelson urging that it be kept open. Springsteen has contributed $20,000 to its campaign to keep the Freehold plant open, the union reported. The benefit raised another $5,000.

Working people across the country, and especially jobless recession victims, have experienced Springsteen's generosity of time and effort as well as money. He contributed tens of thousands of dollars to union food banks across the country. One of his donations was $10,000 to a medical clinic in Arizona serving Phelps Dodge copper strikers and their families.

Shell boycott stepped up to stamp out apartheid

The AFL-CIO intensified the pace of its nationwide consumer boycott against Shell Oil Co., whose South African affiliate engages in virulent anti-union activities and supports the racist policies of South Africa's government.

In letters to federation affiliates, President Lane Kirkland urged a massive effort to drive home to Shell the message that American workers support the rights of South Africa's blacks, both on the job and in the community.

"Labor consumer boycott activities are being planned in cities around the country," Kirkland wrote, as he urged affiliates to work through the Dept. of Organization & Field Services to insure their effectiveness.

To coordinate the trade union movement's efforts, he said, the federation has formed a National Labor Shell Boycott Committee, cochaired by Auto Workers President Owen Bieber and President Richard Trumka of the unaffiliated Mine Workers.

As one part of the campaign, Kirkland pointed out, "we are urging our members to cut Shell credit cards in half and mail them to the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept." If each destroyed card includes the name and address of the sender, the federation will acknowledge it with a special "Shell Discredit Card," he added.

In a related action, the federation condemned South Africa for "mocking international law" by its blockade of the territory of Lesotho.

Action condemned

The harsh treatment of "this tiny, defenseless, land-locked country tramples on the concept of sovereignty," the AFL-CIO said.

"Unfortunately, this is not an isolated case. It is illustrative of South Africa's interventionist role in a subcontinent already plagued by internal conflicts, massive unemployment, chronic poverty and crippling debt."

Labor called on the American government to "make clear to South Africa the strong opposition of the American people to Pretoria's aggressive conduct toward its neighbors," declaring that "we are all cheap-

Continued on Page 4

Senate pressed to stand against tax on benefits

Seven senators have introduced a bipartisan resolution to put the Senate on record against taxation of employment benefits and have asked their colleagues to sign on as cosponsors.

The labor-supported goal is to get a majority of the Senate on record against a benefits tax on workers before the Finance Committee starts its markup of the tax reform bill, expected in March.

A similar strategy in the House tilted the legislative scales against proposals to make workers pay taxes on health insurance and other employer-provided benefits. Labor's grassroots legislative committees had obtained public commitments from a majority of House members before the issue came to a vote in the Ways & Means Committee.

An equally strong grassroots campaign by the AFL-CIO and its affiliates has been launched on behalf of the Senate resolution, Legislative Director Ray Denison said. With strong White House pressure to re-

Continued on Page 10

The Challenger seven

President Lane Kirkland expressed labor's "shock and sadness at the space shuttle tragedy" and extended deepest sympathy to the families of Christa McAuliffe and her six Challenger crewmates.

"We are all the more unprepared to deal with this loss because the skilled men and women who have built our space program over the years have made us come to expect success, despite the danger inherent in every single mission. We know and understand their grief as well, and we share it.

"For each of us, the moment we learned of the catastrophe will remain forever frozen in our minds. So, too, will Christa McAuliffe be locked in our memories, for her dedication to teaching, to learning, and to the future of all humanity. She represented the hopes and aspirations of all ordinary Americans for a bright future for their children and their country," Kirkland said.

Christa McAuliffe had been a member of the Teachers when she taught in Maryland before moving to New Hampshire, and there was special grief among her former co-workers.

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2/1/86

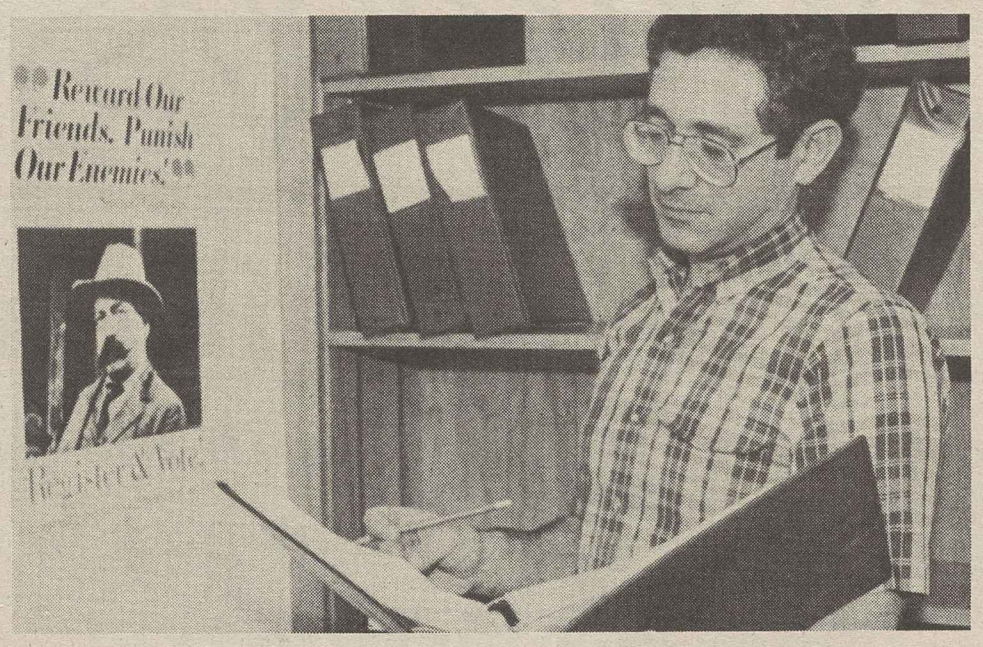
Early Gompers papers launch 12-volume series

By Candice Johnson

The first volume of a 12-book series on the life of Samuel Gompers, the founding president of the American Federation of Labor, is scheduled for release in February, the product of a labor history project headed by historian Stuart Kaufman at the University of Maryland.

The volume includes selected papers of Gompers covering the years 1850 to 1886 and will be published by the University of Illinois Press.

The Samuel Gompers Collection contains about a million documents that chronicle Gompers's life and times from 1850 until his death in 1924. The papers are reviewed by Kaufman, research associate Peter Albert and visiting researchers who are determined to present Gompers "as a real person." Many of the original documents are in German and other languages, requiring careful translation and review to meet the highest academic standards, Kaufman said.



Gompers archivist Stuart Kaufman reviews historical documents.

Challenging task

The project began in 1974 with a $500 grant from the National Historical Publications & Record Commission. Kaufman said he was challenged by the extensive collection and pledged "to do justice to the life of Samuel Gompers." He acknowledged that the essence of the Gompers project is to show that "workers should have central control over their lives at work," an important goal of both Samuel Gompers and today's labor movement.

The program's twin objectives, Kaufman said, are to make Gompers's writings available and accessible to other scholars and researchers and to be a testament to his life—to allow readers to walk alongside Gompers, viewing his life and accomplishments in an intimate way.

Kaufman said each volume is the result of endless discussion among the two permanent staff members and visiting scholars using the collection, "to convey both the movement and the person," with the goal of the project to present criticism of Gompers as well as his own opinions.

Kaufman stressed that the 12-volume series is not intended exclusively for scholars, but for the "more serious reader within the labor movement" and others wanting a clearer understanding of labor's heritage.

He said that some past assumptions made about Gompers are unfair and simplistic, and the Gompers project will reveal "a complex and more inspiring picture of the early labor leader."

Gompers clearly saw trade unionism as a way to emancipate working people and gave the labor movement "a tone or moral righteousness and his relentless energy" as he pursued the effective organization of diverse groups of workers, Kaufman said.

The collection contains a wide range of documents, including newspaper clippings from Gompers's days as president of the Cigar Makers and as an early strike leader, correspondence between unions during the 1800s and personal letters from Gompers to other federation officers during the early days of the AFL.

Modern parallels

The first volume points up parallels between the AFL under Gompers's leadership and today's labor movement. It deals with Gompers's travels across the country in which he "made speeches, helped mediate and met the people who became part of the movement."

It also underscores Gompers's great support for the labor press, his central medium during the late 1800s.

Volume I of the Gompers papers ends with jubilation at the founding of the AFL, but Volume III will end on a more poignant note, recounting Gompers's defeat for re-election as AFL president in 1894, before his return to that office in 1895.

Funding for the project comes from the National Endowment for the Humanities, which awards a matching grant based on union contributions. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates, and the unaffiliated Teamsters, have given support to the program.

Electric power imports seen risking new energy crisis

Utility Workers President James Joy warned that America faces another energy crisis—this time in electrical power—because the United States relies too heavily on electricity from Canada instead of generating enough power to meet its needs.

Joy blamed the energy imbalance on government policies during the 1973 oil crisis that forced some utilities in the northeastern United States to shut down, rather than turn to coal or other cheap oil substitutes. The result of America's drive for energy independence has been "greater and greater dependence on imported electricity from Canada," he said.

Joy said most Americans are not aware that a substantial amount of electrical power is imported from Canada, nor can consumers choose between "Canadian" and "American" electricity.

He noted that between 1984 and 1985, America's trade deficit with Canada in electrical energy exceeded $1 billion and estimates are that it will reach $5 billion by 1989 as many Canadian provinces "rush headlong into huge construction projects that provide greater generating capacity earmarked for export to the United States."

Utility jobs lost

The increased dependence on imported electricity, Joy said, has resulted in the loss of 15,000 utility jobs and more than 68,000 construction jobs that would have been needed had plants been built in the United States.

Joy pointed out that the cost of imported electricity is no less than that of power generated in the United States. He noted that New York State, which imports about 20 percent of its electrical power from Canada, has the nation's highest electricity rates. He warned that in the long run, continued reliance on Canadian electricity could cost consumers more.

Under price policies set by Canada's National Energy Board, the imported electricity must sell for at least the lowest cost alternative available in the United States; it cannot be "dumped" at below the cost of producing the power.

But Joy argued that existing U.S. plants, burning coal or nuclear fuel, could provide power at lower rates than those currently set by the board. Canada's cheapest supply of electricity—hydroelectric generating plants—first must be sold to Canadian citizens and provinces, leaving only the more costly power, generated from oil, coal and nuclear sources, available for export to the United States, he said.

Heavy price

Joy warned against "ceding America's market for electricity to Canada," citing unemployment, the loss of state and local revenues and an increased trade deficit as the potential price of mounting energy dependence.

"We will be unable to recover our losses in any effective manner, the enormous cost of rebuilding our utilities will favor doing nothing, and the kilowatt-hour cost will be whatever the Canadian National Energy Board says it will be," the UWUA president cautioned.

An AFL-CIO convention policy has expressed opposition to increases in electricity imports from Canada or any other country. It called the action necessary to avoid "further dependence on foreign energy sources, to lessen further disintegration of U.S. electric power production and to halt further loss of American jobs."

Prescription for quality

Gulf Shores, Ala.—A healthy dose of union labor is curing the blues for corporate executives frustrated by shoddy construction work on their projects.

Henry Haywood, executive director of Alabama's Associated General Contractors, told building trades representatives that many owners and contractors are tired of sub-standard non-union work and that construction executives realize that projects manned by union members are handled "better and faster" than non-union jobs.

Alabama Power Co. official W.A. Malone reported that eight of its last nine major construction projects completed by union crews were finished on or ahead of schedule and within budget.

And a Reynolds Aluminum Corp. official pointed out that union building trades crews had completed repairs to a fire-damaged plant in two and a half weeks, instead of the six weeks originally estimated.

John L. Campbell, business manager for Sheet Metal Workers Local 48 in Birmingham, recalled that several years ago he had warned contractors "they were helping to create a jungle," by starting up non-union operations. "Today, many of these contractors agree with me, and if we continue to do what is best for our members and contractors, we will get out of that jungle."

Airlines fail to block rehiring rule

A Labor Dept. rule providing rehiring rights for several thousand former airline employees took effect on Jan. 27 despite a last-minute attempt by a group of airlines to block it.

Airline attorneys asked Chief Justice Warren E. Burger to bar the Labor Dept. from putting the hiring preference rule into effect pending a Supreme Court review, but he turned them down.

The job preference the airlines sought to block was a part of the 1978 Airline Deregulation Act, and has already been delayed some seven years because of federal foot-dragging.

A hiring preference rule drafted in the Carter Administration was scrapped after President Reagan took office. Then when the Labor Dept. finally got a new regulation cleared, airlines challenged its constitutionality in court.

The way was paved for the rule to take effect when the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia circuit upheld the Labor Dept. on the issue.

Persons who were employed by an airline for at least four years before the 1978 deregulation law are entitled to job preference.

All airlines must now list their job vacancies with a central register and airlines that were in existence at the time of deregulation must give preference to applicants with hiring rights.

The hiring preference was intended to continue for 10 years. But because of the long delay, it will stay in effect for less than three years.

Philadelphia puts off probe of workplace cancer deaths

Philadelphia—District Atty. Ron Castille refuses to consider a criminal investigation into the Rohm & Haas Co.'s record of occupational fatalities until wrongful death suits pending against the firm are settled.

Jim Moran, associate director of the Philadelphia Area Project on Occupational Safety & Health, a coalition of 128 local unions, said Castille's refusal means that the city won't look into the company's record for quite a while. Some of the remaining suits against the company are expected to go to trial next fall.

The coalition had urged Castille to consider a criminal investigation because of the large number of worker deaths that have occurred at the firm's plant in the Bridesburg sector of the city.

More than 50 workers from the plant died in the 1960s and 1970s from cancers caused by exposure to bis-chloromethyl ether (BCME), an impurity contained in methyl chloromethyl ether (CCME). The firm uses CCME in making ion exchange resins for water purification systems.

A six-month-long inspection by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration at Rohm & Haas last year resulted in the issuance Nov. 20 of a citation alleging six "serious" violations and one "other than serious" violation.

The latter charge was for the company's failure to record the deaths of four workers on records required by OSHA.

Viola Taylor, chairwoman of PhilaPOSH and a member of AFSCME Local 403, charged Rohm & Haas with continuing a coverup of worker deaths at the facility.

She recalled that 12 years ago the company made national news when the Philadelphia Inquirer reported a coverup of some 50 worker deaths at Building 6, a charge brought by the Washington-based Public Citizen Health Research Group. That building figured again in the violations charged by OSHA in November, which cited the leakage of BCME in the plant on 21 occasions between June and August last year.

The lengthy OSHA investigation was sparked by a maintenance worker's exposure to CCME from a leaking pipe on May 24, 1985.

The company failed to report the incident until after Operating Engineers Local 61, which represents maintenance workers at the plant, threatened to file a grievance. OSHA cited the company for failing to report the incident within 24 hours.

Rohm & Haas has appealed the citation to the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission.

Rohm & Haas was cited for failing to implement engineering controls to prevent worker exposure to BCME and CCME.

The firm also was cited for failure to maintain personal protective equipment, failure to train employees in the proper use, selection and maintenance of protective equipment, and lack of sufficient eyewash stations.

Bargain-basement price

Drive picks up steam to flag Conrail selloff

The AFL-CIO is supporting the campaign by railroad unions to defeat an Administration bill to sell the government's 85-percent share of Conrail to the competing Norfolk Southern Corp. at a bargain-basement price.

Approval of the sale would mean both reduced and costlier railroad freight service, fewer jobs and the loss of millions of dollars in tax revenue, Federation Legislative Director Ray Denison wrote senators.

The AFL-CIO convention took a strong stand against letting Norfolk Southern take over and partly dismantle the 13,400-mile Conrail system, and Federation President Lane Kirkland reiterated labor's opposition at a Capitol Hill meeting with senators and others seeking to block the sale.

Conrail was formed in 1975 out of the bankrupt Penn Central Railroad and several smaller failing lines. Railroad workers, who exchanged part of their paychecks for a 15 percent share of Conrail stock, helped the line return to profitability and were assured that the railroad would be kept intact when it was sold back to private ownership. Last year, it earned $440 million.

It would not be kept intact under the $1.2-billion bid by Norfolk Southern that Transportation Sec. Elizabeth Dole accepted a year ago, subject to approval by Congress. Determined opposition by senators whose states are served by Conrail blocked action in the first session, but Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole (Kan.) put the measure at the top of the Senate agenda for this session.

A group of institutional investors, acting through Morgan Stanley & Co., has offered $1.4 billion for the railroad but the Senate majority rejected that alternative despite support from both rail unions and Conrail management.

In deficit reduction alone, as labor sees it, the Senate action could be a $600 million mistake. As Denison noted in the AFL-CIO letter to senators, the government would gain even more than the $200 million difference in offering price. It would also avoid the loss of some $400 million in tax revenues over the next five years resulting from a Norfolk Southern purchase.

The multi-union Railway Labor Executives' Association, which has urged a public sale that would keep Conrail intact, welcomed the Morgan Stanley bid as as an alternative to the Norfolk Southern takeover.

RLEA Executive Sec.-Treas. Richard I. Kilroy, president of the Railway & Airline Clerks, said a Norfolk Southern sale would "make a mockery" of sacrifices Conrail workers made, which included work rule changes as well as lower wages.

Conservative lobby

On the other side of the issue, conservative organizations have been lobbying Congress heavily to approve the Norfolk Southern purchase to "get the government out of the railroad business." A group called the National Tax Limitation Committee has taken out full-page advertisements in leading newspapers and an organization called the Council for the Competitive Economy has filled the airwaves with commercials favoring the Norfolk Southern bill.

President Reagan called for passage of the legislation at a meeting of another new conservative group, called the Coalition of Americans for Privatization.

"Privatization" is the phrase the Administration uses to describe its proposals to sell off government assets to reduce the federal deficit and end "competition" with the private sector.

The Senate voted to limit debate on the bill, moving it closer to passage. But in the House, which has not yet acted on the legislation, committees involved have expressed concern over the anti-competitive effect of a Norfolk Southern takeover.

Opposing sale of Conrail to Norfolk Southern: Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, BRAC President Richard I. Kilroy and Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio).

Contracts negotiated in '85 show decline in givebacks

Major collective bargaining agreements negotiated during 1985 yielded wage increases averaging 2.3 percent in the first contract year and 2.7 percent annually over the life of the package, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

While the 2.3 percent average first-year gain was the lowest since BLS began collecting this data in 1968, it reflects in part a move toward other forms of compensation, such as lump-sum payments, stock ownership or profit sharing—none of which is counted as wage gains by the bureau.

BLS noted that by the end of the contract term, 85 percent of the 2,193,000 workers covered by the settlements will get wage increases averaging 3.5 percent a year.

A significant drop occurred in the number of settlements with pay cuts. Just 3 percent of all contracts negotiated in 1985 had first-year wage decreases, compared to 5 percent in 1984.

BLS cited a tendency toward "back-loading" contracts, providing the bulk of the pay raises toward the end of the contract. This was the case for 38 percent of the workers covered in 1985 agreements.

The back-loaded contracts provided average first-year gains of six-tenths of 1 percent and a 2.6-percent pay raise over the contract term.

Gains spread out

Front-loaded contracts, covering 36 percent of those who concluded bargaining in 1985, averaged first-year pay increases of 4.2 percent and 3.3 percent over the life of the agreement.

Contracts containing net wage increases were reached in a variety of industries, including trucking, public utilities, apparel manufacturing, airlines, services and retail trade.

Settlements with no specified wage raise were concentrated in the construction industry, but also included workers in food stores, transportation equipment and electrical products, the bureau said.

A separate BLS measure showed that the increase in average annual total compensation of combined wages and benefits in key contracts—those covering at least 5,000 workers—was under 2 percent in just 21 percent of the 1985 settlements, compared to 44 percent of the agreements signed in 1984.

more than 1,000 workers, 62 percent got first-year wage increases, compared to 49 percent in 1984. Likewise, the number receiving increases in total compensation grew to 77 percent from 68 percent a year earlier.

Further, 26 percent of the workers covered by these construction contracts will receive annual increases greater than 4 percent, compared to 19 percent in 1984.

San Francisco curbs contracting-out abuse

San Francisco—Climaxing a four-month campaign by Service Employees Local 87, the city's Board of Supervisors voted unanimously to provide safeguards for municipal employees when work is farmed out to private contractors.

More than 350 SEIU members who rallied at city hall and jammed the board room shouted their approval as the supervisors cast their votes.

The bill requires that private contractors who take over work previously done by city employees must offer those workers employment at the same wages and with the same benefits they were getting before the contracting-out.

Local President Wray Jacobs hailed the board's action and credited passage of the bill to the hundreds of SEIU members who picketed and lobbied for board action.

UFCW sends staff to aid in Hormel chain grievances

The Food & Commercial Workers mobilized organizational and legal resources to aid hundreds of meatpackers at plants of Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Neb., who were replaced or disciplined for honoring picket lines established by UFCW members on strike at Hormel's flagship facility in Austin, Minn.

In telegrams to leaders of all Hormel locals, UFCW President William H. Wynn pledged that the international would provide "all possible assistance to protect those innocent victims" of the strike which began at the 1,500-member Austin plant Aug. 15.

"Top UFCW representatives from around the country are en route to your local union and our attorneys are already working with your lawyers," Wynn's telegram said.

The union said it was providing "the best talent available" to the locals to handle the individual grievances of the workers who lost their jobs or were disciplined when they refused to report to work after unsanctioned roving pickets from Local P-9 in Austin showed up at the Ottumwa and Fremont plants.

Utilizing UFCW representatives who are seasoned in the grievance procedure, the union said, will assure that all of the grievances are handled in a timely fashion.

The meatpacking sector of the U.S. economy has been hard-hit in recent years because of outmoded plants, changing technology and changing markets.

Stabilizing wages

Against that background, the UFCW bargained a new Hormel settlement in 1984 that stabilized wages at $10 an hour effective in September 1985. Members at eight plants ratified the agreement.

At Austin, the leaders of Local P-9, which was covered by a long-term agreement, declined to bring the local under the new contract. In October 1984, the company unilaterally cut wages at Austin below the level of the chain agreement.

Following unsuccessful arbitration of the issue, the Austin local struck Hormel in August 1985 in an effort to win wages higher than the chain contract. The walkout was sanctioned by the international, which began payment of strike benefits.

After five months on strike, Local P-9 members twice rejected—by almost identical 200-vote margins—a mediator's proposal that would bring their wages up to the level of the other Hormel plants.

When Hormel reopened the Austin plant in mid-January, some strikers returned to work and the company hired several hundred new employees.

Since then, the Austin local has sent unsanctioned roving pickets to other plants and has tried to launch an unauthorized consumer boycott of Hormel products.

Productivity drop steepest in 4 years

Business productivity nosedived 1.3 percent in the last quarter of 1985—the steepest decline in four years—providing fresh evidence that the economy is faltering.

The AFL-CIO said the Labor Dept. figures underscored the Reagan Administration's flawed approach to economic problems.

"This belies the rhetoric of those who preached supply-side economics, who said they had a magic answer to the productivity problems of the nation," declared Rudy Oswald, director of the Dept. of Economic Research.

The Labor Dept. said that the productivity drop in the fourth quarter was the first in a year, and meant that 1985 ended with no improvement at all in productivity.

The continued battering of American industry as a result of low-cost foreign imports was evident in statistics showing that the output of durable goods in the fourth quarter dropped 1.1 percent, while nondurable goods manufacturing was down 2.1 percent.

At the same time, the Bureau of Labor Statistics made major revisions in its figures, showing that productivity increased only 1.6 percent in 1984 instead of the 2.7 percent previously reported. BLS also downgraded the figures for 1985's third quarter. Instead of rising the 2.1 percent originally claimed, productivity grew a mere three-tenths of 1 percent in the July-September period.

In a separate report, the government said that wages and salaries for workers in the private sector and in state and local government advanced 4.4 percent during the year ending in December—almost the same as the 4.5-percent gain posted in 1984.

But smaller employer contributions to pension, health and life insurance plans led to a deceleration in the rate of increase in management's overall outlays for its workforce. Employment costs rose 4.3 percent last year, down from 5.2 percent in 1984.

Shifting costs

Several recent private surveys showed that many employers were able to get away with smaller increases in fringe benefit costs by heaping new financial burdens on workers.

Although BLS put particular stress on what it said was the slowdown in compensation gains for unionized workers—2.6 percent last year, as compared to 4.6 for non-union workers—the figures were skewed because the incomes of managers, administrators and professional workers were included in the non-union category.

Another sign of a continued downturn in the economy came in a report showing that December's orders for machine tools were down 9.3 percent from November and were a staggering 31 percent below a year ago. These orders are considered a harbinger of future activity in the manufacturing sector.

The National Machine Tool Builders' Association said that last months's orders plunged to $177 million from the $255-million level in the same month in 1984.

Meanwhile, the Commerce Dept. reported that orders for durable goods climbed 4.2 percent in December, after falling nine-tenths of 1 percent in September, 2 percent in October and seven-tenths of 1 percent in November.

But the figures masked the continued problems plaguing the manufacturing sector. The increase was due solely to a year-end bulge in airplane orders, and excluding that one-time jump in the aircraft sector, orders in December actually dropped off 2 percent.

Economist David Wyss of Data Resources, Inc., a Lexington, Mass., consulting firm, said the report pointed to a "general weakness" in the industrial economy. He predicted growth of only 2.5 to 3 percent in the first half of 1986—far below the 4 percent forecast by the Reagan Administration.

Staffers Cynthia McCaughan, left and Helen Dabney sift out cut up Shell credit cards collected by the Dept. of Civil Rights.

Labor presses Shell boycott in battle against apartheid

Continued from Page 1

ened when we fail to protect those too weak to protect themselves from tyrants."

The federation announced the nationwide boycott against Shell, a division of the Royal Dutch/Shell group, in early January as part of an international labor protest against the multinational's repressive treatment of black workers in South Africa and its refusal to take positive action against apartheid.

"Shell has earned this consumer boycott by its corporate misdeeds in South Africa," Kirkland and Bieber said at that time. The goal, they declared, is to "encourage Shell to disinvest in South Africa as part of the broad effort to pressure the South African regime to end the apartheid system."

The dispute with Shell dates back to early 1985, when 86 workers at a mine in Reitspruit were fired for attending a memorial service for a fellow miner killed on the job. Management's retaliation also included a crackdown against normal union activities. The mine is owned jointly by Shell and Barlow Rand, a South African conglomerate.

The AFL-CIO launched the campaign in response to appeals from South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers, the Miners International Federation, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with which the AFL-CIO is affiliated.

The boycott is aimed at gasoline, petroleum and natural gas products marketed by Shell, and not against individual merchants selling these products, Kirkland said.

Serving on the boycott committee with Bieber and Trumka are Presidents Gerald W. McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees, John J. Sweeney of the Service Employees, Lynn R. Williams of the Steelworkers, Frank Drozak of the Seafarers, Albert Shanker of the Teachers and Frederick O'Neal of the Actors & Artistes, and Sec.-Treas. John Mara of the Union Label & Service Trades Dept. Other union leaders will be named to the committee shortly.

Donahue cites job needs

Clergy urged to help reorder U.S. goals

Chicago—America faces crises on the economic, social, moral and ethical fronts that will take "the best thinking and full cooperation of labor, management and government and the moral authority and guidance of the churches" to resolve, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue said.

Speaking to 200 clergymen, theologians and religious teachers at the annual meeting of the Society of Christian Ethics, Donahue called on the religious community to help bring about "sweeping changes in our national goals and practices."

At the heart of the interlocking crises, he declared, is high and chronic unemployment which still afflicts 8 million Americans, while another 7 million have either dropped out of the workforce in despair or are working part-time because full-time jobs aren't available.

Although some of the joblessness is the "irreversible result of technological change," Donahue said, the root cause is the unrelenting trade warfare being waged by foreign businesses with the blessing of their governments.

Costly turnaround

"Just five years ago," he pointed out, "America had a trade surplus in industrial products of $40 billion. In 1985 we had an overall trade deficit of $140 billion." This avalanche of foreign-made goods has cost the jobs of nearly 4 million workers. "Not all of those jobs belonged to union members, but all of them sustained American families, and they don't anymore."

To prevent further erosion of America's industrial base, Donahue told the religious leaders, what is needed is a full-scale re-examination of the structure of American industry "with an eye to making the changes that are needed to reverse the decline."

Instead of dealing with this crisis, the Reagan Administration's answer has been to "abandon the nation's future to the false gods of the marketplace," he stressed.

"Most of the regulatory machinery that was set up to protect workers, consumers and businesses from being victimized by raw and uncontrolled economic power has been dissolved or paralyzed.

"If a given product can be produced more easily overseas, American business is encouraged to buy it there or make it there and close down American plants regardless of the effects of mass layoffs on American families and communities."

Deadly game

In the face of competitive disadvantage from abroad, Donahue declared, American businessmen have "thrown all their energies into a deadly game of corporate cannibalism" in which they acquire one company after another, dismantling or selling off bits and pieces of the corporations that fall into their hands.

The huge amounts of credit extended to corporate raiders "shrinks the amount of capital available for legitimate, productive investment," he pointed out, and the massive debts incurred by companies fighting off these raids mean "inflated prices and stunted payrolls."

What the nation needs, Donahue declared, is an industrial policy that insures America's economic independence and a trade policy that "reacts vigorously to unfair foreign trade practices and that establishes decent safeguards for American industry against sudden or predatory undercutting."

Labor is willing to work with employers to resolve the economic crisis facing the nation, but management is generally caught up in "bitter opposition" to unions and in making "vast expenditures on union avoidance," Donahue asserted.

"We're available to cooperate, but it takes two sides. Our problem is a shortage of partners."

Bill would beef up housing bias ban

A new attempt to strengthen the Fair Housing Act was launched in the Senate with bipartisan sponsorship and a strong labor endorsement.

The legislation, a major goal of the civil rights coalition, would strengthen enforcement of the ban on discrimination in the sale or rental of housing and broaden its scope. It would add handicapped persons and families with children to the groups now protected against housing discrimination.

An AFL-CIO statement supporting the bill cosponsored by Senators Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.) and Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) said housing discrimination remains widespread because the 1968 law relies on a voluntary conciliation process as the only alternative to a long, costly lawsuit.

As a result, the federation noted, less than 20 percent of complaints are successfully resolved and very few court cases are ever filed.

Renewed measure

The new Mathias-Kennedy bill is similar to a measure the House passed in 1980 by a big bipartisan majority which died in the Senate after a nine-day filibuster.

It would continue a conciliation process through local offices of the Dept. of Housing & Urban Development during investigation of a complaint of housing discrimination. But if the agency cannot reconcile the complaint and has reasonable cause to believe it is justified, HUD would bring a charge before an administrative law judge. The procedure would be comparable to enforcement of federal labor law through the National Labor Relations Board.

Present law bars discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin. The proposed change would also ban refusal of housing based on a person's handicap or family status. An exception would allow children to be barred from publicly assisted housing for the elderly or from retirement communities.

UAW-Michigan pact wins gains for 21,800

Lansing, Mich.—An initial two-year agreement between the Auto Workers and the Michigan Civil Service Commission provides for two pay equity adjustments, plus improvements in wages and benefits.

The pay equity increases of 20 cents an hour will go to workers in classifications that are 70 percent or more female. The first adjustment is retroactive to last Oct. 1, and the second will take effect next Oct. 1.

Wages will increase 5 percent next Oct. 1 for the 21,800 state workers covered by the agreement. The unit, previously represented by the unaffiliated Michigan State Employees Association, contains 10,200 human services employees and 10,880 administrative support workers.

The state's share of the health insurance premium will increase on Oct. 1 from 90 percent to 95 percent and the vision care premiums will be fully paid by the employer. The package includes a new hearing care program and joint labor-management committee to review health care costs.

Community services help members survive crises

The AFL-CIO's community services network helped some 260,000 people last year, providing emergency food and housing assistance, helping workers and families with alcohol or drug problems, and dealing with the human impact of plant closings and continued high unemployment.

Its representatives, mostly employed by local United Way organizations, Red Cross chapters, labor agencies and rehabilitation programs, work out of 183 cities across the nation.

Labor's community services program has trained union counselors who know what services are available to help fellow workers with personal and family problems.

These continuing outreach efforts are cited in the annual report from the AFL-CIO Dept. of Community Services and its director, Frank W. Emig. It adds up to "an enviable record of services," AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said in a letter of appreciation to the federation's more than 270 community services liaison representatives.

Labor's community services role, the report noted, includes both making sure that public and voluntary human services are available to union members and their families, and enlisting unions and union members to serve their communities.

Last year, for example, as part of the American Red Cross Disaster Coastline program, facilities and services provided by 35 local unions in 13 states were used during hurricanes and other natural disasters, with other specially equipped union-provided centers available on a standby basis.

A continuing tradition of donations of labor as well as money was reflected in the Dept. of Community Services report.

Union projects

Some examples: A newly established community services committee of a Machinists local in Kansas organized a volunteer corps of area craft unions to rehabilitate a Catholic Charities day care center for retarded adults. And in Arizona, the Phoenix trade union movement provided money and union members donated their skills and time to erect a shelter for homeless men.

In Newark, a debt counseling service operated by the communty services labor agency handled 280 cases, the report noted.

About 40 percent of them involved union members and many of the debt problems were caused by unemployment. Among the other causes listed were income lost from illness, default on child support payments and overspending by newlyweds on furniture and appliances.

Emergency assistance needs made up most of the calls for help to local community services representatives. The report suggested that "anyone interested in the so-called Reagan recovery should note that requests for help with employment, food and finances ran relentlessly high throughout the year."

Reports from cities having community services liaisons showed 141,921 requests for food assistance, 12,568 requests involving financial problems, 7,064 employment-related calls, and 7,495 dealing with health care, 5,611 with housing and 2,808 with alcohol or drugs. These were in addition to the workplace assistance and referrals provided by union counselors.

Community service liaisons also work alongside the AFL-CIO's employment and training arm, the Human Resources Development Institute, and with unions whose members are affected by plant closings and layoffs.

More than 5,300 union members in 102 cities attended the department's basic union counselor course, usually a 10-session program.

As the report explained, the intent "is not to mass produce social service caseworkers, but to build into union locals and their membership informed and ready access to help with personal and family problems."

Charity efforts

The department also helped with charitable fund drives undertaken by the AFL-CIO, including help for victims of famine in Ethiopia and earthquakes in Mexico, the report noted.

It also worked with national agencies, such as the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped and helped in such projects as securing commitments to make two union aircraft available for a program that provides free transport to cancer victims.

Internally, the department conducted extensive training programs for community services representatives, including state, regional and national conferences.

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SPECIAL REPORT

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The Gramm-Rudman Law: How It Works—And Hurts

No Program Immune From Budget Slashing

The entire issue of this ***Legislative Alert*** *is devoted to an explanation of the procedures of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, the new budget law which governs how all federal funds will be spent--and more importantly, how they will be cut. It is a complex law that defies a simple explanation. However, inasmuch as this law will have a massive impact on every program we fought for as trade unionists and every federal program we work and live under, it is being spelled out here in detail.*

Some critics say Gramm-Rudman is unworkable and is a legislative "black hole." Supporters see it as a triumph for those who want minimum federal government. Many see it as Congress' abandonment of its authority to make decisions.

Whatever the outcome, the Gramm-Rudman law will dominate all federal legislation for the next several years. Thus, the reason to spell out here its functions.

Every year since the Budget Act was enacted in 1974, Congress has been required to set a budget--a blueprint--for its spending in the coming year. Since 1981--when massive tax cuts accelerated the U.S. into a tailspin of debt--the annual increase in debt has been massive. President Reagan has rejected a tax increase--and Congress has refused to take tax action on its own. Severe cuts in social programs have occurred but have not stemmed the rising debt. For example, in FY 1985, the government took in $734 billion in revenues and spent $946 billion, adding $212 billion more to the debt.

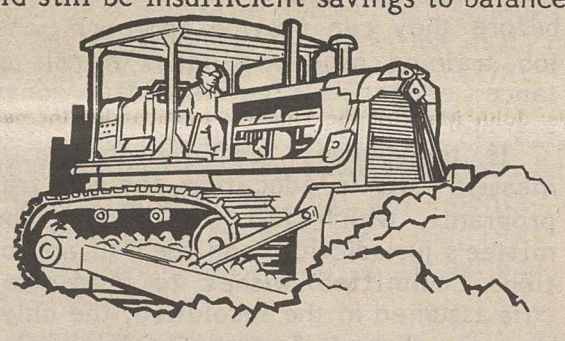
In order to eliminate this annual addition to the debt without a tax increase, massive cuts in spending would have to be made.

Mass Transit

Yet much government spending cannot be touched. In FY 1985 over 30 percent of federal outlays was for interest on the debt and prior legal obligations which cannot be cut. This throws the burden onto social programs--as well as in heretofore untouched defense spending. If Social Security is taken out of the pool available for cuts--which Congress has recently indicated a willingness to do--almost 20 percent more of federal spending is removed. This leaves to be cut medicare, unemployment insurance, job training, education, mass transit, Amtrak, nutrition programs, highway construction projects and all other non-defense spending, which represents only about one-third of total spending, and defense current-year spending, which represents a little less than one-fifth of total spending--or about $300 billion and $160 billion respectively.

So if any further basic cuts are to be made, they will fall directly on programs that Congress after Congress has enacted and renewed--programs that the private sector won't or can't do: build roads and bridges, provide care for the veteran, assist in education, clean up toxic wastes, assure job safety, provide trade adjustment benefits and services, ensure Social Security and medicare for the elderly, and many other necessary services. These are the targets of any budget cuts.

However, even if many of the basic federal programs were totally ended, there would still be insufficient savings to balance



Public Works Construction

the budget--particularly if a return to a recession occurred.

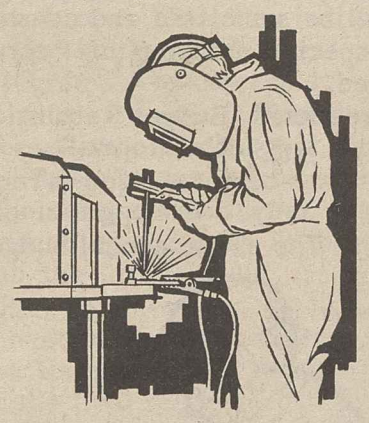
Despite this reality, the stage was set in 1985 for demagoguery--and for radical, desperate action--when legislation came before the Congress to raise the government's debt limit above $2 trillion. On October 9, 1985, the Senate passed an amendment to the debt limit legislation authored by Senators Phil Gramm (R-TX), Warren Rudman (R-NH) and Ernest Hollings (D-SC) and cosponsored by Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-KA) and 37 other Senators which would radically revise Congressional operations and budgeting procedures and require a balanced budget by FY 1991 (see vote in **Legislative Alert** of Nov. 18, 1985). What came about was a sweeping transformation of the way federal budget decisions are made, binding limits on the budget deficit, a process for automatic across-the-board spending cuts and the certainty that every social and labor program now in law--and any proposed--faced massive cuts and possible elimination. On December 11, 1985, the House and Senate passed a conference agreement on the debt limit which included the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment only marginally modified.

Following are the essentials of the new budget process, as radically altered by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings (G-R-H) legislation.

OVERVIEW

The Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act (Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, PL 99-177) makes extensive changes in the congressional budget process. Many of these changes are designed to help enforce the maximum deficit limits specified by Gramm-Rudman. Others are designed to accelerate the timetable for congressional action on budget matters and to generally streamline and improve the budget process.

The legislation creates a series of binding limits on the budget deficit. The need to hold the deficit within these limits will be the dominating factor in all budget deliberations. Further, the measure creates an



Jobs Programs

unprecedented new process which will make spending cuts automatically on an across-the-board basis in years when the deficit is projected to exceed the limits. For FY 1987, meeting the Gramm-Rudman targets will clearly require massive spending cuts--and, many believe, substantial revenue increases as well. If the spending cuts are not made through the normal legislative process, they will be made automatically by formula.

The Gramm-Rudman legislation forbids consideration of congressional budget resolutions with deficits in excess of the applicable limits, and makes the budget resolution binding upon adoption. The measure also establishes an accelerated timetable for consideration of budget resolutions, reconciliation bills, and appropriations legislation.

THE REVISED BUDGET PROCESS

Maximum Deficit Limits. The new legislation sets maximum limits on the annual increase in the federal debt for the period FY 1986 through FY 1991. These limits are as follows:

FY 1986: $171.9 billion
FY 1987: $144 billion
FY 1988: $108 billion
FY 1989: $ 72 billion
FY 1990: $ 36 billion
FY 1991: zero

The federal debt in 1991, even under this program of massive cuts, will have risen to approximately $2.6 trillion.

Neither the President's budget nor the congressional budget resolution may call for

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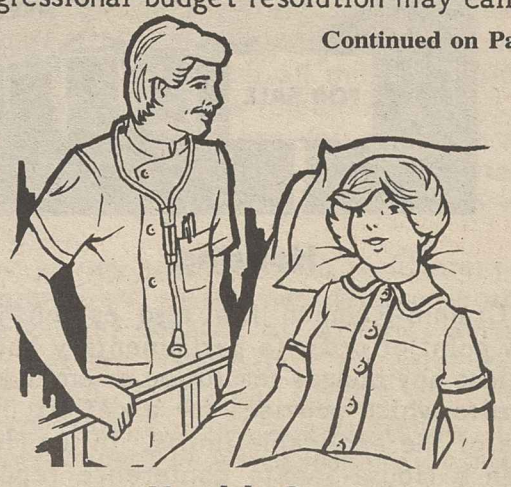

Health Care

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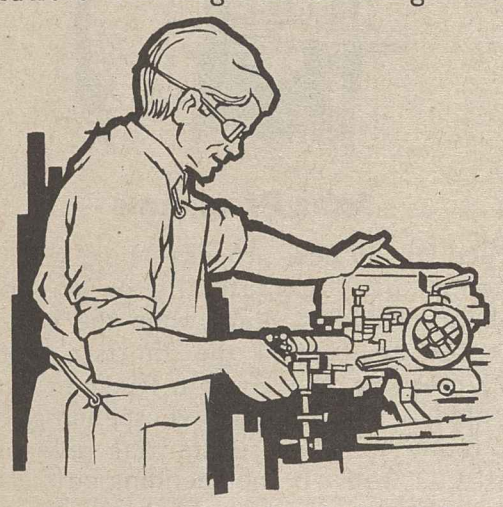
The Gramm-Rudman Law: How It Works—And Hurts

a deficit in excess of the limit set by the law. If the actual deficit for a given fiscal year is projected to exceed the applicable limit by more than $10 billion (or by any amount in the case of FY 1986 and FY 1991), the automatic spending reduction procedures, described later, will be triggered.

President's Budget. Gramm-Rudman accelerates the deadline for submission of the President's annual budget proposal to Congress. Under the new law, this budget must be submitted no later than the first Monday after January 3, effective next year. (The current requirement is 15 days after Congress convenes, which usually means early February.) For the FY 1987 budget only--which will be submitted and considered this year--a special deadline of February 5 is established.

Congressional Budget Resolution. The new budget legislation formalizes the practice which has been followed in recent years of adopting only one congressional budget resolution. The single annual budget resolution required by the new legislation will be binding upon adoption. It will cover three years, and will set targets for budget authority, outlays, revenues, deficits, direct lending, and loan guarantees, including both aggregate targets and targets for each of the various functional categories of the budget. As before, at this stage all programs are at risk and can be cut. It is only later--at the automatic trigger step--that some programs are off limits. It must include reconciliation instructions (to the extent necessary) and may include various other procedural matters and enforcement mechanisms. These requirements for content are quite similar to current practice.



Job Safety And Health

The new law sets a deadline of April 15 for completion of congressional action on the annual budget resolution. Under previous law, the comparable deadline was May 15, but this deadline was often not met.

Housing

Gramm-Rudman law also establishes a new point of order (a parliamentary barrier) against any budget resolution or amendment thereto which provides for a deficit in excess of the applicable limits. In the House, when a House-Senate conference report is being considered, this point of order may only be waived by a three-fifths majority of those present and voting. In the Senate, a three-fifths majority is required for such a waiver in all cases, including initial Senate action as well as action on a conference report.

BUDGET LIMITATIONS

Binding Targets for Committees and Subcommittees. Under the new procedures, the conference report on the annual budget resolution will include an allocation of the overall spending targets among the various committees of the House and Senate. Each committee, in turn, will be required to subdivide its allocations among its various subcommittees or programs under its jurisdiction. Gramm-Rudman makes these allocations among committees and subcommittees binding--enforceable by new points of order.

For example, the Appropriations Committee is allocated one lump sum of almost $600 billion for all appropriations for the federal government. It must then subdivide that allocation among its 13 subcommittees before they can provide appropriations for job training programs, mass transit assistance, education programs, dam construction and the like.

If the budget resolution has assumed massive cuts in education and job training programs, which fall within one subcommittee's jurisdiction, and the full appropriations committee wishes to moderate the cuts assumed in the resolution, the only way they can do so is by reducing the amount of spending authority that otherwise would have gone to another subcommittee. If they do not increase the allocation to that subcommittee over what is assumed in the budget resolution, the subcommittee must produce a bill which incorporates cuts meeting the expectations of the budget resolution, or that bill cannot be considered on the House or Senate floor.

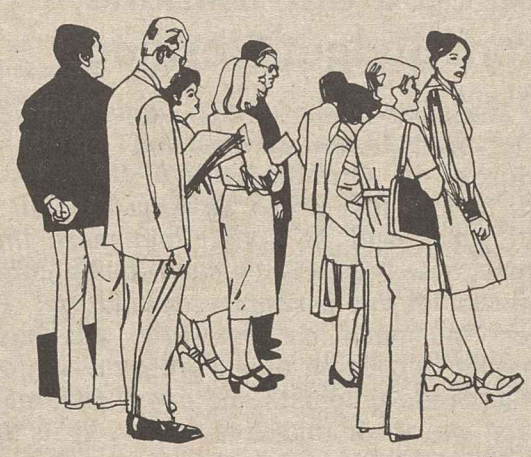
In the House, a point of order could be raised against consideration of any bill, amendment, or conference agreement providing new spending authority in excess of the appropriate subdivision (the "Section 302(b) allocation"). These would be ordinary points of order that could be waived by majority vote. Similar points of order would apply in the Senate, although these would cover outlays as well as budget authority and require a three-fifths majority to waive.

Binding Aggregate Targets. Under Gramm-Rudman, the targets set by the budget resolution for aggregate spending and revenues become binding and enforceable by points of order as soon as Congress completes action on the conference report on the resolution.

Reconciliation. Reconciliation is the process whereby after the budget spending targets are set, the committees must "reconcile" these with the funds available and make legislative cuts in programs or raise funds to pay for them. The new procedures call for inclusion of reconciliation instructions in the annual budget resolution if these are necessary in order to implement the resolution's targets.

The measures reported by the various committees are then assembled into a single package by the House and Senate budget committees prior to floor consideration.

The reconciliation procedures specified in Gramm-Rudman are generally similar to those that have been used over the past several years. One significant difference, however, is a prohibition against using reconciliation to change the basic Social Security program. It remains to be seen whether this restriction will truly protect the program.

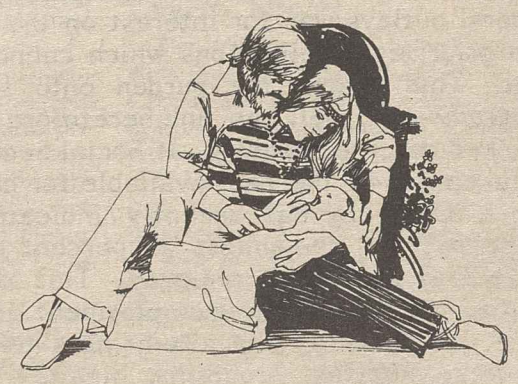


Unemployment Protections

The new legislation sets a deadline of June 15 for completion of congressional action on any necessary reconcilation measure. To help ensure timely action, the legislation also specifies that it shall not be in order for the House to consider adjourning for the July 4 recess unless at least House action on reconciliation is finished. The legislation places no comparable requirement on the Senate.

House Action on Appropriations Bills. The new law includes several provisions designed to expedite action on the annual appropriations measures, at least in the House. First, while the legislation continues the general prohibition against consideration of spending bills in the House or Senate prior to adoption of a budget resolution, it provides a new special exemption which allows regular appropriations bills to be considered on the House floor after May 15, regardless of whether action has been completed on the budget resolution.

Further, the legislation establishes a new deadline of June 30 for completion of House action on all regular appropriations bills. Finally, Gramm-Rudman provides that it shall not be in order for the House to adjourn for the July 4 recess unless it has finished all of the regular appropriations measures for the coming fiscal year. So, as enacted, all "reconciling" of programs to get under the spending limit must be passed by



Child Care

Congress by the end of June and all money bills must have been acted on by the House. Conclusion of action on these appropriations bills, again within the spending limits, is where the process usually ends.

AUTOMATIC SPENDING REDUCTION

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings establishes an automatic spending reduction process, called sequestration, which is triggered whenever the deficit at the start of a fiscal year is projected to exceed that year's allowable limit. Deficit estimates for Gramm-Rudman purposes are to be made by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) and the General Accounting Office (GAO), with GAO having the final say in cases of disagreement. The law requires automatic cuts of whatever size is needed to achieve the deficit limit. (This part of the law is under legal challenge. Even if the lawsuit is successful, Gramm-Rudman provides another means to the same target.)

The mechanism for making these cuts is a presidential executive order, but in issuing the order the President is required to follow the determinations made by GAO and the formulas specified by law. He has no discretion as to whether or not to issue such an order, and very little discretion as to how to apportion the cuts.

The formula to be used in apportioning these automatic spending cuts is spelled out

Veterans Benefits

in detail by the G-R-H legislation. The total cuts required are to be divided 50/50 between defense and non-defense programs. Certain items are fully exempt (mainly So-

Law Enforcement

cial Security, some low-income programs, and certain binding legal obligations), and special rules limit the cuts in some other programs (including medicare). All other items will be subject to across-the-board uniform percentage cuts of whatever size is needed to produce the mandated savings.

In FY 1987 and subsequent years, OMB, CBO and GAO first make an estimate of the deficit and the need for sequestration based on legislation enacted as of August 15 and then revise that report for the final sequestration order based on legislation enacted as of approximately October 5.

Sequestration Schedule.

Below are outlined the steps for sequestration for FY 1987 through FY 1991.

(There is a separate, abbreviated schedule for the $11.7 billion sequestration in FY 1986 which requires the OMB/CBO and GAO reports on January 15 and January 21, respectively; the initial sequestration order of the President on February 1, at which point funds withheld; and the final implementation of the President's order on March 1, at which time spending authority is permanently cancelled.)

1. **OMB/CBO Report -August 20.** Based on legislation enacted as of August 15, OMB and CBO jointly prepare and transmit to GAO a report projecting the deficit for the coming fiscal year and comparing that deficit to the maximum deficit amount. If the projected deficit exceeds the maximum deficit amount by more than $10 billion in FY 1987-1990 or by any amount in FY 1991, sequestration is triggered. In that case, the report also estimates the dollars and percentages by which program reductions are to be made to lower the estimated deficit to the maximum level.

2. **GAO Report - August 25.** The GAO issues a report to the President, based on the OMB/CBO report. GAO has limited discretion to modify the OMB/CBO data.

3. **President's Initial Sequestration Order - September 1.** If the GAO report identifies an excess deficit which triggers sequestration, the President must issue a sequestration order which may not modify or recalculate any of the estimates and determinations of the GAO report and which must be consistent with it in all respects. Funds are not withheld at this point.

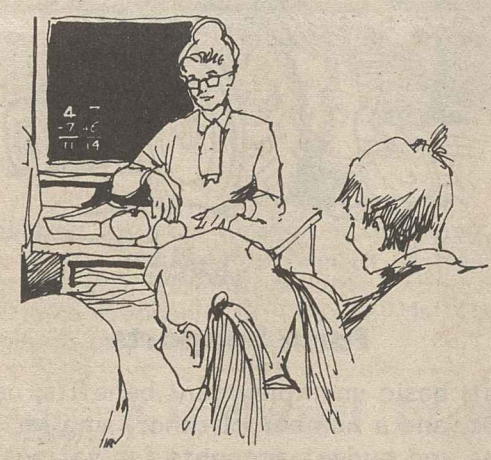
4. **Congressional Response to Sequestration Order - September.** The Act does not expressly provide for a congressional response to the initial sequestration order. However, prior to permanent cancellation of funds, OMB and CBO revise their estimate of the deficit for the upcoming fiscal year based on congressional action taken as of approximately October 5.

At this point Congress could revisit all spending decisions it had made thus far in order to pare spending back even further. A new, omnibus appropriations bill could further reduce bills already enacted or in process. A new reconciliation bill could instruct authorizing committees to cut programs again, further than they had been cut already earlier in the year. Again, at this point, all programs are vulnerable.

5. **President's Initial Order Causes Funds to be Withheld -October 1.** Even though the final sequestration order may substantially revise the initial order, on October 1 spending authority in the amounts identified in the initial order are withheld, pending the final order. Non-exempt COLA's scheduled to take effect at the start of the fiscal year are suspended until issuance of the final sequestration order.

6. **Revised OMB/CBO and GAO Reports -October 5 & October 10.** Based on legislation enacted as of approximately Oct. 5, OMB/CBO and GAO issue revised reports, on October 5 and October 10 respectively, adjusting the deficit estimate and sequestration calculations accordingly.

7. **Final Sequestration Order -October 15.** The President issues a final sequestration order consistent in all respects with the



Education

revised GAO report. On the issuance of the final sequestration order, spending authority identified is permanently cancelled.

Sequestration Calculations.

Once sequestration is triggered by an OMB/CBO/GAO projection that the deficit in the coming year will be above the permissible level, spending authority must be sequestered in amounts sufficient to eliminate the entire projected deficit in excess of the maximum deficit amount.

The amount to be sequestered is applied 50/50 to defense and non-defense programs. However, the Gramm-Rudman law contains a number of total exemptions, partial exemptions, special rules and general principles that affect the sequestration calculation at this point. After all these provisions have been applied, the remaining outlays in the defense and in the non-defense areas are subjected to an across-the-board percentage reduction to meet the outlay reduction requirement.

The percentage reduction is different in the defense and in the non-defense sectors of the budget because of different adjustments that are made before the percentage is calculated. Prior-year outlays, with limited exception, are not sequesterable. The combined impact of this treatment of prior-

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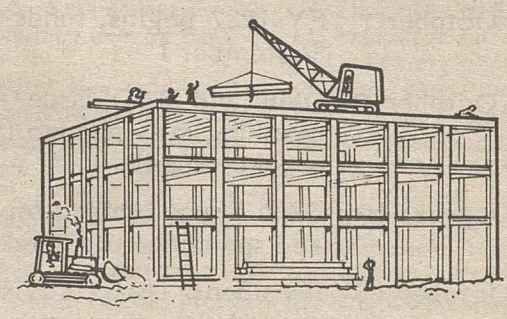

Community Development

The Hypocrisy Of Gramm-Rudman

The first bill on the Senate floor to come under the provisions of the new Gramm-Rudman budget control law was legislation to sell the government-owned Conrail system to the Norfolk Southern Railroad. The AFL-CIO, the rail unions and many industries oppose the sale as a bad deal and anti-competitive. Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) pointed out that consideration of the bill was in violation of the new budget act and the sale would cost taxpayers millions of dollars in federal revenues.

Sen. John Danforth (R-MO), using a provision of the new law, immediately countered with a motion that the budget act be waived--that the new Gramm-Rudman Act not be applied to the Conrail sale. The Senate then voted 68-31 to abandon its deficit cutting law.

But did the sponsors of Gramm-Rudman rise in outrage and anger at this end run around their brainchild? Not at all, not only did they join in the vote to waive the law, they joined Senator Danforth in his "Dear Colleague" letter urging all senators to ignore the new law.

Isn't something crazy here?

The Gramm-Rudman Law: How It Works—And Hurts

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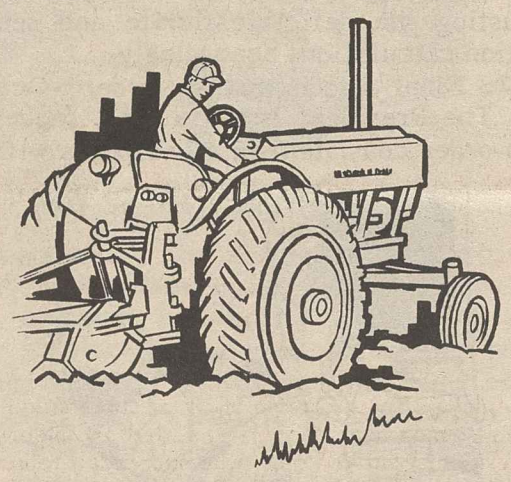
year outlays together with the exemptions and other special rules is that roughly 72 percent of outlays are not sequesterable; that is, they cannot be made subject to the automatic across-the-board cuts. Approximately 37 percent of defense outlays and 85 percent of non-defense outlays are non-sequesterable. This means that the remaining 63 percent of outlays for defense and 15 percent of outlays for non-defense must absorb the total sequestration reduction.

The Gramm-Rudman law totally exempts a number of non-defense programs from sequestration. These include Social Security; railroad retirement tier II; veterans' compensation and pensions; AFDC; child nutrition; food stamps; medicaid; supplemental security income; the women, infants and children program (WIC); earned income tax



Farm Supports

credit; basic unemployment benefits; net interest, and a number of other, smaller programs and budget accounts for various constitutional, legal and technical reasons.

The law applies special rules to programs with "automatic spending increases" (essentially cost-of-living adjustments) which are not on the exempt list. These programs can have their COLA's eliminated, but are not subject to any further cuts through sequestration. Further, savings from COLA's may not exceed one-half of the total excess deficit.

Cuts are limited in the following health care programs to 1 percent in FY 1986 and 2 percent in FY 1987 and subsequent years: medicare, veterans' medical care, community health centers, migrant health centers, and Indian health facilities and services. Medicare cuts may be made only in payments to doctors, hospitals and other health care providers, and are to be measured from the level of payment set by existing law and regulations.

Six other programs are also subject to special rules:

* Unemployment insurance -only federal administrative expenses and the federal contribution to extended benefits can be sequestered.
* Federal pay - federal pay rates, both military and civilian, may not be cut through sequestration.
* Guaranteed student loans -costs can be reduced only by a 0.4 percent reduction in the first year of the special allowance factor for lenders and a 0.5 percent increase in the origination fee.

Special rules also apply to child support enforcement, foster care and adoption assistance and to commodity credit corporation programs.

SPECIAL RECESSION PROVISIONS

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings provides for automatic votes in Congress on a measure suspending the deficit limits and the automatic spending reduction process in the event of a recession. This measure would be in the form of a joint resolution, which would require presidential approval (or a veto override) before it could take effect.

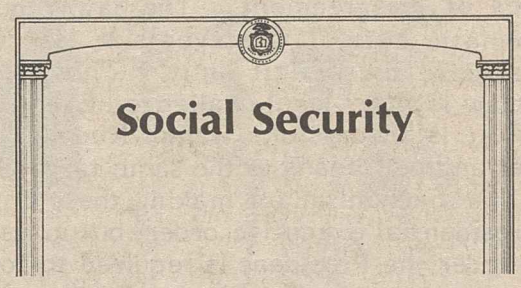
The special provisions would be set in motion at any point during a fiscal year when CBO notifies Congress that it or OMB has projected that real economic growth will fall below zero for any two consecutive quarters (during the period beginning with the quarter prior to notification and ending with the fourth quarter after notification). The provisions would also be triggered whenever the actual economic growth statistics published by the Commerce Department show that real growth has fallen below 1 percent for two consecutive quarters.

Critics say that these triggers are inadequate because predictions of recession are rarely, if ever, made by OMB and CBO and statistics showing that growth has actually dropped below 1 percent will result in any remedy coming too late.

The provisions that would be suspended include the maximum deficit limits, various points of order and the automatic spending reduction process. The suspension would be for the remainder of the current fiscal year and for the following fiscal year, after which time the statutory G-R-H deficit schedule would be back in effect. The resolution would not suspend the provisions of a spending reduction order which had already gone into effect.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

While the AFL-CIO in no way supports Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, which is seen as bringing about government by paralysis, we do recognize the need to reduce the deficit in a judicious manner. Our position since 1981 has been that it makes no sense to cut



Social Security

needed domestic programs again and again, when the primary contributing factor to the enormous deficits continues to be the 1981 tax cut that dramatically cut the rates of wealthy individuals and corporations. The AFL-CIO has also opposed increases in defense spending when social programs are being cut.

In FY 1987, when G-R-H is expected to require deficit reduction measures in the $40-$60 billion range, the continuing net impact of the 1981 tax giveaway is over $150 billion lost to the Treasury in FY 1987.

You can write your Representatives and Senators, strongly protesting any further cuts in domestic programs and urging that constructive action on the deficit would be to recover the revenues lost in the 1981 tax cut for the wealthy by closing corporate tax loopholes and increasing the minimum tax on wealthy individuals.

Key Budget Dates For FY 1987

February 5	President submits FY 1987 budget to Congress
April 15	Deadline for completing action on conference report on FY 1987 budget resolution
June 15	Deadline for completing action on conference report on FY 1987 reconciliation bill
June 30	Deadline for completing House action on FY 1987 appropriation bills
August 20	OMB and CBO report to GAO on projected deficit for FY 1987 and automatic spending cuts required under Gramm-Rudman
August 25	GAO transmits report to President on deficit and spending-cut needs based on OMB/CBO report
September 1	President issues preliminary automatic spending reduction order for FY 1987, in accordance with GAO report
October 1	FY 1987 begins, funds withheld pursuant to presidential order issued on September 1
October 5	OMB and CBO issue revised report to GAO on FY 1987 deficit and spending cuts needed (taking account of legislation enacted since first report issued)
October 10	GAO issues revised report to Congress and President on FY 1987 deficit and spending cuts needed
October 15	President issues revised spending reduction order for FY 1987, in accordance with revised GAO report. Spending is permanently cancelled upon issuance.

Government fails to implement job act's mandate

Forty years after passage of the Employment Act of 1946, the government has failed to meet its responsibility to create job opportunities and expand the nation's economic base.

That conclusion emerged from two days of hearings by the Joint Economic Committee, which brought together panels of union leaders and economists to examine the state of the economy and the steps needed to put it back on track.

Another symposium, cosponsored by the AFL-CIO and the National Committee for Full Employment, will be held Mar. 6 to assess how far the nation has traveled, and the challenges that lie ahead, on the road toward the goal of full employment.

Enacted during the Truman Administration, the law "formally acknowledged the responsibility of government for promoting the growth of employment and output in the American economy," JEC Chairman David Obey (D-Wis.) declared at the opening session.

Elusive goal

Four decades later, the goal remains unrealized, President Howard D. Samuel of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. told the committee.

In place of the "glorious new world we had been promised," Samuel asserted, the nation faces the grim specter of "a landscape strewn with dying industries, closed factories, eroding communities and millions of workers and families in trouble."

A number of economists, identifying a significant shift in employment from relatively high-paid jobs in basic industries to service industry jobs at lower wages, warned of even greater inequities and an increasing frustration among young workers in their attempts to boost their living standards.

Samuel cited the uncontrolled influx of low-cost foreign-made goods for turning "the world of the American industrial worker upside down."

Devaluation 'myth'

He dismissed as a "myth" the Reagan Administration contention that the "horrendous deficit" in trade will disappear with the devaluation of the dollar.

The IUD president insisted it was a mistake to claim, as some people do, that "we can flourish as a service society" without the manufacturing sector.

If the United States no longer produces computer hardware, he explained, "we won't be producing the software, either," and if "Japan ends up making all our autos, they will surely also make the computers which go into them." Moreover, the major areas of services—health, education and government—"are not exportable."

Samuel described as "silly" the claim that U.S. workers cannot compete because of high wages. "Real wages have been steadily declining for more than ten years; workers are earning less today than they did in 1973, and it hasn't helped the trade balance a bit."

What is needed, he declared, are changes in "our unfair trade laws," development of an industrial modernization program, and effective programs of income support, training and retraining, job counseling and relocation assistance that would "swing into action the day the factory door closes."

President Gerald W. McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees, noting that the trade deficit and declining productivity have pushed too many workers into minimum wage jobs or welfare dependency, called for actions to create jobs.

The nation's "antiquated welfare system" fails to meet the needs of the "desperate people on the bottom of America's economic system," McEntee said, because "recipients get next to nothing in a cycle of dependency."

Urging adoption of programs to help people move from welfare rolls to payrolls, McEntee emphasized that "workfare" is not the answer. "Instead of providing an income, independence and opportunity, it provides no income, degredation and despair."

Break the cycle

McEntee added: "Equity and our national self-interest demand that we spend the money we need to break the cycle of poverty and welfare dependency."

Other participants in the two-day symposium included:

- Economist Alan Blinder of Princeton University, who called for action to soften the impact of the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law and make it possible for the government to continue to "pursue full employment."
- Prof. Robert Eisner of Northwestern University, who declared that the target of a 4 percent level of unemployment—spelled out in the 1978 Humphrey-Hawkins bill which reaffirmed the aims of the Employment Act—is a "feasible" goal. Unemployment currently hovers near the 7-percent level.
- Economist James Tobin of Yale University, who warned that the "remedy" of Gramm-Rudman is "almost worse than the disease," because it mandates higher taxes and lower federal spending at a time when the economy is already operating at low growth levels.
- Former Labor Sec. Ray Marshall, now an economics professor at the University of Texas at Austin, who called on companies to encourage greater worker participation in the decision-making process, employee stock ownership plans, and strengthening of the ability of workers to organize and bargain collectively.
- Prof. Bennett Harrison of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Prof. Barry Bluestone of Boston College and MIT researcher Chris Tilly, who warned in a joint statement that "it is only a matter of time before a large mass of citizens are going to begin pressing the federal government to correct" the inequity in incomes stemming from the continued shift to a service economy.
- Economist Bernard Anderson of Princeton, who pointed out that minority workers haven't shared in the "recovery" from the Reagan Recession.

Pilots take strike vote, IAM pushes Eastern takeover

The Air Line Pilots began taking a strike vote at Eastern Airlines and the Machinists urged its members to buy up control of the company as labor-management relations at the financially troubled air carrier moved toward an end-of-February showdown.

The balloting began after federal mediators released the union and management from negotiations mandated under the Railway Labor Act, leaving ALPA free to strike, and Eastern free to impose unilaterally its demands for a 20-percent wage cut and stringent new work rules, on Feb. 26.

Earlier, following the end of a similar 30-day cooling-off period, Eastern put similar terms into effect for flight attendants represented by the Transport Workers in a move that involved furloughing 1,100 of the 7,200 attendants now on the payroll.

Under pressure from the banking community to either make drastic payroll cuts or have its $2.5-billion debt called in and its assets sold, Eastern is also trying to force the IAM back to the bargaining table to make concessions in a contract covering 13,000 mechanics which the union voluntarily reopened last September to accept an additional 5-percent wage reduction.

In a show of solidarity with the three other unions, the Electronic Workers mounted a demonstration at Washington's National Airport to urge public pressure on the banks to give the airline "the breathing space it needs" by renegotiating existing loans and cutting interest rates.

Passenger support sought

Thousands of Eastern's ticket agents and skycaps have signed cards requesting representation by the IUE, and the demonstration also was geared to winning passenger support for their right to unionize.

IUE President William H. Bywater joined Eastern employees in the demonstration, pointing out that while the airline's employees have had to "tighten their belts and do with less" during the past 10 years, the banks have reaped "huge profits" from the high interest they've charged on loans to the faltering company.

Charles Bryan, president of IAM District 100, said the stock-purchase plan, if successful, could help topple the current Eastern management, which has already wrung $750 million in concessions from the unions in the past 10 years and which now seeks a $450 million more in givebacks.

Eastern employees already control 12 million of Eastern's more than 60 million shares, Bryan said, adding:

"If we can go to a special meeting of directors and say that we represent a majority of the shareholders, I think they would listen to our position."

Safety session

The AFL-CIO Committee on Safety & Occupational Health receives an update on regulatory and legislative activities relating to jobsite health and safety from Federation specialist Margaret Seminario. Participants discussed the trend toward criminal prosecution of employers for gross violation of safety regulations. The section was the first headed by Steelworkers President Lynn Williams, who succeeded retired AFL-CIO Vice President J.C. Turner of the Operating Engineers as panel chairman.

OMB guts grain dust rules, dropping worker safeguards

Workers in grain elevators and mills remain exposed to severe risks because the White House Office of Management & Budget is thwarting overdue federal regulation, labor witnesses testified on Capitol Hill.

Grain Millers Sec.-Treas. Larry Jackson warned at a Senate subcommittee oversight hearing that OMB delays and tactics to gut needed safeguards could result in further death and destruction.

"The consequences of letting OMB's review be the final and only word can only spell disaster for this nation's grain workers," Jackson said.

Deborah Berkowitz, director of health and safety for the AFL-CIO Food & Allied Service Trades Dept., told the subcommittee a final draft of the proposed standard on grain elevators and mills "offers no hope, comfort or consolation, much less protection, to the thousands of grain elevator and mill workers who put their lives on the line every day."

She said the standard now proposed by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration would exempt nearly 93 percent of the nation's grain elevators and mills from coverage.

"This is rule by exemption," she declared. "This way the rule will pass OMB, it will give the appearance that OSHA is carrying out its mandate, but it won't protect anyone."

OMB's extended review of the grain dust standard has been "conducted in a secretive fashion," she charged, saying that OMB has insisted that a "bare minimum of documents be exchanged between itself and OSHA and that no notes be kept of meetings."

Over the past decade, 144 workers died and 461 were injured in 212 explosions at grain elevators and mills, Berkowitz told the subcommittee. The danger is in the accumulation of grain dust, a byproduct of processing corn, wheat and other grains, that is more explosive than TNT.

OMB pressure

OMB pressed OSHA to change its dust control provisions from mandatory engineering requirements to simply permitting workers to sweep up dust each shift. And the limit for dust accumulation will be eight times higher than the level recommended by the National Institute for Occupational Safety & Health.

Jackson detailed the impact of grain elevator explosions on communities. A recent grain dust explosion during the height of the corn harvest in Marion, S.D., killed three workers, injured four others and left the economic base of this small community "in ruins," he told the panel.

An explosion last year in Knoxville, Tenn., killed three workers and injured 11. The economic impact claimed more than 20 other workers who lost their jobs when the mill closed, Jackson testified.

The arguments used by OMB to gut the proposed standard "may sound good over coffee at the New Executive Office Building, but it won't play in the real world," Jackson said.

Kirkland blasts latest charges against Walesa

The decision of the Polish government to put Lech Walesa, chairman of the underground Solidarnosc movement, on trial for "slandering the state" drew strong condemnation from the AFL-CIO.

The "absurd charges" brought against the Nobel Peace Prize winner, who is the acknowledged leader of Poland's workers, are "an affront to trade unionists everywhere," Federation President Lane Kirkland declared.

The continued harassment of the trade union leader "can only deepen the division between the Polish people and the state."

Kirkland was sharply critical of western politicians and bankers who, he said, have been taken in by the "illusion" that the government in Warsaw was "pursuing a path of reconciliation with the Polish people."

"Western bankers should not be refloating Poland's debts. Western politicians should not be lending respectability to General Jaruzelski and his quisling government," he added.

Meanwhile, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions expressed concern over the sweeping new crackdown on Poland's free labor movement.

Bogdan Borusewicz, a Solidarnosc leader for the past decade, was arrested in Gdansk on charges of "illegal union activities," the ICFTU said, and faces a three-year prison term.

The communist regime is also preparing retrials of union activists Bogdan Lis, Adam Michnik and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk as well as a score of rank-and-file union supporters.

Imports push trade deficit to $148.5 billion

Continued from Page 1

Oswald said that the worsening trade picture proves the "fallacy" of Administration claims that a decline in the value of the dollar would lead to an easing of the crisis by driving up the cost of imports and making American goods more attractive in foreign markets.

The value of the dollar has dropped some 25 points since its February 1985 peak, Oswald pointed out, but it remains at levels 50 percent higher than in 1980.

"The Administration's reliance on measures to reduce the value of the dollar will not, by themselves, fundamentally alter the U.S. trade imbalance," he insisted.

Oswald repeated labor's call for quick congressional action on pending trade legislation that will protect American workers and industries from continued decline, and that will help to break down barriers which foreign countries have erected to keep American-made goods out of their markets.

As grim as the figures on the trade deficit are, they would have been sharply higher if it weren't for the growing practice of intentionally mislabeling goods—and grossly understating their value—in order to circumvent existing trade quotas.

Counterfeit goods

According to some Congressional estimates, as much as $40 billion in contraband and counterfeit goods are slipping past the U.S. Customs Service each year. Customs officials concede there's a problem, and express fears that import fraud is on the rise.

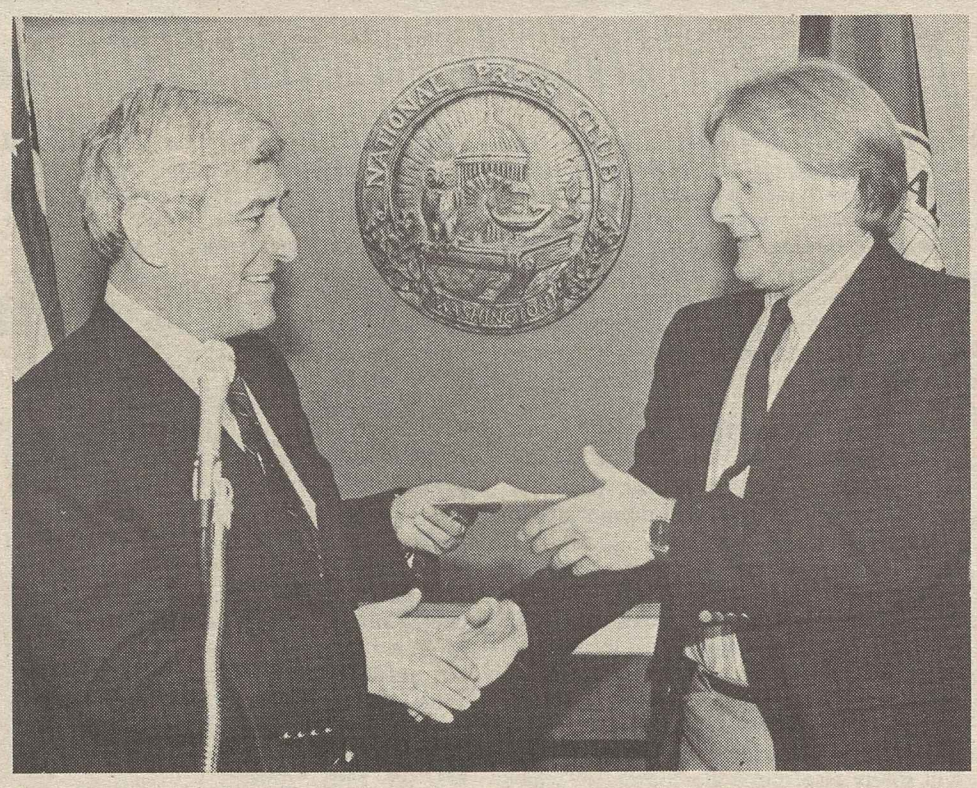
Smuggling has been uncovered recently in such diverse areas as clothing, steel pipe, sugar, coffee and even counterfeit Cabbage Patch dolls.

But the House Government Operations Committee is not optimistic about the ability of the Customs Service to prevent major violations, particularly in the apparel import area. The Reagan Administration continues to press for a reduction in the number of inspectors, but Congress has thus far rebuffed those attempts.

Musicians move

New York—The Musicians moved its international headquarters to a new Broadway location, just across Times Square from its former office.

AFM's new address is Suite 600, Paramount Building, 1501 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10036. The telephone number remains the same—212/869-1330.



Seattle Times columnist Rick Anderson, right, receives Broun Award check from Joe Schlesinger, a CBC correspondent and one of the judges.

Columnist for Seattle Times wins Heywood Broun award

Rick Anderson, a columnist for the Seattle Times, won the Newspaper Guild's 1985 Heywood Broun Award for columns about his city and its people that the judges felt "could have come from Broun's own typewriter."

Anderson's columns were praised for their "bite and irony" and for a "point of view that can't be missed or mistaken for the kind of on-the-one-hand-this, or on-the-other-hand-that hedging that so often passes for commentary in our media."

The judges stressed that through a variety of topics, Anderson expressed his "view of the real world—an imperfect place not likely to get better unlesss each of us speaks up." He deals not only with the "down-and-out, but the ordinary folks who get caught up in the complexities and absurdities of daily life," the judges added.

The $1,000 award was presented to Anderson at a luncheon during the winter meeting of TNG's executive board. Anderson is a member of the Guild's Pacific Northwest local, which represents workers on the Seattle Times.

The award, in its 45th year, is made annually for outstanding individual journalistic achievement in the spirit of Broun's own work in the '20s, '30s, and '40s which was distinguished by an abiding concern for the underdog and the underprivileged.

Cited as the runner-up in the competition was Marc Fisher for an article in the Miami Herald's Tropic magazine, "Shame on Us All," that exposed failings of the juvenile court system in South Florida. It combined an "analysis and cool narrative in a mix that leaves the reader with a sense of outrage," said the judges.

Series gives hope

The judges gave an honorable mention to John S. Long and James Neff of the Cleveland Plain Dealer for a series of stories exposing abuses of residents at three state-financed facilities for the retarded operated by the Northeast Ohio Developmental Center.

"These stories had both impact and substance, and resulted in action that offers hope for reform in a truly horrendous situation," the judges said.

Judges for this year's contest, which had 145 entries, were Arnold B. Sawislak, a senior editor for United Press International; Joe Schlesinger, Washington correspondent for the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., and political columnist Jules Witcover.

Hugh Harrison, a longtime leader of the Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild and former member of TNG's executive board, served as chairman of the contest, but did not participate in the judging.

Tactics boomerang

Hard times for a union-buster

San Francisco—Things definitely aren't "coming up roses" these days for one of the nation's leading union-busting consulting firms.

In rapid succession, the law firm of Littler, Mendelson, Fastiff & Tichy:

- Overstepped itself in a hospital organizing drive and in the process assured a lopsided 3-to-1 victory for Service Employees Local 250.
- Came under congressional fire for negotiating a secret contract with the U.S. Postal Service which evaded established bidding procedures.
- Received a sharp reprimand from a federal judge for filing a frivolous lawsuit against Operating Engineers Local 3.

The SEIU organizing victory came at the Barton Hospital in nearby Lake Tahoe, where the union-bashing firm sought to blunt the union's efforts by padding the bargaining unit with key executive personnel and even some workers in a clinic in Nevada.

Confident that the workers in the unit were solid in their support of the union, Local 250 acceded to the union-buster's demands during hearings before a National Labor Relations Board examiner.

The SEIU's approach, according to Local 250 Business Manager Bill Frietas, was that if "you want them in the unit, we'll take them." In the election that followed, the SEIU racked up a 153-50 vote, with virtually all of the "no" votes coming from the people Littler, Mendelson had added to the unit.

"The union-busters were our best organizers," Frietas explained. "We warned workers about every dumb thing they were going to do, and they did it. And the workers just got stronger. And stronger. And stronger."

The congressional investigation centered on a questionable $300,000 contract which the Postal Service awarded to Littler, Mendelson without going through the normal procedure of competitive bidding.

Hearings before a House Post Office & Civil Service subcommittee disclosed that the law firm was one of the biggest clients of the accounting firm run by Postal Board Chairman John McKean, and that McKean has testified as an "expert witness" for Littler, Mendelson in anti-union lawsuits.

Question of ethics

"If this doesn't violate federal law, at a minimum it is a violation of the Postal Service's own code of ethics," declared Chairman Gerry Sikorski (D-Minn.), after his subcommittee voted to refer the case to the Justice Dept. to resolve what it called potential criminal issues.

Letter Carriers Branch 1111 has since obtained material showing that the union-buster's actual billings to the Postal Service totaled $550,000—including $16,000 on $100-a-night hotel rooms, $10,000 in air fare and $5,810 in meals.

The law firm's confrontation with the Federal District Court here involved a suit that Littler, Mendelson filed against OEIU Local 3 on behalf of one of its clients, even though a federal appellate court had already resolved the issue in the union's favor.

The court found the union-bashing firm had engaged in an "abuse of the litigation process," pointing out that there was no basis for the lawsuit and that Littler, Mendelson knew it. The court said there was "a strong inference" that the law firm brought the action for "an improper purpose"—to intimidate Local 3.

In addition to throwing the case out of court, the judge ordered the law firm to pay the local the $5,625 it had to lay out to defend the lawsuit, and prohibited the firm from shifting the cost to its client.

Littler, Mendelson is one of the oldest and largest firms engaged in counseling employers in labor-management relations. The union-buster employs 62 full-time lawyers and has more than 1,000 clients concentrated in small- to medium-sized white-collar enterprises, agriculture and public-sector institutions—all of which are potential growth areas for organized labor.

Among those clients are major hospitals in San Francisco and Santa Clara counties, the major daily newspapers of Northern California, public school districts, the University of California at Berkeley and retail stores.

It has also represented the Washington-based Right to Work Foundation, and its attorneys have appeared at various seminars that train employers in techniques for resisting union organizing.

Senators ask stand against benefits tax

Continued from Page 1

store corporate tax benefits the House curtailed, a new effort to shift more of the tax burden to workers is likely, he warned.

Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.) and six other senators—three Democrats and three Republicans—are the initial sponsors of Senate Resolution 303, expressing "the sense of the Senate that employee benefits not be taxed."

Democrats Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.), Alan J. Dixon (Ill.) and Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.), and Republicans Arlen Specter (Pa.), Robert T. Stafford (Vt.) and Mark Andrews (N.D.) are the other initial sponsors. They joined in a letter outlining the case against imposing a new benefits tax and urging other senators to add their names to the resolution.

The letter and a parallel press statement by Heinz noted that the decision of the Senate Finance Committee to draft its own bill rather than work on revising the House-passed measure could open the door for a benefits tax.

Any revenue benefits from such a tax would be largely illusory, the senators warned, since government expenditures would have to rise if the private sector was under tax pressure to cut back on job-related benefits.

The Senate resolution noted that more than 90 percent of full-time workers are covered by an employer health plan, and millions receive such employment benefits as life insurance, dental plans, child care, educational assistance or prepaid legal services. Unlike other countries, it observed, the United States has looked to the private sector rather than government to provide such services.

In the health care field, the resolution noted, a tax on employee benefits would especially penalize workers in areas where medical costs are the highest and those in high-risk occupations.

Videotapes show high moments of 1985 convention

Six videotapes featuring the 1985 AFL-CIO convention are available from the Labor Institute of Public Affairs, the federation's television production arm.

"Highlights of the 1985 AFL-CIO Convention," a 34-minute tape, gives a broad overview of the four-day event with excerpts of speeches, floor debate and videos on special topics.

"Challenge of the Future," a 13-minute video, summarizes the challenges facing the labor movement.

Four new video bulletins on convention action are:

- Future—features the Executive Council report on the evolution of work plus related resolutions, organizing and federation affiliation.
- Survival—covers health care, occupational safety and health, social security and unemployment insurance.
- Economy—includes resolutions on the economy, taxes and foreign trade.
- Commitment—covers resolutions on civil rights, women's rights and the political process.

Straight hour-by-hour convention coverage is also available on videotapes, according to LIPA, which is offering all its tapes in three formats—Beta, VHS or ¾-inch U-matic—for $30 each. More information and an order form is available from LIPA's Linda Proctor at (202) 637-5334.

A limited number of each new video is available for rental at $5 from the AFL-CIO Dept. of Education.

Stanley Gordon appointed to Red Cross liaison post

Stanley Gordon has been appointed AFL-CIO Dept. of Community Services labor liaison representative with the American Red Cross. Gordon, 49, formerly was director of federal-postal affairs for the Public Employee Dept.

Earlier, he served as secretary-treasurer of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers and executive director of the Capital Area Council of Federal Employees.

EDITORIALS

Avoidable Risk

AS A SORROWFUL nation knows, there is danger in charting new frontiers and even the most careful planning cannot eliminate all risk.

But through their tears, the planners of the Challenger shuttle mission can still look themselves in the mirror because they had done all in their power to diminish the danger. And they will be seeking in the months to come for ways to avert future such tragedies. You can be sure of that.

Shamefully, there were probably no tears shed at the Office of Management & Budget last Nov. 2, when a grain dust explosion ripped through a small grain elevator in Marion, S.D., killing three persons and leaving four seriously injured. Nor was there any evidence of soul-searching at OMB the previous year, when a grain dust explosion in Knoxville, Tenn., left three dead and 11 injured.

There should have been.

At Senate hearings this past week, the Grain Millers and the AFL-CIO Food & Allied Service Trades Dept. documented a pattern of active sabotage by OMB of efforts to devise safety standards for grain elevators and mills.

THE POWERS that President Reagan gave to OMB to review proposed regulations have been used to make a mockery of the government's obligation to protect workplace safety and health. Grain dust regulations were delayed for years until the Occupational Safety & Health Administration caved in. It is now preparing a standard that would exempt 93 percent of the nation's grain elevators and mills from coverage.

As Tennessee's Sen. Albert Gore angrily told OMB Director James Miller, the deadly explosion at Knoxville need not have occurred if the budget agency had not interfered with the setting of safety standards.

Miller protested that the delay had taken place before he became head of the agency. He didn't know if OMB had met only with industry representatives during its review of the dust safety proposal. It did appear, he acknowledged, that the OMB officials who reportedly presented their objections to OSHA's proposed standard in a men's restroom may have engaged in "inappropriate" conduct. But he explained that "paranoia was beginning to develop" among OMB officials that their comments might be "held up to public light."

It is too tragic to be laughable. Over the past decade 144 workers died and many more have been maimed by grain dust explosions.

Some of the deaths may have been unavoidable, because in industry as in space not all risk can be prevented. But most of the 144 would be alive today if human lives ranked above cost effectiveness in the government's regulatory process.

Trade Shambles

THE IMMENSITY of the trade deficit the United States ran up last year almost defies comprehension. If the record $148.5 billion trade imbalance were to be shown with all the zeros, it would look like this: $148,500,000,000.

That's a lot of paychecks lost to American workers.

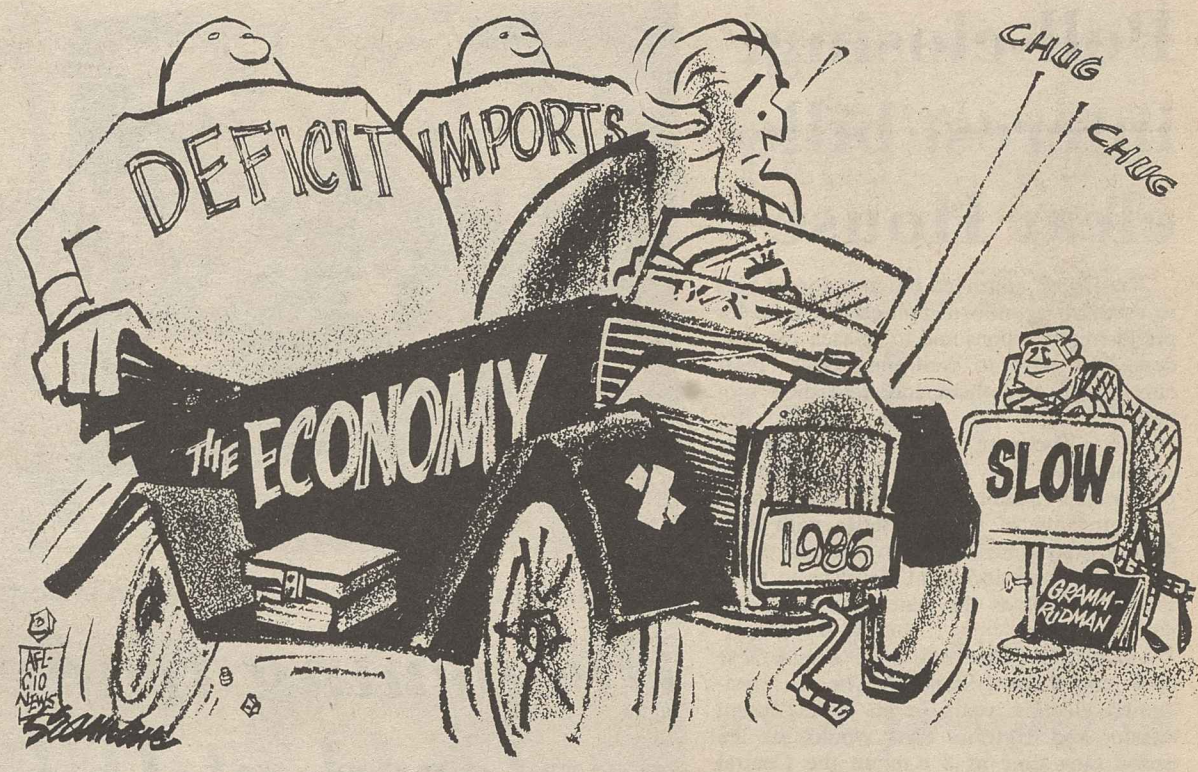
Despite all the posturing and lecturing by the Reagan Administration, America's trading "partners" apparently weren't listening.

Not only was the trade deficit more than 20 percent higher than the record set in the previous year, but it would have been higher still if the price of oil imports had not fallen.

More than half the deficit comes from the manufacturing sector, where the big shrinkage of fair-paying jobs has taken place. When President Reagan took office, the United States had a trade surplus in manufacturing.

The AFL-CIO is not alone in its conclusion that "the international economic policies of the Reagan Administration are in shambles."

America's trade deficit figures speak for themselves, zeros and all.



Washington Window

Needs of poor neglected in rush to slash budget

By Press Associates Inc.

While hunger, homelessness and the ranks of the working poor increase in the cities and counties of the nation, Congress and the Reagan Administration are busy trying to make things worse. That's not the intent, of course, but it promises to be the consequence of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings automatic budget-cutting machine.

While the needs of the people grow, their elected leaders are wrestling with ways to reduce the role of the federal government. The evidence of mounting distress continues to come in, well-documented, but it appears to change few minds on Capitol Hill.

According to a staff report of the House Government Operations subcommittee chaired by Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), nine million adults who worked in 1984 fell below the poverty line, an increase of 40 percent since 1979.

The total of those who worked full-time all year and still had poverty-level incomes rose steadily to 2.1 million in 1984, an increase of 54 percent since 1979.

Professors Sheldon Danziger of the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Peter Gottschalk of Bowdoin College told the subcommittee:

"We have shown that the heads of poor households who we define as expected to work suffer from low weekly earnings, lack of full-year work, declining (government benefit) transfers, and a growing tax burden. Thus, anti-poverty policies for the working poor should attempt to increase the amount of work, supplement earnings, and reduce the taxes paid by the working poor."

New policies needed

They recommended policies to lower jobless rates to 5 or 6 percent, tax reform to lift that burden from the working poor, and full-time work opportunities for welfare recipients to raise their incomes and reduce dependency.

Other witnesses also urged income tax cuts for the poor, as are contained in the House-passed tax reform bill, and an increase in the federal minimum wage, noting that the value of the current $3.35 an hour has been cut 25 percent by inflation since it took effect in 1981.

Professors Alfred J. Kahn and Sheila B. Kamerman of the Columbia Uniersity School of Social Work pointed out that 67 countries—but not the United States—contribute to the costs of rearing children through family or child allowances. This aid is without stigma. In this country, similar aid has been achieved in several generous states, but with a stigma attached, they noted.

Hunger gaining

The Physicians Task Force on Hunger of the Harvard University School of Public Health, in a recent report, said food stamps reach fewer than a third of the eligible people in 150 counties it surveyed, mostly in the South and Midwest.

"Not only is hunger increasing as a problem, but federal food programs designed to feed the hungry have been weakened," the report said. Larry Brown, chairman of the group, said the study shows "America is losing ground in its war against hunger." By some measurements, he said, hunger is now approaching the magnitude reached in the 1960s. A chief factor, he added, is the failure of the food stamp program to reach the needy.

At its winter meeting, the U.S. Conference of Mayors released a report of its Task Force on Hunger and Homelessness. Data gathered during December showed that hunger, homelessness and poverty increased sharply last year in almost all the 25 cities surveyed.

The "new poor" created during the 1982 recession and split-level recovery have not disappeared, the report said. The need for emergency food increased an average of 28 percent and shelter an average of 25 percent. And the mayors forecast a worsening of conditions in 1986.

It seems obvious that the nation needs federal leadership to create jobs, strengthen families and communities, enact tax fairness, continue revenue-sharing to the cities and control runaway health costs.

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Poll-closing, interest bills clear House

The House approved labor-endorsed bills to establish a uniform poll-closing time for presidential elections and to shorten the time depositors have to wait until banks clear checks and give them access to their money.

The poll-closing bill was prompted by concern that early network projections of presidential election results have discouraged voter turnout in western states with later poll closing times. The dropoff of voters can affect state and local elections in these states, as well as the state vote for President.

Under the House bill, polls would close at 9 p.m. Eastern Standard Time in presidential election years in all states except Alaska and Hawaii. That would set the poll-closing time at 8 p.m. in the Central time zone and 7 p.m. in Mountain time states. States in the Pacific time zone would remain on daylight savings time until the Sunday after election in presidential years so as to permit a 7 p.m. local closing time.

The House Administration Committee, which cleared the bill, reported that the three major networks and two smaller networks have agreed not to use data from exit polls to make projections in a state before voting ends in that state.

Checking change

The check-hold bill, pushed by consumer groups, would phase down the period banks and savings institutions can hold checks before crediting them to a customer's account.

After three years, the maximum would be one day for local checks and three days for out-of-state checks. There would be exceptions for new accounts, amounts over $5,000, and checks that a bank has a "reasonable belief" may be bad.

Consumer advocates say the bill is needed because banks hold checks longer than necessary in order to have use of the money before depositors can draw on it.

The space shuttle tragedy brought some changes in the congressional schedule as President Reagan postponed his State of the Union address by a week to Feb. 4. It will be followed the next day by the Budget Message, which will spell out the Administration's proposals for cutting government spending sufficiently to bring next year's budget within the tight restrictions of the Gramm-Rudman law.

Kirkland details Administration failures on imports and job safety at IUD legislative conference.

Deepening trade crisis, job hazards explored at IUD legislative session

The twin problems of the trade crisis which is eroding job opportunities and the toxic crisis which threatens the health and safety of workers topped the agenda of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.'s annual legislative conference.

In his opening remarks to the 300 conference participants, IUD President Howard D. Samuel prodded Congress to give "serious consideration to establishing a framework for a national industrial strategy" that would bring together management, labor and government in a coordinated effort to rebuild the United States as an industrial power.

Samuel observed that the Congress does recognize "that there is a long-term problem and that we will not solve it unless we reform our international trade laws." Labor's call for a "fundamental overhaul" was partially answered by passage last year of a bill to provide relief to the textile, shoe and copper industries, but the measure fell victim to a Reagan veto. He urged action on new trade legislation to deal with the mounting crisis.

He noted that the original Occupational Safety & Health Act, signed into law 15 years ago, was "a milestone for worker protection," but that it must be expanded by passage of two pending bills that would protect workers' right to know about on-the-job hazards, and that would provide adequate compensation to workers who fall victim to occupational disease.

Delegates heard Federation President Lane Kirkland lambast the Reagan Administration for being deaf to labor's pleas to end the record-shattering trade deficit, blind to the sharpest one-year rise in work-related injuries and illnesses in history, and mute about the plight of nearly 15 million Americans either totally unemployed or working only part-time because full-time jobs are unavailable.

Impact on jobs

"Far too many of these job losses are the result of our surrender to the aggressive mercantilism of other nations," Kirkland asserted.

"Our own government's policies have encouraged the flight of American capital overseas, where it can hide from American taxes, American wage rates, and American work, health and safety standards."

When labor asked for "help in stemming the tide of foreign imports, we were told that the consumer would never sit still for higher prices," he continued. Yet the recent decision by the leaders of the five major industrial nations to force down the value of the dollar was accompanied by higher import prices with no decrease in the volume of goods entering the country.

In the area of occupational hazards, Kirkland said, the Surgeon General's recent report on cancer and chronic lung disease in the workplace "not only minimized and misrepresented the risks" and contradicted the findings of other government agencies, "it actually suggested that if workers wanted to eliminate the risk of occupational disease, they should simply stop smoking."

President Larry Dugan of the Operating Engineers called Reagan's trade policies "a mess," and warned that no American workers are immune to the adverse effects of unrestrained imports. Members of his own union lost construction jobs, he said, when plants that should have built in this country went overseas, instead.

"The government must be willing to defend our markets," Dugan continued, and must penalize countries like South Korea which impose low wages on their workforce in order to compete in the world market.

Leading off a parade of Congressional speakers, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) lashed out at the Gramm-Rudman balanced budget legislation as a "monstrosity" that will create "havoc and destruction" for every American. The bill, he said, will bring further reductions in such domestic programs as occupational safety and health, mine safety and health, and cancer research.

Noting that "gains that have been won over the years at the bargaining table are being wiped out by the pro-Reagan forces in the halls of Congress," Metzenbaum said it was time for unionists to "insist on the support of your elected officials—and if they don't support you, go out and beat them."

Echoing the sentiment of the 300 delegates on the issue of imports, Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.), one of the chief sponsors of labor-supported trade legislation pending on Capitol Hill, declared that America is the victim of "unfair trade," that results in "lost industries, lost jobs and lost hope."

Rep. Frank J. Guarini (D-N.J.) accused the White House of "simply going through the motions in order to avoid the steps necessary to resolve our deeply rooted trade problems." He predicted that the trade bill would become "the number one priority" in the House Ways & Means Committee, now that it has completed its work on tax reform legislation.

Federal responsibility

Rep. Joseph Gaydos (D-Pa.), a key sponsor of the right-to-know bill, said government has a responsibility to be candid with workers who are at risk on the job site. The legislation, he said, "touches on the lives of every man and woman who handles or works around hazardous substances."

Rep. Pat Williams (D-Mont.) criticized the inequity of state workers' compensation systems that compensate for work-related injuries but not illnesses. If a worker is injured in a fall from a ladder, the system recognizes that injury, he pointed out. "Developing an occupational disease is like a slow fall from a ladder. It may take 20 years to reach the bottom, but the worker suffers just as much."

Following each day's morning sessions, conference delegates fanned out across Capitol Hill to meet with their individual senators and representatives to urge action in both the trade and occupational health and safety areas.

Import restraint compliance monitored by Steelworkers

The Steelworkers, racked by the unchecked flow of steel imports despite the Reagan Administration's "voluntary restraint agreements," will closely monitor government enforcement activities.

"We see this as a mission of survival for our steelworkers," USWA President Lynn Williams said, calling for a crackdown as "absolutely essential" to reduce foreign producers' penetration into the American steel market.

The monitoring role will be handled by a USWA committee headed by James N. McGeehan, treasurer-elect of the union. The remaining members will be named in the next few weeks.

Formation of the committee was requested by the 550 local unions that make up the USWA Basic Steel Industry Conference, which met in Washington in mid-January.

Import penetration

Steel imports account for more than 25 percent of the U.S. market. That level is well above the 18.5-percent limit the USWA sought from the International Trade Commission, and higher than the target of 20.5 percent set by President Reagan when he opted for negotiating voluntary restraints with the exporting nations.

The Congressional Research Library estimates that 8,900 steel jobs and 21,000 related jobs will be lost because imports are running nearly 20 percent higher than the President's target level.

Williams said the new committee will be responsible for monitoring:

- Compliance with import allocations to determine whether the quarterly steel import tonnage limitations are being exceeded by the targeted countries.
- Trans-shipment violations, such as when imports from a targeted country are routed through non-agreement nations to avoid U.S. controls.
- Customs Bureau ability to check for imports at point of entry.
- Efforts by the exporting country to subvert or side-step the U.S. enforcement system through deceptive practices, such as mislabelling or false identification of products.
- Interpretations of control arrangements when policy questions arise.

The committee will work with the Dept. of Commerce, which has the assignment to enforce the agreements, and the Customs Bureau, which is monitoring import shipments.

Local unions will augment the committee effort in two ways, USWA Legislative Director Jack J. Sheehan said at a Washington news conference. First, local union members will be reporting when shipments of imported steel arrive at their plants for further processing, and secondly, some members will monitor shipments arriving at ports where the heaviest flow of imported steel normally arrives.

Sheehan said that the committee's role will be to monitor shipments, make sure the Commerce Dept. has accounted for them, and to provide the union's input into any policy determinations or agreement decisions that have to be made.

Sheehan expressed concern that upcoming federal budget cuts could hamper the agency's ability to fully monitor the steel imports.

More federal layoffs feared under Gramm-Rudman cuts

Large-scale layoffs of federal workers and new slashes in programs that "already have been cut to the bone" are anticipated by Government Employees President Kenneth T. Blaylock when the second installment of Gramm-Rudman budget cuts comes due in October.

The first phase of the deficit reduction timetable will take place on Mar. 1, when $11.7 billion will be cut from federal programs for the balance of this fiscal year—through Sept. 30. A much bigger deficit reduction—estimated at more than $50 billion—will have to be made for the 1987 fiscal year, which starts next Oct. 1.

While most government departments are trying to avoid layoffs as a result of the March cutback, a number of agencies have cut back services to the public. Blaylock said the AFGE learned of plans to cut back on meat and poultry inspections to reduce costs.

The union, along with the Postal Workers and other federal employee organizations, is challenging the constitutionality of the Gramm-Rudman requirements. The Letter Carriers filed a brief in support of a challenge brought by retired government workers to the constitutionality of a provision of Gramm-Rudman that suspends this year's cost-of-living adjustment for federal and postal service retirees.

The Gramm-Rudman issue will be the focus of the AFGE's political action program for the 1986 congressional elections, Blaylock said. The cutbacks could be averted by raising revenue, especially from firms that escape their fair share of taxes, he said.

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Budget tilts against workers

Farm worker Ramiro Nieves testifies on need for federal field sanitation standard. From left, interpreter Luis Torres, Nieves, Charles Horwitz, Laurie Martinelli, and Dr. Marion Moses and Rebecca Harrington of the UFW.

Reagan seeks sharp cuts in vital programs

By David L. Perlman

The budget President Reagan sent to Congress would distort America's priorities, damage the economy and scuttle needed programs for which the trade union movement has fought, the AFL-CIO charged.

Reagan proposed to starve the domestic sector so as to fund another big rise in military spending and meet the deficit reduction timetable of the Gramm-Rudman Act without raising taxes.

"If he gets his way, it will change the face of government—for the worse," AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald declared. None of the five previous Reagan budgets so blatantly sought to abandon government commitments, he said.

The tilt of government to a predominantly military role would be accelerated under the Reagan budget.

Defense-related spending would rise $16.4 billion to $282.2 billion, with built-in increases set for future years. Military costs are the largest single element of the proposed $994 billion budget—a figure that includes close to $210 billion in outlays from the self-financing social security system and $149 billion to pay one year's interest on the accumulated national debt.

But $25 billion would be slashed from the domestic side of the budget. Health, housing, education, transportation and employment programs are among those put on the budget chopping board.

Grim scenario

If Congress did President Reagan's bidding, and if the economy performed as vigorously as the Administration is predicting, the deficit for fiscal year 1987, which begins next Oct. 1, would be just under the $144 billion target set by the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction measure—thus avoiding automatic budget cuts that would hit defense as well as domestic programs.

Under that scenario, here is what would happen in some areas of special interest to working people:

- Transportation programs would take a beating. So would workers affected. In renewing a proposal to abolish the federal subsidy to Amtrak, a White House budget document complains that the passenger rail-

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OSHA field sanitation delay branded 'national disgrace'

By Arlee C. Green

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration "has totally shirked its responsibility to protect the farmworkers," the AFL-CIO testified before Congress in supporting legislation to require agribusiness to provide workers drinking water, handwashing facilities and toilets.

Calling for an end to "this national disgrace," federation safety director Margaret Seminario stressed that OSHA "is obligated to promulgate a standard." She said that labor's effort to gain these basic hygiene measures has "become a 14-year saga."

Seminario told the House Education & Labor Subcommittee on Safety & Health that six OSHA administrators under four Administrations have failed to address the problem.

The saga continues, she said, as last September Labor Sec. William Brock blocked efforts to produce a federal standard so that state governments can adopt field sanitation rules. OSHA would review their progress at the end of 18 months and determine whether to issue a federal standard.

Seminario stressed that OSHA will only issue a federal standard if the states' response is judged by OSHA to be "inadequate." Yet OSHA failed to indicate what response would be considered adequate.

Because of OSHA failures, Seminario said, "it is not only appropriate, but imperative, that the Congress now intervene with spe-

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Reagan upbeat despite nation's persistent woes

President Reagan gave an eloquent and optimistic picture of a prosperous America "on the move" but his State of the Union message left uncertainty as to the direction of the movement.

He spoke of employment gains—dating them from the depths of the near-depression of three years with its double-digit joblessness.

The President deplored the federal deficit that rose so enormously during his tenure in office and blamed it on overspending for domestic programs. In fact, it stemmed directly from a contradictory policy of combining a big rise in defense spending with tax cuts skewed to give the biggest windfall to the highest-income taxpayers.

The solution to the deficit, Reagan told Congress and a nationwide television audience, is a still bigger rise in the defense budget and cuts in domestic programs "forcing the federal government to live within its means."

There must be no tax increase, the President insisted. The tax reform bill passed by the House and now before the Senate Finance Committee must remain "revenue neutral," Reagan said.

The President spoke feelingly of "a husband and wife, both working, struggling from paycheck to paycheck to raise a fami-

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Overdue remedies pressed to stem torrent of imports

By Gene Zack

Labor intensified its campaign for congressional action to stem the rising import tide in the wake of government reports that the nation's foreign trade deficit soared 20.4 percent in 1985 to a record $148.5 billion.

With millions of jobs already lost to imports and with additional employment opportunities wiped out as exports continue their steep decline, the AFL-CIO called on Congress to take the lead in salvaging the crumbling U.S. industrial base.

"It's time for Congress to do something about trade, instead of just wringing its hands and talking about the problem," Legislative Director Ray Denison declared.

Pointing to an array of trade measures pending on Capitol Hill, Denison urged House and Senate members to offset the failure of the Reagan Administration to come to grips with the deepening crisis.

The President, he said, has demonstrated either an inability or an unwillingness to take action "even when the need exists to do something."

Denison cited, in particular, Reagan's veto last year of legislation that would have provided a measure of relief to the import-battered textile, apparel, shoe and copper industries, as well as his reliance on voluntary restraints by foreign steel producers.

Shoe imports surge

The import situation worsened dramatically as far as the shoe industry was concerned, with imports rising from 726 million pairs in 1984 to 843 million pairs last year—a 16 percent increase that gave foreign footwear producers more than 77 percent of the total domestic market.

The snowballing of footwear imports was evident when in December 68 million pairs of shoes entered the county compared with 41.1 million the same month the previous year—a staggering 67 percent rise.

In a joint statement, Clothing & Textile Workers President Murray H. Finley and Food & Commercial Workers President William H. Wynn blamed the President's veto for "the death of a proud American industry."

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Unions push for restoration of trade adjustment benefits

Unions want Congress and the courts to restore trade adjustment assistance payments to workers whose jobs have been wiped out by imports and whose benefits were ended shortly before Christmas by a Labor Dept. cutoff of funds.

The Labor Dept. ended cash assistance to an estimated 13,000 workers on Dec. 19, contending that the law authorizing the program had expired. It claimed that funds provided by Congress could be used only to provide job training and pay for relocation and job search expenses.

That interpretation has been challenged by the Clothing & Textile Workers, Auto Workers and Steelworkers in a federal district court suit seeking to have the payments restored retroactively. The three unions noted that Congress intended to keep the program alive and assumed that appropriations passed before the first session ended last December would do so.

The cash assistance is available to groups of workers whose unemployment has been certified by the Labor Dept. as having resulted from a rise in imports. In effect, it is an extension of unemployment insurance benefits that normally are limited to 26 weeks provided by state law.

Under the TAA program, eligible workers are entitled to up to 52 weeks of payments, with an additional 26 weeks available if the displaced worker was still enrolled in a retraining program.

At one time, the cash benefits were higher—set at 70 percent of lost wages. But the benefit level was cut back early in the Reagan Administration. Congress, however, has resisted Administration efforts to close down the program, and support for its continuation and expansion has mounted along with the nation's trade deficit.

That support was reflected in a biparti-

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Economic allies

International problems arising out of America's record-shattering trade deficit were high on the agenda as AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland welcomed West German Social Democrat leader Johannes Rau and party officials to the federation's headquarters. Rau is challenging Chancellor Helmut Kohl for the leadership of the West German government in 1987 elections.

Kirkland asks halt in U.S. aid to Chile's Pinochet regime

Condemning the government of General Augusto Pinochet for its "callous disregard of human rights" and its "senseless persecution" of trade unions, the AFL-CIO called on Sec. of State George Shultz to terminate all U.S. aid to Chile.

As the federation joined forces with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in a demonstration of solidarity with Chile's free labor movement, President Lane Kirkland urged the American government to repudiate the military dictatorship in the Latin American country.

Kirkland was sharply critical of Pinochet for the persecution of trade union leaders Rodolfo Sequel and Manuel Bustos and others who, he said, have been targeted by the military dictatorship for "exercising their right to peacefully protest repression."

Six years ago, he pointed out, Chile promulgated a series of decrees "cleverly designed to destroy organized labor." These "reforms," Kirkland contended, "cripple the union dues system, nullify the right to strike, prohibit national union centers and severely limit the right to bargain collectively."

Since 1973, he continued, the Pinochet regime has "sponsored the arrest, torture and even death of thousands of Chileans, simply because they supported the previous government or because they disagreed with the current dictatorship."

Democratic veneer

Kirkland accused Pinochet of hiding behind "the facade of democratic processes" by using an unsupervised plebiscite to impose a "constitution" that placed total legislative powers in the hands of five generals and made the military "the final arbiters of democracy."

The world had "high hopes" last summer, he said, when all of the democratic opposition parties responded to the initiative of Catholic Cardinal Fresno by ratifying a 21-point national agreement that could have paved the way for a return of democracy. The document had the complete support of the Democratic Workers' Central and other organizations.

"General Pinochet refused even to consider the plan," Kirkland emphasized, and instead insisted on continuation of his policy based on the "coldly calculated trampling of basic human rights."

In addition to cutting off all financial aid to the Latin American country, no international loans should be approved by the United States until Chile's military government "demonstrates its intention to open a dialogue with the signatories of the national accord" and ends its "extremism, brutality and recalcitrance," he said.

Printing unions report progress in merger talks

The Graphic Communications Union and Typographical Union have resumed merger talks, and leaders of the two unions say they were "very pleased with the overall progress" being made.

In a joint statement, GCIU President James J. Norton and ITU President Robert S. McMichen said: "We agree that two outstanding issues remain to be resolved—the ITU per capita dues in the merged GCIU-ITU and the status of the ITU's Union Printers Home."

Norton and McMichen expressed optimism that the two principal issues and "other remaining problems can be resolved with further research and discussion."

"All of us are looking forward to the strength and resources this merger would bring," the leaders said. "Merger would greatly increase our members' strength at the bargaining table, ability to adapt the skills of our members to the onrush of new technology and our overall ability to organize the hundreds of thousands of unorganized printing industry workers across North America."

Earlier effort

A earlier merger effort between the two unions fizzled last March when the GCIU general board turned down the terms of the plan. Then in August, the ITU membership firmly rejected a takeover attempt by the unaffiliated Teamsters.

After Norton was elected GCIU president last September, the two leaders announced plans to resume merger discussions. Participating in the talks, besides Norton and McMichen, are: GCIU Sec.-Treas. Michael P. McNally and President Emeritus Sol Fishko, and ITU Sec.-Treas. Thomas W. Kopeck and Vice Presidents Billy J. Austin, William J. Boarman and Allen J. Heritage.

Tilt to military

Reagan budget slashes target vital programs

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road network hasn't been able to achieve "cost savings through route terminations" because it is obligated to make severance payments to furloughed employees.

The budget analysis says Amtrak would be thrown into bankruptcy if the federal subsidy were ended. It notes that under bankruptcy, "all obligations, including labor protection, would be paid out of the assets of the corporation." Thus, passenger service could be drastically reduced and workers who lost their jobs would be shortchanged through the bankruptcy proceedings.

Subway construction subsidies would be ended in nearly all cities under the Reagan budget. Highway funds would be cut back, bus service further deregulated and the Interstate Commerce Commission abolished.

Loan commitments for ship construction would be discontinued, aid to maritime schools ended, and cargo preference for American-flag shipping curtailed.

• Education funds would be cut $3.2 billion, producing what one Administration official acknowledged as "a certain amount of pain."

The pain would be felt by college students from middle-income families, no longer eligible for student aid, and by graduates faced with sharply higher interest rates on their college loans.

Cleaving education

Some desirable education programs would get modest increases, but vocational education programs would be slashed in half. In another move away from commitment to public education, poor children would be encouraged to look for their education elsewhere through vouchers that could be used towards private school tuition. The Administration also renewed its proposal for tuition tax credits for persons sending children to private schools.

"Schemes such as vouchers would choke off the progress we have seen in America's classrooms," Teachers President Albert Shanker commented.

• Another budget "saving" would be youth job programs. Reagan wanted to abolish the Job Corps last year, but Congress refused. This time, he merely proposed to cut it in half, reducing the number of Job Corps opportunities from 40,500 to 22,000.

The President asked for a rescission of funds already voted by Congress so as to cut the summer youth employment program by one-third. Reagan also renewed his call for a subminimum youth wage for summer workers.

The longstanding program of trade adjustment assistance for workers who lose jobs because of imports would be ended.

• Big budget cuts were proposed for housing and urban programs. The government would stop housing construction subsidies for the elderly, handicapped and low-income households, and rely entirely on rent vouchers that eligible persons could use to help pay the rent for apartments they find on their own. The Urban Development Action Grants inaugurated under the Carter Administration would be ended, along with revenue-sharing, the Economic Development Administration and other long-standing Reagan targets.

State, County & Muncipal Employees President Gerald W. McEntee termed the budget proposals "a blueprint for disaster."

• The President proposed to cut both Medicare for the elderly and Medicaid for the poor. America's elderly would be hit with both a rise in the insurance premium and higher out-of-pocket deductibles. The "savings" from the two programs would total $5.3 billion next year.

Federal yard sale

Other budget "savings" would come from such devices as shifting the cost of meat and poultry inspection to producers to be passed on to consumers, and selling off government power plants, petroleum reserves and some 21,000 acres of federal land.

Federal retirees would be denied their cost-of-living adjustment for the second successive year and the government would cut back its payments for federal employee health insurance coverage.

Grants to cities and states would be further reduced and in some cases entirely eliminated. Legal services for the poor would be ended, and fewer children would be eligible for subsidized school lunches.

Only 9 cents of each revenue dollar in the Reagan budget would come from corporate taxes. The largest share, 39 cents, is from individual income taxes. Social insurance receipts, primarily the social security payroll tax, account for 30 cents. Excise taxes and all other revenue sources contribute 8 cents. The remaining 14 cents would have to be borrowed to cover the budget deficit.

Grand compromise

Congressional Republicans, trying to keep a long arm's length away from the controversial specifics of the Reagan budget, suggested a scenario involving a "grand compromise" which would cap defense spending at a lower level and utilize tax increases as well as spending cuts to achieve deficit reduction.

But at a budget briefing, Treasury Sec. James A. Baker III said bluntly that the President is "firmly opposed" to increasing taxes. Since "defense is the most essential duty of the federal government," Baker said, there is no alternative to the domestic spending cuts.

At a meeting of House Republicans, a GOP polling consultant advised against getting "bogged down" in details of the President's budget and suggested they stick to talking about the economy in general terms.

House Democratic leaders had some different ideas, however. Budget Committee Chairman William H. Gray (D-Pa.) said he plans hearings across the country on the budget impact. And Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. "promised" Republicans they will get a chance to vote on the Reagan budget—whether they want to or not.

UAW assails Mack Truck runaway

Mack Trucks Inc. flatly rejected proposals by the Auto Workers for financial aid and cutting production costs to save 2,800 jobs at two plants in Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Mack said it will shut down its Allentown, Pa., plant that employs 1,800 UAW members and will contract out more work from its plant in Hagerstown, Md., furloughing nearly 1,000 of its 3,200 workers.

The UAW's economic plan would have given Mack $90 million in cost savings plus a $50-million interest-free loan if the company agreed to keep its production facilities in the Allentown area and drop plans for sharp cutbacks in Hagerstown.

The UAW said its most recent proposal to Mack exceeded the $35 million in savings the company claimed it needed to keep the jobs in Hagerstown. Mack said it was not interested in any further discussions.

The UAW even offered to submit its figures to a third party for evaluation, but Mack said that future meetings "would serve no purpose."

UAW Vice President William Casstevens charged that "Mack Trucks broke faith with many hundreds of its loyal workers and the entire community of Allentown" even though Mack workers agreed to consider reasonable sacrifices to keep the plant in the area.

The company subsequently announced it will build a plant in Winnsboro, S.C., that will employ about 1,150 workers.

Community suffers

"Mack could have spared the community it has so proudly called 'the truck capital of the world' the agonies, dislocation and erosion of manufacturing base which will result from moving away," he added. Casstevens is the director of the UAW's Mack bargaining unit.

Mack was seeking wage and benefit concessions of more than $4 an hour and a salary freeze over a seven-year contract, cuts it claimed were necessary to counter foreign competition. Last December, the company gave the UAW an ultimatum that workers must agree to concessions or the truck manufacturer would build the plant outside Pennsylvania.

The union said Mack's proposal would have meant a loss of $48,000 to $60,000 over the course of the agreement in the income of each worker.

The UAW's package included streamlined work rules and limited job classifications plus wage reductions of up to 15 percent during start-up of the new facility. The proposals would have increased productivity at the Allentown plant by nearly 23 percent and would have meant some $34 million in savings at the Hagerstown plant.

The UAW plan also called for Mack workers to invest up to 6 percent of their salaries in Mack securities to help finance the new Pennsylvania plant and modernize operations at Hagerstown.

Mack has operated in the Allentown area since 1905 and maintains its corporate headquarters there. The 60-year-old Allentown plant will be closed by mid-1987, according to the company.

Gramm-Rudman slashes spell 'chaos' for states

State and local governments across the nation would be plunged into "financial chaos" if the Gramm-Rudman automatic budget cuts trigger into effect for the fiscal year starting on Oct. 1.

That's the conclusion of an analysis prepared by Fiscal Planning Services Inc. for the Service Employees, the National Council of Senior Citizens and the Villers Foundation.

The study showed that more than $10 billion would have to be cut from federal programs administered by state and local governments. An additional $2.4 billion would be cut from Medicare and student financial aid, further adding to city and state costs.

"If state governments were to attempt to fully offset this loss of federal funds, 39 of the 50 states would run deficits," the report said.

The analysis showed that California and New York would take cuts of more than $1 billion each. Texas, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio each would suffer cuts of more than $500 million, the study noted.

The Gramm-Rudman deficit target for fiscal 1987, which starts Oct. 1, is $144 billion. Depending on which estimate proves correct, President Reagan and Congress must come up with between $50 billion and $75 billion in spending cuts and/or tax increases to meet that target. If they fail, Gramm-Rudman takes effect.

Major cutbacks

The coalition's analysis showed the biggest cuts under Gramm-Rudman would come in transportation, with drastic cuts in federal aid to highways, at $3 billion, and urban mass transit, at $1 billion. Medicare cuts are limited to 2 percent under Gramm-Rudman, but that is a cut of $1.2 billion.

The programs hardest hit, the study reports, would be those in education, including federal aid to college students, totaling $1.2 billion; Head Start, $278 million; programs for educationally deprived children, $1 billion, and handicapped children, $280 million.

Other scheduled cuts are in job training and referral, $729 million; community development block grants, $700 million; EPA sewer construction grants, $573 million; low-income energy aid, $510 million; and senior citizen centers and nutritional services

"Most of these cuts will affect poor and handicapped children, students struggling to attend college, the elderly and the unemployed," the report's sponsors said.

Most of these programs have already been slashed by spending cuts in the past five years, and under Gramm-Rudman their funding would again be cut by 20 percent or more.

"The impact on state and local governments is compounded by the fact that they will come on top of more than $4 billion in cuts already slated under the elimination of federal revenue sharing," they noted.

The sponsors of the report said the Gramm-Rudman Act "ignores completely the large, profitable Fortune 500 companies whose tax avoidance has contributed so mightily to the federal deficit" and that "the $120-billion annual cost of corporate tax loopholes is about twice the size of the entire fiscal year 1987 cutbacks required by Gramm-Rudman."

Scope of study

The study was limited to cutbacks that may be required in federal outlays to states and in major entitlement programs affecting state and local budgets. It did not include the impact of Gramm-Rudman on federal agency budgets.

Gramm-Rudman, which was passed by the Congress and signed by President Reagan last fall, establishes annual deficit targets for the next five fiscal years, with the goal of reducing the federal deficit to zero by 1991. The President and the Congress can meet the annual deficit targets through any combination of budget cuts and revenue increases. If they fail to agree on the proper approach and a stalemate over the budget occurs, the automatic budget-cutting process triggers and yields the desired deficit figure.

OSHA field sanitation delay branded 'national disgrace'

Continued from Page 1

cific legislation on the issue of field sanitation."

The legislation is "a modest measure that will finally provide farm workers basic sanitary measures provided all other workers."

The bill, sponsored by Rep. Joseph Gaydos (D-Pa.), is patterned after a proposed standard that OSHA outlined in 1984, but refused to issue.

The federation's position, Seminario emphasized, is that "farm workers as a whole will be better protected under a federal standard, than under a patchwork of state laws and regulations which offer varying degrees of protection and are rarely enforced."

Msgr. George G. Higgins, testifying for the U. S. Catholic Conference, told the subcommittee that OSHA's refusal to act is an issue of "fundamental human rights and social justice."

Higgins expressed "deep disappointment that so fundamental an issue as the provision of drinking water and adequate sanitation facilities for farmworkers has not been resolved for some 14 years."

He noted that "adequate water and sanitation facilities are clearly among the basic necessities required for human dignity." For OSHA to rely on the states for action in this one instance, while administering federal standards in virtually all types of nonagricultural workplaces is "inconsistent and unjust," Higgins stressed.

Minimum standards

Charles Horwitz of the Migrant Legal Action Program told the subcommittee that Brock's action last October "is an unprecedented, illegal and unfair interpretation" of the federal job safety law.

In urging passage of the bill, Horwitz said a federal regulation is necessary now to establish minimum standards that the states can build on. "Our nation's poorest, most powerless and least healthy group of workers deserves no less," he said.

Dr. Marian Moses of the Farm Workers cited unacceptable levels of health risks faced by farm workers and noted that OSHA has found "clear evidence" of the hazards. She said the matter is not a scientific issue, but rather one that deals with morals, and ethics and human dignity.

Rebecca Harrington of the UFW's Texas office said there is little enforcement of her state's field sanitation law and urged passage of the federal measure. She suggested, however, that it be improved by setting the responsibility for field sanitation with growers and not with leaders on the field crews.

Visual proof

Laurie Martinelli, representing the Arizona farm workers, presented slides of 18 work camps, showing the conditions in the fields. She stressed that often there was no drinking water and no toilets. If water was available, there usually was only one cup for everyone to drink from and there are no state standards on the quality of the water to be provided.

Ramiro Nieves of a New Jersey migrant farm workers group, testified through an interpreter that in the past three years he had been on only one farm that had a field toilet.

George E. Ogle, of the United Methodist Church's general board, declared that OSHA has spent "14 years trying to prove the obvious"—that the human body needs water, human feces carry germs and "if you don't wash your hands after going to the toilet or working with insectides, you are liable to get sick."

He stressed that OSHA has held hearing after hearing to determine the "significant risk" factor. He asked the committee if it knew how many "cool drinking fountains" there are in OSHA, "how many toilets," and who settled the significant risk factor before they were installed.

Passage of the Gaydos bill would not only set a national standard, but would "also express a moral concern for the poorest among us," Ogle stressed.

Reagan paints rosy outlook, shifts blame on rising deficit

Continued from Page 1

ly, meet a mortgage, pay their taxes and bills." But on the specifics of tax reform, Reagan had a different income bracket in mind. "True reform," he said, "means a top personal rate no higher than 35 percent."

Under present law, persons in the highest income bracket pay at a 50 percent rate and the House bill would drop it to 38 percent. That would still be too high, Reagan insisted.

The President reiterated his opposition to import curbs, and left unmentioned the trade deficit that has grown to staggering proportions under his Administration. He spoke merely of the need for "reliable" exchange rates and said he is directing Treasury Sec. James A. Baker "to determine if the nations of the world should convene to discuss the role and relationship of our currencies."

Again, the President asked for a line-item veto that would let him disapprove segments of an appropriations bill and affirmed his support of a balanced budget constitutional amendment—even though he has never proposed a balanced budget to Congress.

He announced a study by the White House Domestic Council of proposals seeking the "emancipation" of persons on welfare from dependency. And he said Health & Human Services Sec. Otis Bowen will make recommendations on a program of "affordable insurance" against "catastrophic illness." Both studies will be completed next December, Reagan said.

Democrats used the rebuttal time made available to them by the television networks to show concern for Americans hurt by Reagan's policies and to present some of the party's new faces.

No clock, no pay

Concord, N.H.—George Wilson, publisher of the Concord Monitor, is by his own account a strong advocate of good employee relations. He insists that his editorial staff is made up of "professionals." And he firmly opposes efforts by the government to make him pay overtime rates when they are required to work more than 40 hours a week.

The Labor Dept., in a suit filed against the newspaper in 1981, maintains that reporters do not come within the law's definition of professionals and therefore are entitled to overtime compensation under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Key to the trial is $45,894 in overtime payment claims for 54 past and present Monitor reporters. Even though Wilson feels they are professionals not entitled to overtime, the 21,500-circulation paper did pay them $31,000 in overtime—the amount claimed by the reporters. But the Labor Dept. suit says Monitor management leaned on its employees to work more overtime without filing for extra pay.

The Newspaper Guild, in a court brief supporting the Labor Dept. position, stressed its concern that reporters and other journalists would be deprived of overtime if defined as professionals.

Just who are professionals? Federal rules define them as workers with special education or training such as doctors and lawyers, or those with "creative" skills, such as actors, dancers and painters.

USWA aluminum conference shapes pact goals for 25,000

St. Louis—Top officers from Steelworker local unions representing 25,000 workers in the aluminum industry met here to map bargaining goals for negotiations with major producers on contracts set to expire June 1.

The first round of bargaining will get under way in early May for contracts covering about 10,500 workers at Alcoa, Reynolds Co. and Ormet Corp.

The aluminum industry conference, in a statement similar to one adopted earlier by the USWA's basic steel conference, said producers must show proof of "dire economic circumstances" before the union will consider the issue of concessions.

Chief union negotiator George Becker said the major producers, with the exception of Kaiser Aluminum, are in relatively healthy financial condition and have given "no indication that they are in dire circumstances." He said the union is "not oblivious" to the problems of the industry.

Aluminum producers point to lessening demand for their product, high energy costs and an oversupply of primary raw materials to support their demand for reduced wage levels.

Bargaining goals

The conference is seeking compensation for increased productivity, improvements in pensions, early retirement incentives and overtime rates, an end to contracting out of work and forced overtime, and action on the USWA's health and safety concerns.

Aluminum producers claiming to be in poor financial straits and seeking concessions must agree to open their records to the union and to restructure business operations so that equal sacrifices are made by shareholders, managers, lenders and workers, the conference said. It stressed that any concessions made by workers must be restored through profit sharing or stock option plans as soon as the company involved returns to profitability."

Last year, in separate negotiations with the ailing Kaiser Aluminum Corp., the USWA granted the company a $4.50 reduction in total wages and benefits in exchange for stock option rights.

Local union officers of the Aluminum, Brick & Glass Workers will meet here Mar. 17 to plan negotiations and set bargaining goals for contracts covering 18,000 additional workers at Reynolds, Alcoa and Kaiser plants. Negotiations are to begin in early May for contracts expiring May 31.

Interim accord

In basic steel, the USWA reached an interim agreement with LTV Steel Corp. that curbs contracting out and overtime and gives workers more protection from layoffs. In exchange, USWA members at LTV agreed to postpone a scheduled 56-cents-an-hour increase.

During industry-wide negotiations in 1983, the USWA gave up $1.25 an hour in pay, with the money to be restored in three installments over the life of the agreement ending July 31, 1986. The final installment was due Feb. 1.

In exchange for postponing that increase, LTV said it will not expand the use of contractors in any capacity "inside or outside the plant" and agreed to reduce overtime hours by 10 percent. A penalty of $2.50 an hour will be imposed whenever the company exceeds that limit. The penalty funds will be used to retrain laid-off workers.

The interim agreement also includes an expedited arbitration procedure for most grievances.

Negotiations to wrap up the pact, which covers 32,000 LTV workers, are continuing with both sides hopeful that a settlement can be reached by Mar. 15.

In another development, local representatives of the USWA and other unions having contracts with Kennecott Copper Corp. met with company officials in Phoenix for a second day of bargaining, as Kennecott officials pressed for a 33 percent cut in wages and benefits.

OSHA finally plans to check 100 toxic sites

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration's plans to inspect 100 of the nation's worst toxic waste sites is an action long overdue and probably prompted by proposed legislation on toxic wastes, the AFL-CIO said.

The safety agency's "special emphasis program" will use information provided by the Environmental Protection Agency to determine the sites most hazardous to workers. There are more than 20,000 known toxic waste sites in the United States and some 2,000 on the EPA's priority list.

OSHA's action is "exactly what we asked them to do in 1979—to coordinate, to share information on hazardous waste sites, and to inspect them," said Margaret Seminario, associate director of the Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security.

She stressed, however, that OSHA still lacks specific regulations for toxic waste dumps. Besides the hazardous wastes, workers at these dumps may encounter flammable materials, excessive noise, bacteria and viruses.

Seminario pointed out that when the federal Superfund legislation was passed in 1980, OSHA was to begin developing regulations to protect the workers handling the clean-up operations. "Nothing has been done in the past five years," she noted.

Legislating action

Now, both the House and Senate reauthorization bills for the Superfund contain a requirement for OSHA to develop a standard which includes protections and training. The House measure is stronger, Seminario said, because it is based on a recently completed manual of guidelines for workers involved in the cleanup toxic wastes.

That manual, published last October, was also several years overdue. It was developed by the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health in conjunction with OSHA and EPA.

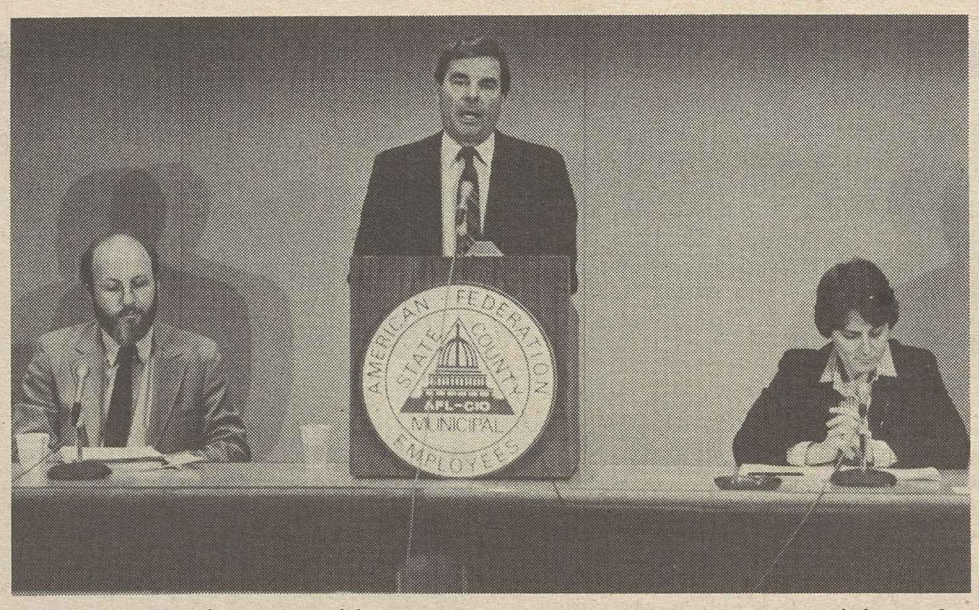
"OSHA has the primary responsibility for protecting workers, and it was the most reluctant to participate in the manual's development," Seminario said.

The new OSHA program will use EPA lists of hazardous waste sites, including its national priority list, which was created by the Superfund law. OSHA said it will inspect both the sites slated for removal and those designated for long-term clean-up.

It noted that federally owned or operated facilities will also be eligible for inspection. Waste sites that have been inspected within the past year, however, will not be reinspected unless it appears that serious problems remain.

Also to be considered are hazardous waste treatment, storage and disposal sites operating under EPA permits. OSHA will concentrate on the bigger facilities with multiple operations and large numbers of workers.

The program will be in effect until the end of this fiscal year in September, when it will be evaluated for possible continuation.



AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee announces AIDS guidelines for workers. He is flanked by Dr. James Mellius and Abbey Rubinfield.

AFSCME issues guidelines to cut AIDS exposure risks

The State, County & Municipal Employees issued guidelines to its health care and correctional facility members for minimizing the occupational risks of exposure to the deadly virus AIDS—Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

"This disease affects hundreds of thousands of our members because they work in places and situations in which AIDS victims have been concentrated, in public health care facilities and correctional institutions and in the social services provided by state, county and city governments," AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee told a symposium on AIDS.

"Our members' work may involve close contact with victims, the potential for violence and extremely unsanitary conditions," McEntee explained. "AIDS in the workplace raises extremely complicated issues, not only of health, but of individual rights," he said.

"There is no reason to panic," he stressed. "It is not highly contagious, especially if workers follow the recommended precautions. We have solid grounds to oppose antibody testing on any group of workers, no matter what their occupation."

Statistical evidence

A fact sheet given to conference participants explained that more than 16,450 persons have been reported as having AIDS, and more than half have died. Some 2 million persons have been exposed to the AIDS virus, and nearly a quarter of those will get AIDS Related Complex (ARC), the fact sheet said.

McEntee stressed that the union, as well as the U.S. Center for Disease Control, recommends against routine AIDS testing of any workers, including those in food service and health care. The union's position, McEntee said, is that the AIDS antibody test should be used only to screen blood donations, to conduct scientific studies or at the request of individuals concerned about possible exposure to the AIDS virus.

The AFSCME leader urged that exposure to the disease be kept in perspective. "There are many other infectious diseases, such as hepatitis B, which are much more contagious and actually kill more people every year than does AIDS," he told the audience.

AFSCME represents some 300,000 health care workers and 50,000 correctional officers. The guidelines issued for these workers stressed that they be notified of patients or prisoners with AIDS to enable them to take proper precautions.

Education and training

The guidelines for health care employees —including hospital workers, emergency medical care givers and home health care workers—stress that no health care worker who has cared for an AIDS patient has contracted AIDS.

Only two workers, contaminated by "needle stick" injuries, have shown signs of being exposed to the virus.

The union guidelines urge education and training in preventing the spread of AIDS; extra care to avoid needle sticks and other accidental wounds from instruments used by AIDS patients; use of disposable needles, and use of gloves when handling blood specimens and other body substances.

AFSCME also urged that pregnant women be excused from direct care of AIDS victims.

For corrections officers, the guidelines urged similar cautions and training. They also suggested the screening and segregation of prisoners with AIDS while noting that such efforts may be controversial or prohibited due to budgetary, legal or other restrictions.

Also addressing the conference were Dr. James Mellius of the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health, Deputy Commissioner Charles DeVane of the New York Dept. of Correctional Services, and Abbey Rubinfield, legal director of the Lambda Legal Defense & Education Fund.

Imports cause slowdown in factory orders

Factory orders rose a weak 2.2 percent in 1985—a sharp drop from the previous year's 10.6-percent increase—as the nation's depressed manufacturing industries continued to reel under the impact of foreign imports which are robbing them of sales at home and abroad.

The Commerce Dept. reported that orders in December climbed 2.7 percent, following a gain of eight-tenths of 1 percent in November and a 1-percent decline in October.

But there was a lopsided nature to the December figures because they resulted from a doubling in orders for civilian aircraft. Without that one-time impetus, total orders would have fallen five-tenths of 1 percent for the month.

Orders for primary metals such as steel fell 1.4 percent, the government reported, while orders for nonelectrical machinery plunged 12.4 percent during the last month of the year.

Construction down

Meanwhile, contracts for new construction in December fell 2 percent from the November level, reflecting a 6-percent drop in nonresidential building, while the pace of residential construction remained virtually unchanged. It was the second consecutive monthly decline.

In another report, the Commerce Dept. said the index of leading economic indicators rose nine-tenths of 1 percent in December—the eighth consecutive monthly increase.

Among the major causes for the upward movement in the economic gauge were the continuing bull market on Wall Street which has pushed stock prices to record highs, an increase in building permits and an improvement in the average workweek.

On the down side, however, were a rise in weekly claims for unemployment insurance, a drop in new companies going into business, a decline in new orders for goods and materials, and a drop in business and consumer borrowing.

Union donations boost strike aid for meatpackers

Austin, Minn.—Striking Food & Commercial Workers Union members at the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. plant here received an extra $50 in weekly strike benefits because of contributions to the UFCW region's supplemental strike benefits fund.

The UFCW normally provides $40 a week in strike benefits, supplemented by an additional $25 a week when its Region 13 funds can afford it. Contributions from international unions and locals affiliated with the Minnesota AFL-CIO allowed the doubling of supplemental benefits for members of UFCW Local P-9.

The 1,500 UFCW members at Hormel's flagship plant struck on Aug. 15. In mid-January, when members turned down a contract proposal to bring their wages up to those paid at other Hormel plants, the company began hiring replacements.

In Ottumwa, Iowa, and Freemont, Neb., UFCW grievance experts continued working on efforts to get more than 500 members back to work after they were fired for respecting unsanctioned picket lines set up by Local P-9 against the wishes of the international union.

The UFCW said the contributions to aid the strikers can be sent to UFCW Region 13 Strike Fund, 2850 Metro Dr., Suite 327, Bloomington, Minn. 55420.

Injury benefit cutoff hit in Michigan

Lansing, Mich.—The Michigan AFL-CIO urged the state legislature to reverse a recent state Supreme Court decision that drastically reduced or eliminated benefits for some 40,000 workers who were injured on the job before April 1982.

Testifying before the House Labor Committee, State AFL-CIO President Sam Fishman charged that the high court's ruling "essentially wipes out workers' compensation benefits for those injured workers receiving payments based on the unreasonably low rates that were in existence between 1965 and 1981." He said passage of a House measure is "essential to keep the state's commitment to its injured workers."

The Supreme Court's unanimous decision overturned rulings made by an administrative law judge, the Workers' Compensation Appeals Board and a lower court.

The court's decision left some 40,000 injured workers trapped in a legal loophole. The 1982 changes in the state law provided benefit increases that were partially offset through "coordination," or reduction, of benefits by the after-tax value of pension and social security payments. But those injured prior to Apr. 1, 1982, were prevented from receiving the benefit increases.

But insurance companies and employers quickly spotted a loophole that made the "coordination of benefits" retroactive, thus reducing benefit levels for workers injured before Apr. l, 1982, by the amount of the pension and social security payments they had already received.

In many cases, this wiped out the payments injured workers were receiving as companies sought to recover benefits they had already paid to injured workers, often sums totalling in the thousands of dollars, Fishman declared.

Legal loophole

For those injured workers, Fishman told the House committee, "the workers' compensation law has become a one-sided and repressive piece of legislation. It provides nearly total protection to the employer from tort litigation and offers no protection or benefit to the injured worker."

He urged the legislature to ensure that "anyone injured before Mar. 31, 1982, will not have their workers' compensation benefits reduced through coordination at any time. Those who have already suffered the loss or reduction of benefits should have those benefits returned to them."

Fishman stressed that for more than 80 years, workers in the state have given up their right to sue in court for damages related to workplace injuries. In return, the workers were supposed to be guaranteed protection through the state's workers' compensation system.

In making its decision, the Supreme Court apparently ignored a resolution the legislature passed in 1982 stating that the act "was not designed to be applied retroactively to those receiving workers' disability compensation payments or those injured prior to the effective date of the act."

Budget ax threatens job safety inspections

A cutback in safety inspections is one of the "options" the Occupational Safety & Health Administration is considering to comply with the budget cut that Congress imposed for the balance of this fiscal year under the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law.

Like most other government agencies, OSHA will have its appropriations for the current fiscal year cut 4.3 percent as of Mar. 1 to meet the first step of the budget reduction timetable.

Since the fiscal year will be five months under way then, the effect of the cutback will be magnified.

Also being considered, as a "last resort," the agency said, is an unpaid "furlough" or temporary layoff for OSHA workers.

OSHA said it must reduce spending by $9 million to meet the Gramm-Rudman requirement. A second and more severe round of Gramm-Rudman budget cuts is anticipated for the 1987 fiscal year, which starts next Oct. 1.

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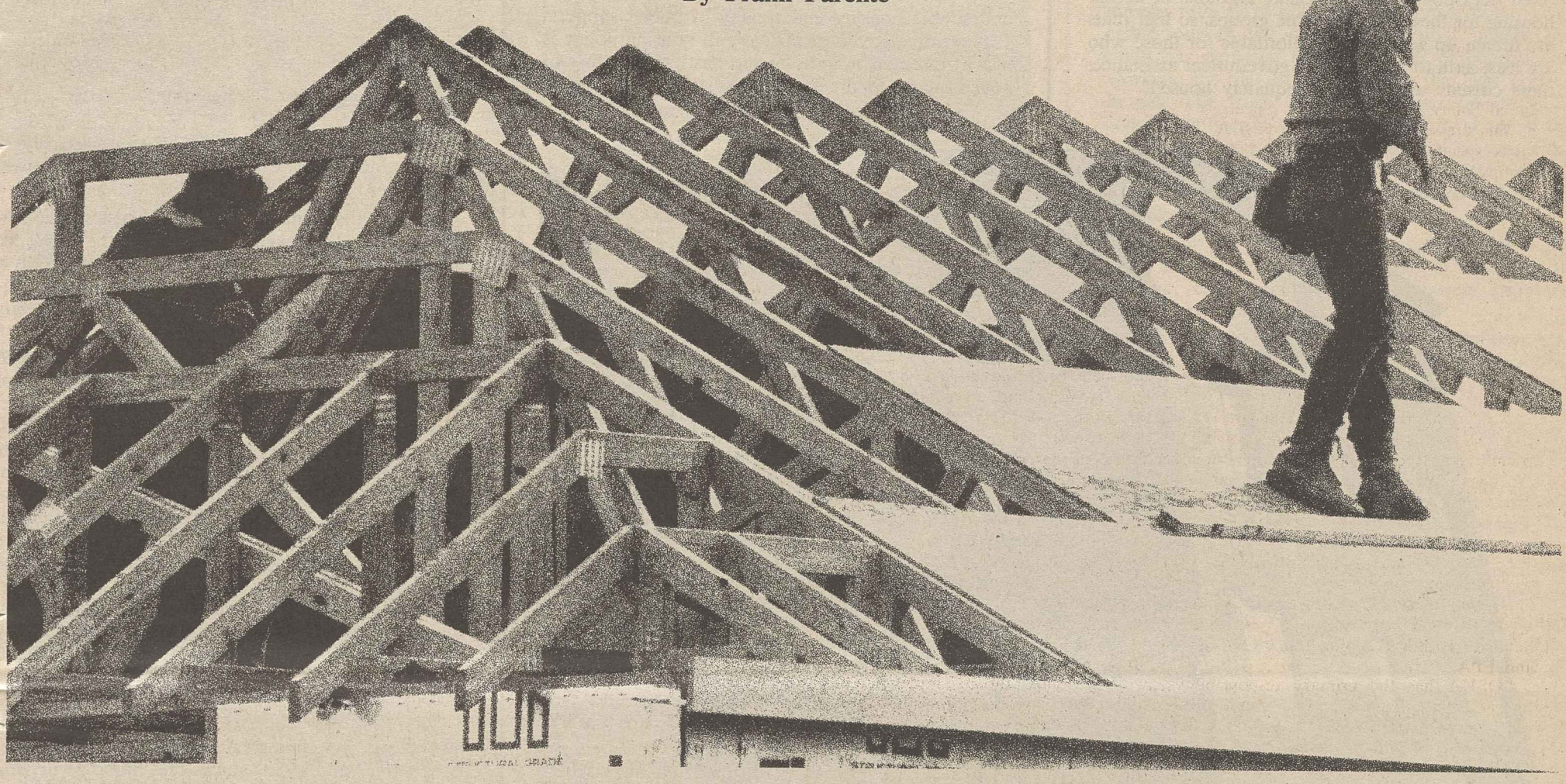
A LABOR AGENDA FOR HOUSING

By Frank Parente



Housing is one of the important dimensions of life that concern organized labor.

The labor movement has always championed the idea that adequate housing is necessary for healthful human development and happiness. Housing should be decent, accessible on a non-discriminatory basis and affordable so that all workers and consumers with limited incomes will be adequately sheltered.

If housing is unavailable or costs too much, workers often cannot take advantage of new job opportunities or must travel long distances to the job. Long and difficult commuting limits job choices and leads to lower productivity on the job. As many plants and other workplaces in the post-World War II United States closed or moved from central cities to suburban areas and between regions and states, many workers have found it necessary to follow the jobs and seek homes and apartments in reasonably nearby locations. Having access to decent, affordable, appropriate shelter can facilitate such adjustments.

Unions and their members have an important stake in how much housing and its financing cost. If mortgage interest rates are high, working families with limited incomes suffer disproportionately. When rates rise to high levels, monthly payments needed to buy a home rise out of the reach of working families. The housing market weakens, and it often is not possible to sell an old home or buy a new one. In addition, if families with limited income spend too much for rent or for mortgage expenses, there is less money left in the household budget for food, health care and the other necessities of life. Housing is more than just one of a number of investments made by a family. It is a basic human necessity, and it should be available and affordable as needed.

Labor has supported government programs that help provide subsidized low-income rental housing and also lower-cost homes, such as the mortgage insurance programs of the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration. These programs for modestly priced housing have been important to working families, especially younger families with little cash trying to buy a first home.

Adequate housing supports human development and makes for productive workers and good citi-

The author, Frank Parente, is a staff member of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Economic Research.

The Fiscal 1987 Housing Budget

The new Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law will cut federal funds for assisted housing and for community development slightly in fiscal 1986 and by much more in 1987. But the Administration's new budget contains massive deferrals and rescissions of already approved funds that will immediately cripple ongoing program efforts if they become effective.

The new balanced-budget law sets across-the-board cuts of 4.3 percent in domestic programs this year, including those of the Dept. of Housing & Urban Development (HUD), to meet deficit targets.

This initial mandatory cut will affect the various HUD programs and result in a department-wide reduction of almost $700 million in new budget authority for 1986. There will also be separate cuts in loan guarantee programs.

In fiscal 1987, larger cuts than the 4.3 percent reductions of this year will be necessary to meet Gramm-Rudman's requirements. Overall cuts in domestic and military programs could reach $50 billion to $60 billion.

There would be no additional commitment for new housing construction in fiscal 1986 and 1987 under HUD and the two largest Farmers Home Administration programs.

Additional cutbacks would result from the Administration's 1987 budget proposals for rescissions and deferrals of already approved fiscal 1986 funds for housing and community development. There is a deferral-rescission of almost $6.7 billion out of the $9.8 billion for subsidized housing programs only recently approved by Congress. This will result in a drastic cutback in the number of additional housing units assisted in 1986. Deferred funds will be used for subsidized housing in fiscal 1987, which would fund housing vouchers instead of needed new construction. Funds would be further diluted as half the available vouchers would be for rural areas to make up for housing cutbacks under Agriculture Dept. programs.

HUD proposes deferring $500 million of the $3.1 billion allocated in fiscal 1986 for community block grants. There is a proposed rescission of $220 million from urban action grants and the program is slated for termination. These programs support local housing and physical development and infrastructure.

The Administration also proposes that consumer fees for government-backed loans be raised, although this would make it harder for first-time buyers to afford the purchase of a home. Another change in the FHA mortgage insurance program would be the imposition of a $40,000 maximum family income limit for eligibility to obtain an FHA-insured mortgage loan, subjecting the program to an adverse selection of mortgage risks in the future.

The Administration also proposes exploring sale of the FHA to the private sector, although the agency is profitable and generates income to the government while promoting home ownership.

zens in the same way that education and training or police and fire protection or nourishing food and drink serve these purposes. For this reason, labor has supported government-sponsored programs for urban renewal and efforts to replace slum housing with adequate and healthful housing.

Fair housing programs have been a key element of the civil rights legislation the labor movement has supported over the years. If decent and affordable housing is arbitrarily and unjustly denied workers because of their race, for example, they may be denied job opportunities in closed communities because they lack appropriately located housing. Thus, workers who may be subject to discrimination have a direct stake in the laws and rules assuring free and equal access to the available stock of housing.

Organized labor also has supported the provision of government-assisted rental housing for groups in society that need assistance, such as the retired and the handicapped poor, low-income minorities and single-parent working families, including female-headed households. The private market for housing often does not provide adequate amounts of decent housing for these lower-income groups, so that rents are driven up and made unaffordable for those who are least able to pay. Without government assistance, these citizens will not be adequately housed.

Recent Trends

Over the last few years a number of misconceptions and half-truths about housing and national housing policy have developed, suggesting that housing conditions are constantly improving, that housing is widely available and affordable, and questioning the validity of a federal role in housing. The facts are that:

1. Fewer families that need a home can now afford one.
2. High interest rates and land costs keep families from affording homes.
3. Despite three years of economic expansion, people are still out of jobs and losing their homes.
4. Slum housing is not a thing of the past.
5. There is a continuing need for federally assisted housing for new construction because there is not always and everywhere a supply of existing housing that can adequately serve lower-income families.
6. Low-rent public housing is not shabby and undesirable housing undeserving of public support.

A positive governmental role in housing policy is just as essential now as in the past. The ending of government support for such assistance in the name of budgetary economy would be a mistake and would bring on a recurrence of the severe housing and social problems of the past.

I. Getting a Home—Who Owns Homes?

Until recently, the national rate of home ownership had risen steadily, reflecting year-by-year improvements in real wages and salaries and helped by various national policies favoring home ownership, including the federal income tax deductability of mortgage interest and real estate taxes.

The Sinking Rate of Home Ownership
(Owner Occupancy Rate)

	%
1980	65.6
1981	65.4
1982	64.8
1983	64.6
1984	64.5
1985	63.9

1985 annual rate based on quarterly averages.

Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce—Bureau of the Census.

Despite the gains over many decades, the evidence of the last several years is that the incidence of home ownership is declining, home ownership is not as universally shared as it appears on the surface, and much greater sacrifices are needed to buy and hold on to a home these days.

The national home ownership rate rose in each decennial census from 1940 to 1980. More recent data reveal that the home ownership rate has declined somewhat in the 1980s, however. The U.S. Commerce Dept., in a separate survey, estimates that the national rate of home ownership sank from almost 66 percent in 1980 to less than 64 percent in 1985. If the home ownership rate prevailing in 1980 had remained steady instead of going down, perhaps 1.3 million more households would now be home owners. The American Housing Survey, formerly the Annual Housing Survey, conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and sponsored by the U.S. Dept. of Housing & Urban Development, shows a similar slight decline of about 1 percentage point over the years 1980-1983.

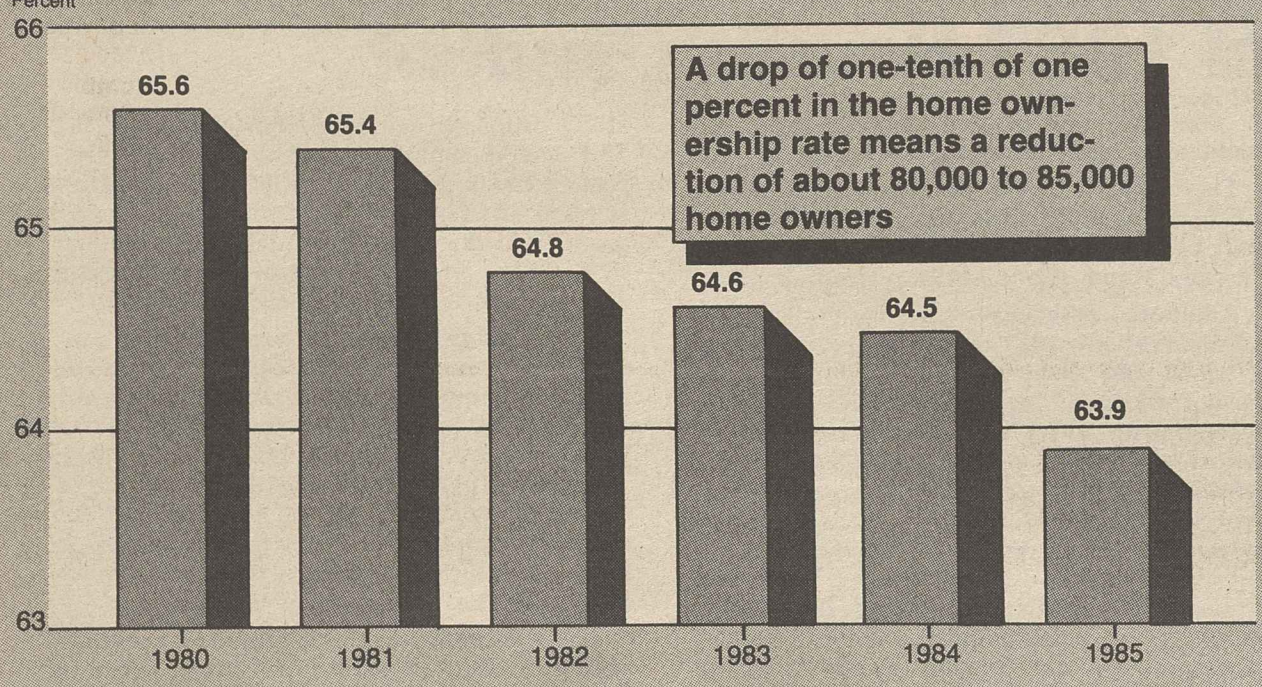
The 1983 Survey of Consumer Finance (which also shows a declining rate of home ownership between 1977 and 1983) shows that home ownership is not evenly distributed among racial, ethnic and income groups.

Distribution of Home Ownership
(percentage of families)

	1979	1983
All families	65	60
Family income (constant 1982 dollars)		
Less than 10,000	43	36
10,000-19,999	54	51
20,000-29,999	63	60
30,000-49,999	80	82
50,000 and more	92	89
Age of family head (years)		
Under 35	41	34
35-44	75	66
45-54	80	75
55-64	76	73
65 and over	74	70
Race of family head		
Caucasian	66	64
Nonwhite and Hispanic	52	40
Life-cycle stage of family head		
Under 45 years		
Unmarried, no children	14	23
Married, no children	45	44
Married, with children	72	65
45 years and over		
Head in labor force	77	76
Head retired	77	69
All ages		
Unmarried, with children	41	38

Source: Survey of Consumer Finances, 1983. Federal Reserve Bulletin, September 1984.

The Sinking Rate of Home Ownership in Recent Years



Annual rates based on quarterly averages. 1985 based on first 3 quarters.
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

In 1983, in contrast to the 60 percent home-ownership rate for all families, only about a third of families with the lowest incomes and about half the families with incomes between $10,000 and $20,000 owned homes. In 1977, the home-owning portion of these same income groups (adjusted for inflation) was higher. Thus, lower-income families have a low and declining incidence of home ownership, according to the survey.

Younger families must wait a long time to become home owners. The survey reveals that in 1977 about 41 percent of families whose head was under 35 years old achieved home ownership. By 1983, the home ownership rate for this youngest age group had fallen to 34 percent, also well below the overall home ownership rate. This is the age group of young, first-time buyers who are just getting started in their careers and establishing families.

Although home ownership among all families went down, the rate for non-whites and Hispanics plummeted from 52 percent to 40 percent between 1977 and 1983.

The evidence is clear from this survey that the benefits of home ownership, while on the surface seemingly widely shared, are not in fact shared by many groups in society, notably the young, lower-income families, minorities, and unmarried people without children.

For those seeking to become homeowners, the affordability of homes has seriously eroded over the years, due to rapid increases in home values and the high prevailing rates of interest. This can be seen from considering the declining percentage of families who are able to afford a typical new home. Despite sharply lower mortgage interest rates in 1985 than a year or two ago, a large portion of the potential home-buying population is frozen out of the market for homes.

At the end of 1985, interest rates were about 12 percent on conventional home mortgages. Ten years earlier—in 1975—similar rates were just over 9 percent.

In 1975 about 41 percent of American families had incomes sufficient for the purchase of a modest median-priced new home of about $32,000 with a 30-year loan at 9¼ percent, if they paid one-quarter of income for housing. Their payments would cover mortgage principal and interest, taxes, hazard insurance, heat, utilities and maintenance. By the end of 1985, a similar—though not identical—modest home cost about $68,500. Only about 30 percent of families could afford the purchase of such a home at the prevalent 12 percent interest rates (including fees and charges). Thus, the rapid rise in house prices and mortgage interest rates in the intervening years put the dream of home ownership beyond the reach of many.

A recent study prepared by the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Housing Studies summed up the problem: "in the last five years, the increasing costs of home ownership have prevented an estimated 800,000 young households from purchasing homes."

Despite high costs American families make great sacrifices to purchase homes, often stretching the limits of their budgets. The "extra effort" needed to attain home ownership these days can be seen in a 1985 survey by the U.S. League of Savings Institutions showing that many home buyers have to spend a large share of their income for shelter, that they increasingly need second incomes to buy homes, and that home buyers on the average are getting older.

The survey also revealed that conditions were much worse in some places. For example, in the San Francisco metro area, the survey found that more than 70 percent of home buyers had housing expenses exceeding the one-quarter of income benchmark, compared with 34 percent of all home buyers in the country who exceeded the benchmark. The survey found in general that homeownership affordability in 1985 was improved from the conditions in the immediately prior high-interest rate period.

2. The Cost of Housing

As steadily rising home prices and relatively high interest rates have placed the dream of home ownership out of the reach of potential buyers, the myth has persisted that the wages of construction workers are the driving force in the high cost of homes. The truth, however, is that on-site labor costs have been a small and shrinking share of the overall costs of a new home. This can be seen if the purchase price of a home is divided into components, including on-site labor, materials, land, financing and overhead/profit.

The culprits in the steady increase in new home costs are the rapidly rising prices of land and financing. Labor and materials represent shrinking cost components.

The National Association of Home Builders has estimated that materials and on-site labor represented about 48 percent of the price of a new home (materials 32 percent, labor 16 percent) in 1984. These "hard costs" had represented about 55 percent of the sale price of a home in 1969 (materials 38 percent, labor 18 percent).

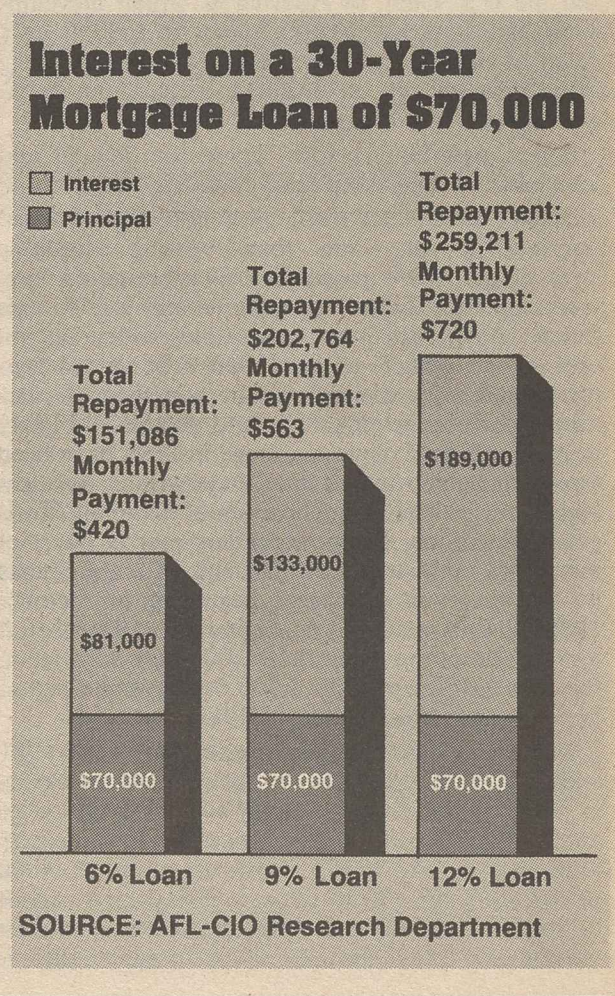
The components that have increased most rapidly in recent years are land and financing expenses. Together, these costs represented a much larger share of the overall cost of a home in 1984 than in 1969, as shown in the table on housing cost components.

Rising interest rates add to the burden of debt faced by home buyers over the life of their mort-

Cost Components of a Typical New Single Family Home

	1984 Percent Share	1969 Percent Share
Labor and materials	48	55
Land	25	21
Financing	12	7
Overhead and profit	15	17
Total	**100**	**100**

Source: National Association of Home Builders



"Public Housing is more diverse than the stereotyped projects portrayed in the media."

gages. For example, a family buying a home with a $70,000 mortgage at 6 percent over 30 years would pay more than $81,000 in interest over the term of the mortgage. If the interest rate were 12 percent on the mortgage loan, interest payments over the 30-year term would total almost $190.000. Every 1-percent increase in the interest rate raises the cost of such a home roughly $18,000 over 30 years.

3. Keeping a Home: Foreclosures and the Problem of Homelessness

Despite more than three years of national economic recovery, all is not well in many parts of the country. Signs of long-term economic dislocation and stress are especially evident in areas whose economies are tied to such industries as textiles, apparel, steel, auto parts, farming, consumer electronics, etc.

Home foreclosures, evictions due to the inability to pay rents, and actual homelessness are basic signs of the economic stress facing those who have lost their jobs or who can't work for one reason or another.

The national home mortgage loan delinquency rate on single-family homes reached an all-time high of 6.19 percent in the first quarter of 1985, according to a Mortgage Bankers Association survey. The delinquency rate declined somewhat to 5.64 percent in the third quarter. The rate was below 5 percent in 1980. The delinquency rate is a measure of loans with payments past due. These figures spelled trouble for tens of thousands whose homes are in jeopardy. Delinquencies were close to 7 percent for government-backed loans in 1985, and the U.S. Dept. of Housing & Urban Development had a record 30,000 homes to sell off as a result of defaults by borrowers. For home-securing loans that are not government backed, the delinquency rate was 4 percent.

These disturbing national figures on defaults and foreclosures result from several causes.

Newly deregulated thrift institutions have flooded the market with riskier loans bearing adjustable rates or graduated payments. When required payments on these loans rise, defaults and foreclosures follow. Also, with many households dependent on two income-earners to meet their debt service payments and with unemployment persisting at rates near 7 percent, delinquencies and defaults are likely to remain high. Private mortgage insurers have been forced to tighten up on their underwriting practices and to raise their fees. The Federal National Mortgage Association, a large secondary-market buyer of mortgages, announced a tightening of requirements for mortgages it purchases beginning in October 1985. FNMA reported in September 1985 that it had foreclosed on more than 7,000 homes so far in the year, compared with 3,500 for the same period in 1984 and almost none in 1980.

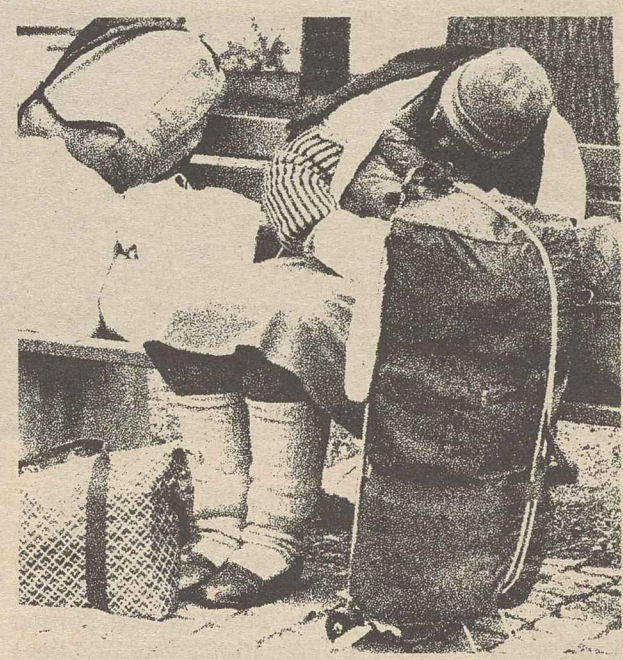
Adjustable rate mortgages written between 1981 and 1984 will continue to be troublesome and risky in view of the current lower level of home price appreciation. Loans with temporarily low "teaser" rates that require higher payments after an initial period are subject to foreclosure if payments cannot be met. Adjustable rate mortgages without interest rate caps or which allow excessive "negative amortization" are default candidates. Negative amortization results when monthly payments do not cover all the interest cost. The amount of interest not covered is added to the unpaid principal balance. Thus, it would be possible for the mortgage balance to exceed the value of the home in some cases.

Problems often result from joblessness due to the last recession and plant closings in many places. Long-term unemployment makes it difficult for many people to pay for shelter in addition to the other necessities of life.

Defaults, foreclosures and evictions from apartments may well increase in the near future if there is another economic downturn. Even if the economy holds a steady course, many could still lose their homes as a result of the rising tide of imported goods and related high unemployment stemming from the high value of the dollar as against foreign currencies and the low wage structure in many countries where the imports come from.

Problems will also get worse because of the phase-out of the federal Supplemental Compensation program for the long-term unemployed. This cutoff has left hundreds of thousands of unemployed persons and their families without any means of support. Those who were already on the unemployment rolls will still collect full benefits, but no new long-term unemployed workers will be eligible for any compensation beyond 26 weeks in most states. An analysis by the non-profit Center on Budget and Policy Priorities has pointed out that nationally only one in four unemployed workers received jobless benefits in October 1985. In some places, like Michigan, Texas and Ohio, only one in five or fewer received jobless benefits.

The problem of homelessness has mushroomed over the last several years. It involves not only the traditional and well-known categories of the jobless and the deinstitutionalized, but also low-income workers and whole families with children. Estimates of the number of homeless people in the nation range from 250,000 to more than 2 million.

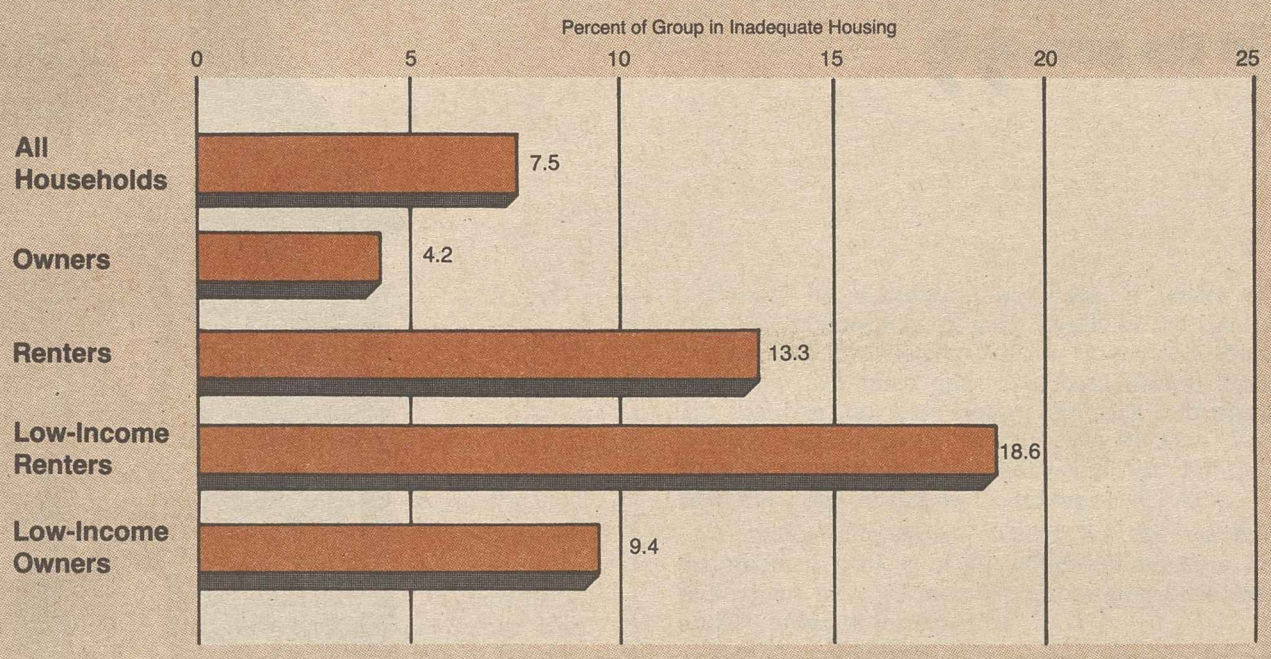


A recently published survey of hunger, homelessness and poverty in 25 American cities, conducted by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, found that the demand for emergency shelter increased in most cities during 1985. Further, it was found that in more than half the cities some of those in need had to be turned away even though the overall number of shelters in the cities increased by more than 50 percent in 1985. Homelessness was expected to worsen in 22 of the cities during 1986.

In some areas homelessness has become so serious that it touches the suburbs as well as affecting big central cities. Homelessness is so common that last summer a homeless man lay dead on a lawn near the Los Angeles city hall for at least two days until people who work nearby realized he had not moved.

In many places, there are the "hidden homeless." They are people who have lost their homes and apartments through fire, eviction or non-payment of rent and have doubled-up with friends and relatives. In New York City alone, according to public officials, there may be 47,000 of these doubled-up or tripled-up families in public housing projects, and the waiting list of those who want and are eligible

Incidence of Inadequate Housing among Various Housing Groups, 1977



SOURCE: The Report of the President's Commission on Housing, April, 1982.

to rent assisted housing units now runs to 175,000 names.

Because of cutbacks under various government-assisted housing construction programs over the last several years, there is an absolute shortage of low-cost housing in many places. Such cutbacks have doubtless contributed to the inability of many low-income families to find shelter. The Reagan Administration's policy of phasing out aid for the construction of additional housing for low-income people and relying instead on existing housing serves to worsen the situation.

A U.S. Conference of Mayors' 1984 survey of 66 cities with a total population of 26 million showed that high rents and the lack of low-cost housing units prevent many low-income people from locating suitable units for which they might use government Section 8 housing voucher certificates. In fact, the survey found that in about half the cities 25 percent or more of the Section 8 certificates were eventually cancelled because recipients could not find units suitable for the program. Thus, even the promise of government housing assistance is no guarantee of finding a place to rent.

4. The Slums

There has been a steady improvement in housing conditions over the last several decades, according to some traditional measures of housing quality.

The percent of all occupied housing units lacking complete plumbing, for example, has plummeted steadily in each decennial census since 1940 from almost half to below 2.2 percent in 1980. The percentage of crowded units declined from 20 percent in 1940 to less than 10 percent in 1980. When other measures of housing quality are considered, however, such as frequent breakdowns of the heating system, unconcealed wiring, etc., and the recent trends of rent burdens are studied, there is less to take satisfaction about.

The 1982 Report of the President's Commission on Housing showed, for example, that the incidence of housing considered to be physically inadequate varies considerably among population groups. Blacks, Hispanics, rural people, renters, female-headed households and others occupy sharply higher levels of substandard housing than the population at large.

The Government Accounting Office (GAO) recently reported that the rent burdens of households with low incomes (80 percent or less of area median income) grew heavier between 1975 and 1983. In 1983, 80 percent of the national median family income was less than $20,000. The number of low-income families paying excessive rent (more than 30 percent of income) climbed from 7.8 million to 11.9 million. The percentage of all such families paying excessive rent climbed from 54 percent to 64 percent. Thus, while overcrowded housing and housing lacking adequate plumbing largely was being eliminated from the national housing stock between 1975 and 1983, there were over 4 million additional low-income families who paid excessive proportions of their incomes for rent The worst off were the lowest-income renters with incomes below 50 percent of area medians. The number of such households paying half their income or more for rent climbed by 2.4 million.

Trends in the physical housing conditions of low-income renters were also somewhat disappointing, according to GAO's research. The number of housing units judged to be physically inadequate (with one or more deficiency, such as a lack of electricity or a lack of kitchen facilities) did not decline. Rather, it increased slightly between 1975 and 1981 from just over 2.8 million to almost 2.9 million units for low-income households. Thus, the number of units of poor housing quality has again begun to increase.

In 1981, about one in six rental housing units occupied by low-income families was physically inadequate, according to the GAO data. In 1975, about one in five units had been physically inadequate, marking some relative improvement in the aggregate physical condition of all U.S. housing for low-income renters.

5. Federally Assisted Housing

Some part of the credit for that improvement had to be attributed to the infusion of hundreds of thousands of newly constructed and physically sound government-assisted rental housing units into the national housing stock during this period. This can be seen from figures on housing production computed from a recent study by Mary Nenno of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials and Cecil Sears of the Urban Land Institute. During the five-year period 1975-1979, excluding condos and co-ops, roughly one in three new rental housing units (600,000 out of 1.9 million) were assisted units by way of the Dept. of Housing & Urban Development and the Farmers Home Administration of the Dept. of Agriculture. Such assisted rental housing programs included low-rent public housing, the Section 8 rental housing assistance program, rent assistance for the elderly and handicapped, and assistance for the rural poor and elderly. Such units are targeted to low-income persons and, by and large, would not be built otherwise.

Over the 10-year period ending in 1984, new federally assisted housing represented a third out of roughly 3.6 million new rental units in the United States. Thus, conscious and direct public policies and not just the blind workings of the free-market economy have had a hand in improving the quality standards of low-income housing. The direct contribution to improved housing that the federal government makes in the future, however, will be sharply below past levels, as the big rental housing production programs of the past are either ended (such as Section 8 rental assistance for new construction) or almost ended (such as low-rent public housing) as part of the Reagan Administration's assault on domestic social programs.

The cutbacks can already be seen. In the period of the late 1970s and early 1980s, HUD assisted between 100,000 and 200,000 new units for low-income families each year. In the 1985-1986 period, HUD will supply only about 25,000 such units each year for the whole nation.

Thus, the rent burdens can be expected to increase and the physical condition of rental housing to deteriorate in the future. The number of poor people and the poverty rate has increased in recent years. As shown in the table below, there was a net increase of more than 4 million poor people between 1980 and 1984, and the percentage of all people that lived in poverty rose to 14.4.

	Number of Poor (000)	Poverty (percent of population)
1965	33,185	17.3
1970	25,420	12.6
1975	25,877	12.3
1980	29,272	13.0
1984	33,700	14.4

Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce—Bureau of the Census.

With less new housing for low-income families being produced, there will be more competition for the rental units that exist, resulting in upward pressure on all rents at the lower end of the scale. Such an escalation of rents will not only hurt the very poor, but will be reflected in rising rents for working families with limited incomes.

The Washington-based Urban Institute found in its evaluation of the first Reagan term that there will be about one million fewer households receiving housing assistance and about 300,000 more families living in substandard housing at the end of 1985 than there would have been under a continuation of pre-Reagan policies.

The effect of the cutbacks in government-assisted housing can also be seen in rapidly rising rents and in the unavailability of adequate shelter for moderate-income people. Over the year ending in December 1985, the national consumer price index for all items increased 3.8 percent. In contrast, residential rents rose 6.4 percent due to the short supply of non-luxury rental housing. Thus, the cutback in new assisted units supplied to the housing stock has an inflationary influence that affects all housing consumers, including low-income workers.

The situation was even worse in some parts of the country. In the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, for example, there has been an upsurge in population over the last several years, and big employment increases in services and retail and wholesale trade. This has led to a depletion of available vacant rental units. There are now too few vacant units available and rents are rapidly rising beyond the means of low-income people. Not surprisingly, homelessness is an increasing problem in the region, and assisted-housing waiting lists are growing.

The rapidly rising rents in the District of Columbia area and the relative unavailability of rental units not only add to the living costs of tenants, but make it difficult for workers to move around in the area to take advantage of job opportunities. This leads to personal hardships as well as reduced overall economic activity. In addition, sky-high rents make it difficult for moderate-income workers—teachers, policemen, service workers, fire fighters and others—to live in the communities where they work.

Meanwhile, the Washington, D.C., regional Council of Governments reported last summer that the number of applicants on local waiting lists for low-income housing more than doubled in ten years, growing to 33,619 in 1984. The number of households on waiting lists, for example, rose from about 7,000 to more than 13,000 in the District of Columbia during the period. In suburban Montgomery County, Md., the number of applicants rose to more than 7,000. The waiting lists for assisted housing were closed in some areas, including those of the District of Columbia and Arlington, Loudoun County and Prince William County, Va.

6. Public Housing Waiting Lists

Public housing is not shabby and undesirable housing, as some critics have charged. Rachel Bratt, in a penetrating article in the Journal of Housing, recently pointed out that the image of public housing has suffered because of stories about the financial difficulties of some large housing authorities and pictures showing notorious projects being demolished. But, as Prof. Bratt points out, public housing is more diverse than the stereotyped projects portrayed in the media, and by and large it has made a considerable contribution to addressing the low-income housing problem in this country. Public housing often must evict over-income tenants who would like to stay, and there are long waiting lists to get into public housing. Also, some public policies have served to undercut public housing, such as decisions to locate it in undesirable places.

A national survey of large low-rent public housing authorities covering about 40 percent of the roughly 1.2 million public housing units, conducted by the Citizens Housing and Planning Association of Boston in 1984, found that there were about 280,000 families and elderly on waiting lists for assisted housing. The authors of the study point out that many families are discouraged from applying for public housing in communities where waiting

lists are extremely long. HUD regulations also permit authorities to close their lists if it is obvious that vacancies will not occur over a reasonable length of time.

Going beyond the study, if public housing agencies not covered by the survey have similar waiting lists, there could be hundreds of thousands more families and elderly on public housing waiting lists nationally.

Excluding assisted housing, a good deal of rental housing now being produced is for high-income people. In 1984, for example, the median asking rent of apartments built during the year was almost $400 a month, implying a needed annual income of almost $19,000 to afford the rent with about one-quarter of income. The incomes of families in government-assisted housing are much lower than this. More than half of all public housing tenants are dependent on welfare. There is thus a continuing need for housing assistance, including that for new construction in areas where there is a physical shortage of housing at reasonable rentals for low-income people.

Recommended Policies

In view of the need for more and better and more affordable housing, the AFL-CIO has set forth labor's agenda of needed public policy actions. These actions would reassert national policy leadership to deal effectively with the problem of shelter in this country.

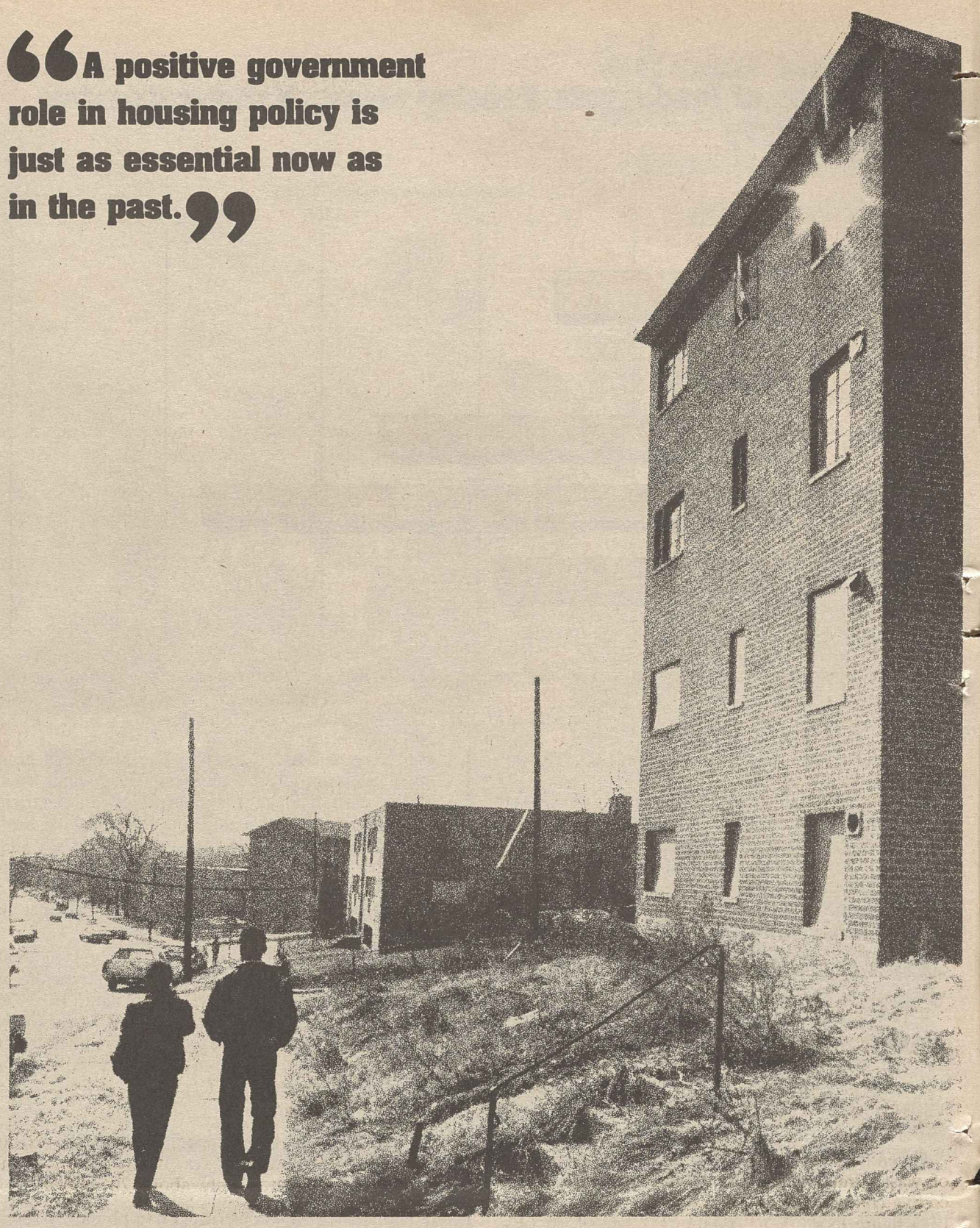
- To encourage economic growth and to spur the provision of new housing and the wide availability of existing housing, the Federal Reserve Board should strive to lower interest rates.
- Credit control authority should be available to encourage an adequate supply of funds at reasonable interest rates for housing.
- To reduce pressures on housing prices and rents, more support is needed for wider use of below-market-rate mortgages for low-income families, for rent subsidies and for deterrents to conversion of rental housing into condominiums in tight housing markets.
- Federally assisted housing should be increased to levels realistically addressing the problems by way of low-rent public housing, rental housing development, asssisted home ownership, housing for rural people in credit-short areas, housing for the elderly and the handicapped and shelter for the homeless.
- Fair housing laws should be strengthened, including fast and efficient decisions from administrative law judges handling individual complaints, and broadened coverage for the handicapped and children.
- Mortgage and rent-payment relief programs should be enacted to protect the unemployed from the loss of their homes through mortgage foreclosures and evictions from rental housing.

The labor movement favors national policies that would encourage home ownership for as wide a group as possible, including monetary policies aimed at keeping mortgage interest rates low. When interest rates are high, working people with limited incomes are the first to be priced out of the housing market. When rates drop, this same group is the last in society to be able to re-enter the housing market.

Strong economic growth and economic stability is a good prescription for home ownership for working people. When employment is secure and workers have stable incomes, they have the economic security to be willing to buy homes and the dependable livelihoods to make it possible to keep their homes. When the economic environment is unstable and jobs are threatened by imports, adverse international currency valuation and by low wage scales abroad, limited-income people are less willing and able to make the commitment to home ownership and may be threatened with losing their homes in a weakening economy. Obviously, workers are not anxious to buy homes in a community where plants are closing.

For periods of the business cycle where strong business activity, in combination with other factors, drives interest rates up and threatens to price moderate-income potential home buyers out of the market, it may be necessary to employ some sort of credit control mechanism for at least a temporary period. Credit controls could have the effect of assuring the availability and affordability of mortgage funds in periods when such funds are otherwise lacking to consumers. In this connection the labor movement favors the re-enactment of standby credit controls so that reasonably priced credit is available at all times in the business cycle. When the economy is expanding and new jobs are being created, credit for mortgages is needed to allow workers to move about in order to fill these new jobs. In the past, this has been the very time when credit has been scarce or very expensive for consumers, because of the competition for credit from business, government and others. Thus, credit controls would encourage worker mobility and support economic expansion.

"A positive government role in housing policy is just as essential now as in the past."



By the same token, in periods of the business cycle when housing production is too slow, it may be necessary for government to foster policies favorable to construction and thus stimulate the economy so as to encourage economic expansion and remedy excessive joblessness in the construction industry. For example, it may be necessary to encourage government purchase (and subsequent resale) of mortgages to foster construction of single-family homes and apartments, as has been done previously. Between October 1974 and September 1976 the government, under the Brooke-Cranston program, issued commitments to purchase mortgages in one-to-four-unit homes and loans on larger multifamily projects. Mortgages on about 300,000 homes and apartments were eventually purchased under the countercyclical housing subsidy program. This was a severe recessionary period. The construction industry annual jobless rate soared from 10.7 percent in 1974 to 18 percent in 1975. The mortgage purchase program addressed the lack of construction and joblessness prevailing at the time, while providing needed housing.

Strong enforcement of fair housing laws at federal, state and local levels is necessary to give minorities simple social justice and provide business and industry with the workforce it needs. Workers are equally bad off if they cannot afford housing in a community where there are jobs or if they cannot find a place to live because of arbitrary, discriminatory or other unjust reasons. Strengthened enforcement of fair housing laws must include fast and efficient decisions from administrative law judges handling individual complaints and broadened coverage for the handicapped and families with children.

Although the United States has made significant progress in eliminating slum housing, much needs to be done to guard against backsliding or a situation in which available housing is good, but people can't afford it. National programs to support both housing and the physical and social environment of communities are necessary and should have the high priority they had in the past. The past national commitment to assisted-housing production for low-income people and those with special characteristics—the elderly poor, the handicapped, female-headed households and the like—has been partly responsible for the steady progress in improved housing quality. It is a false economy now to end or cut back these programs.

To consolidate that progress, assisted housing must be increased to levels realistically addressing the national housing problem, through new construction and rehabilitation for low-rent public housing, rental housing development, homeownership, housing for rural people in credit-short areas, housing for the elderly and handicapped, aid for those whose homes are lost to foreclosure or who have lost apartments, and shelter for the homeless.

One way of doing this would be the setting of national housing production goals, including numerical targets for government-assisted housing. Part of each year's housing production should be for low-income people to compensate for the housing market's inability to provide shelter for this segment of society. Such goals and targets were adopted in 1968 when Congress called for 26 million new and rehabilitated units in ten years, including six million subsidized units for low-and moderate-income families. In the 10-year period ending in 1978, more than 90 percent of the unsubsidized production and new mobile home goals were achieved, but there was a substantial shortfall in subsidized production particularly in the period following 1973, reflecting the impact of the Nixon Administration moratorium on subsidized housing. Despite the moratorium, 2.4 million subsidized housing starts and rehabilitation units (or about 240,000 per year) were produced in the decade.

Housing is an important national priority item that is falling on hard times. Conscious and effective national policies are now needed to give shelter the attention it deserves to arrest the disturbing national trends that are now visible. If nothing is done, our citizens, our children, will increasingly be less well-housed in the future than we are today.

New Books

Ominous Politics

By John S. Saloma III
Hill and Wang, New York $6.95

John S. Saloma III was the first president of the Ripon Society, the organization of liberal Republicans that has faded from the political scene as the Reaganites took control of the GOP.

In this short book, published only in paperback, Saloma left an important legacy for everyone who is concerned about returning to a society of fairness, opportunity and progress.

Saloma, who died in 1983, pieced together the interlocking relationships of rich, radical-right-wing Americans and the various organizations they have assembled to carry out their agenda to destroy all the best liberal reforms established in the last half-century.

Simply by consulting the index, a reader can trace the connections of such angels of the right as Richard Mellon Scaife, Joseph Coors and Roger Milliken; their hired guns like Reed Larson, Richard Viguerie and Jesse Helms, and such instruments of their insidious power, the National Right to Work Committee, Heritage Foundation and National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC).

A major impression created by this carefully documented book is of the unlimited money a few individuals have to invest in promoting their reactionary program for America.

Just one example will suggest the depth and complexity of these connections: Richard Mellon Scaife, whose fortune comes largely from the Mellon Bank of Pittsburgh and one of its many corporate offshoots, Gulf Oil Corp.

Freed from the necessity to work for a living, Scaife has helped finance the Heritage Foundation, the reactionary center that has provided some of President Reagan's most notorious appointees; the Foundation for American Communications, created to improve business connections to the media and to promote conservative economic policies; Accuracy in Media, the right wing's agent for intimidating press and television, and at least 20 more organizations that promote reactionary causes. The total impact of the Saloma study is to indicate that the far right is intolerant of free intellectual inquiry, a free press, a free and strong trade union movement, diverse religious practices and any federal government action to protect these First Amendment rights.

If the subjects of "Ominous Politics" gain any more political and economic power, all of us who cherish freedom and believe we must continue to build a truly liberal, fair society are in serious danger.

—By Murray Seeger
AFL-CIO Information Director

The Challenge of Hidden Profits: Reducing Corporate Bureaucracy and Waste

By Mark Green and John S. Berry. Wm. Morrow, New York. $19.95.

Green and Berry document an enormous amount of waste, fraud and abuse in the corporate sector costing consumers an estimated $862 billion annually, a figure more than six times the size of the oft-cited Grace Commission estimate of government waste. They note that while government spending has undergone close scrutiny for waste, the much larger corporate sector has received scant attention. One analyst is cited estimating corporate waste commonly at 10 percent of a firm's costs and another estimates that waste may range as high as 30 or 40 percent in some firms.

Green and Berry charge that corporate leaders often concoct shallow arguments blaming government spending, government regulations and workers for their problems instead of coming to terms with the causes of waste and taking steps to increase efficiency.

The major sources of corporate waste are redundant staffing of a bloated middle-management bureaucracy, excessive compensation, price fixing, payoff and kickback arrangements, and pollution of the environment.

Examples are given of wasteful growth of bureaucracy in corporations. In one company, 221 committees had to pore over reports and then write their own reports before a new product could be marketed. Not surprisingly, it is noted, very few new products actually made it to market.

It is found that managers create bureaucracy in part through the desire to avoid the responsibility of making decisions. No one person is to blame when something goes wrong, if a large number of committees participates in decision making. It is clear from the discussion that managers must be willing to take responsibility for decisions if a company is to function efficiently.

One result of the shortsightedness of corporations, pointed out in the book, is the sale of technology by American firms to foreign companies for a quick profit which later helps fuel a flood of imports. According to quoted sources, between 1950 and 1980, the Japanese acquired almost all the world's available advanced technology by signing at least 30,000 licensing or technical agreements with western, mainly American, companies. The Japanese received the technology at fire-sale prices paying about $10 billion, which is only about 20 percent of a single year's R&D spending in the United States.

Green and Berry found that corporate bureaucracies are often headed by managers with legal or financial backgrounds with little knowledge or interest in manufacturing. Coupled with the goal of short-term profits, such managers often emphasize mergers, acquisitions and spinoffs of factories and other assets rather than investment in new plants and modernization of old ones. The authors show further that in pursuing the acquisition and spinoff strategy, firms rarely show any regard for the effects on communities, employees or the productivity of the overall economy. Examples are given of billions of dollars spent joining companies whose managements had no clear vision of what would happen after the acquisition.

The authors criticize the soaring increase in executive salaries. Top executives often appoint the committees that set their salaries, or may themselves set their salaries with little or no opposition from board members. It is shown that the salaries of top executives bear no relationship to the performance of the companies and greatly exceed reasonable incentives needed to do a good job.

A great deal of evidence is presented showing that fraud and abuse are endemic to corporate activity. Four-fifths of respondents to a poll thought that some accepted practices of the corporations they worked for were unethical. A Gallup poll found that four in ten business people said a superior had asked them to do something unethical; one in ten said he or she had been asked to do something illegal.

Several recommendations are made to discourage corporate mergers including banning "greenmail," whereby a person trying to buy control of a company agrees to withdraw in return for a substantial amount of money. And the authors urge the removal of tax rules that are an incentive to mergers.

To deal with unethical and illegal conduct, the authors recommend that corporations establish codes of conduct, and that the government gather information on business social performance to make the public aware of corporations committing the most abuses. Other recommendations are that penalties be made more severe for illegal activity, supervisors be legally responsible to report hazardous production activities, and employees who report illegal activities be protected by law from retaliation and firing.

Green and Berry recognize the danger of industrial decline and the hardship workers face from imports wiping out domestic production. They recommend import restraints conditioned on companies spending more for modernizing plant and equipment. They also recommend an import policy to penalize countries that pay extremely low wages.

The book may leave the incorrect impression that corporations are entirely to blame for the current economic problems. Clearly, the major causes of the depressed economy are beyond the control of corporations. Corporations have been buffeted by the rapid rise in energy costs and unstable conditions of the 1970s and the 1981-82 recession, which was the deepest and longest since the depression of the 1930s.

High interest rates have directly hurt investment opportunities and raised the value of the dollar 68 percent against major U.S. competitors from July 1981 to July 1985. A U.S. manufacturer roughly competitive with imports in 1981 might be at a 68 percent disadvantage in 1985 due solely to the rise in value of the dollar.

Overall, this book is an interesting and informative critique of corporations and ably discusses many issues raised in recent years.

—By Bill Cunningham
AFL-CIO Dept. of Economic Research

Servants of the People: The Uncertain Future of the Federal Civil Service

By Howard Rosen. Olympus, Salt Lake City, Utah. 188 pp., $12.95.

This book accurately reflects the deep sense of frustration generally felt by civil servants who are employed by the federal government. Both Democratic and Republican administrations have cavalierly run for office by constantly denigrating career federal employees and promising the electorate to dramatically reduce the number of career government employees.

The constant barrage of criticism unfairly directed toward federal employees and their work is creating a very serious "brain drain" of the government's more experienced personnel. Rosen points out that many political appointees are clearly not qualified to manage federal agencies, and their short-term politically-slanted commitment to government service creates unique management problems and too often has a long-range devastating impact on the morale of the work force. He cites such cases as Anne M. Gorsuch Burford and Rita Lavelle that negate the enormous positive contributions made by career scientists, engineers and other highly skilled professional workers without whom our government would be unable to meet its ever-increasing responsibility to a 20th century society.

The acrimonious love-hate relationship that the general populace has with the federal work force is fueled by a conscious lack of credit attributed to the

almost anonymous federal employees who receive no public attention or are not normally identified as government "bureaucrats." Most people do not associate either the hostages held during the Iranian crisis, the NASA astronauts who landed on the moon or the Secret Service agents who placed their lives in jeopardy in the abortive assassination attempt on President Reagan, as career federal employees. Yet they are.

Clearly, the demands on federal employees are as great or greater than their counterparts in private industry. As Rosen says, "If our government is to achieve its objectives specified in legislation or policy directives in many of its physical and social programs, it requires employees who are even more innovative than the personnel in private industry, consulting firms or universities." The remarkable achievement of man landing on the moon would not have been a reality had not the federal employees working at NASA been as capable as those working in private industry in this remarkable team achievement.

In addition to demands on federal employees in defense and space, they are also required to be in the forefront of efforts to resolve the nation's social and economic problems.

The author is extremely critical of the role played by OMB and OPM in promoting efficiency in the civil service. Although President Reagan pledged during his campaign to sharply curtail federal employment, this Administration had 23,000 more full-time government employees by May 31 of 1984 than when he took office, increasing dramatically the number of political appointees at the expense of career civil servants, as evidenced by deep cuts in the Departments of Health & Human Services and Transportation. Rosen explodes the myth that there is a bloated bureaucracy, pointing out that ". . . in 1960 one government worker served 81 persons; and by 1982 one federal employee served 96 citizens."

The changes brought about as a result of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 are objectively criticized by the author. He also reviews extensively the role played by the Merit Systems Protection Board and other federal employee oversight panels and criticizes the current paysetting mechanism established by congressional mandate.

He attacks other myths such as the permanency of workers who begin a federal career. "The facts are that about a half-million career employees leave the government each year, and less than one-quarter of all new employees stay in the civil service long enough to take optional retirement." The reason for the relatively low percentage of membership in federal unions is directly attributed to the deprivation of many of the rights unions in the private sector enjoy, specifically in the area of realistic collective bargaining.

And Rosen's suggestion that a collective bargaining system should be implemented is well supported in his presentation.

Federal employees and federal unions can use this book as a quick historical reference on the changes in the federal management system and will find it detailed, factual and informative, while presenting an evenhanded and valid appraisal of the work environment and frustration of federal employees.

—John F. Leyden
Executive Director, Federal/Postal Division
AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept.

Job Security and Technology Are Key Issues for Workers

Employment Security in a Free Economy

Work in America Institute, , Pergamon Press, 1984. 180 pp. $15.

Employment Security in Action: Strategies That Work

By Jocelyn F. Gutchess. Pergamon Press, 1985. 182 pp. $16.

Brave New Workplace

By Robert Howard. Viking, 1985. 224 pp. $16.95

The Culture of Technology

By Arnold Pacey. MIT Press, 1984. 210pp. $7.95.

Union negotiators understand very well the high priority that workers give to job security. Job security is a logical, reasonable, and entirely legitimate concern. For better or worse, this is a work-oriented society. Your job is the key source of income and status.

A variety of approaches to job security appear in two related books from the Work in America Institute. One is "Employment Security in a Free Economy," a policy report with recommendations.

The other is a companion volume of case studies illustrating and supporting the 25 recommendations in the policy report. Since both books are primarily oriented to convincing employers of the value of more job security for their workers, union officials can get some insight into the thinking of enlightened management from these books.

The theme of the first book is that "increasing the security of employees can serve to raise the performance of an organization without diminishing its freedom."

"Employers must continually change products, technology, production processes, marketing, and relations with customers, suppliers, shareholders, and employees.

"To do so, they need the cooperation of their employees, but employees will welcome change only if they feel secure in their jobs. They are bound to resist change, overtly or covertly, as long as the danger of job loss hovers in the background."

The Work in America report claims that enlightened employers gain much in the long run by assuring to their workers a greater degree of employment security for a variety of reasons:

- Cut costs of turnover
- Preserve skills, maintain productivity
- Avoid bumping costs and related confusion
- Avoid costs of replacing workers who leave after layoff
- More payoff from investment in training workers
- Help workers concentrate on their jobs instead of worrying about job loss
- Get workers' support for changes needed to raise productivity
- Improve the employer's image in the community.

This partial list suggests that union negotiators can find a variety of arguments to convince management that more employment security for workers is good for the employer.

How do you translate "employment security" into practical, workable action?

One key recommendation in the policy report is that on all matters affecting employment security, management "should regularly consult with senior local and international officers of the union and should invite the union as early as possible to join in designing and executing responsible measures."

Other recommendations include no-layoff guarantees, advance planning for periods of business decline, scheduling production to avoid layoffs, voluntary worksharing, attrition, early or phased retirement, and intensive productivity-raising programs.

Jocelyn Gutchess's "Employment Security in Action: Strategies That Work," gives specifics on 30 "best practice" cases where organizations have formal policies and programs to assure some degree of job security for their workers. Most are in the United States, but some are in Canada and Western Europe.

Some of these programs are the result of union negotiation and are spelled out in labor-management contracts.

For example, the UAW-Ford employee development and training program started in 1982 is described in considerable detail. So is the new technology program in which the Clothing-Textile Workers Union has joined with employers in the textile and apparel industries to compete better against imports and save jobs of union members. And Honeywell, a high-tech company which bargains with seven unions, has policies for avoiding layoffs and for advance notice to workers and unions where layoffs are considered unavoidable.

High technology companies are over-represented in the Gutchess "best practice" casebook, perhaps because such companies face special problems in hiring and keeping high-skill workers with high mobility. But the book glosses over exploitive employment and layoffs of women, minorities, and youth in low-wage, often dangerous, high-tech production work, and ignores union-busting campaigns by management in high-tech industry.

The two Work in America books on employment security stress the mutual interest of workers and employers. This is a very positive approach to labor-management relations. By contrast, Robert Howard's "Brave New Workplace" aims at warning workers and unions of the dangers of being lured into a phony, manipulative "corporate culture."

New technology is strengthening management control over workers, raising new occupational safety-health-stress issues, and increasing workers' alienation from job and society, according to Howard.

To counteract negative effects on workers, sophisticated corporate managers are trying to create a new corporate image, says Howard, an image of a "brave new workplace"—with overtones of Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" —where workers share the corporate goals and corporate culture, where work is submission to the corporate culture, and where labor-management conflict is irrelevant.

What is "corporate culture"? Here is one small example. Hewlett-Packard's personnel chief told Gutchess the non-union Hewlett-Packard work force was "very highly motivated." But one Hewlett-Packard clerical worker told Howard of long, unpaid overtime hours, including Saturday and Sunday work, of reprimands for not attending "voluntary" coffee break meetings and reprimands for not smiling enough.

"The very mechanisms designed to encourage worker participation also become instruments of social conformity at work," says Howard.

Unions are under a two-pronged attack, according to Howard. On one hand, corporate managers want to co-opt workers and replace rules and regulations of the union contract "with the good feelings, high commitment, and trust of the corporate culture."

But also, new technology is being used by many managers for sophisticated, indirect union-busting. New technology can weaken union-won protections for workers and undermine or eliminate unions from the workplace. Howard's account of the introduction of new technology in the telephone industry will strengthen suspicion and skepticism about "labor-management cooperation" and "joint committees" and "quality of work life" programs.

"As the primary expression of workers' collective voice and collective interests, unions must take the lead in making the brave new workplace an enterprise of social choice," says Howard. Organized labor "still remains the central institution in American society where new rights of participation and power at work will first be articulated, realized, and put into practice."

If you want to look at the impact of technology on society beyond the workplace, a good, handy overview appears in Arnold Pacey's book on "The Culture of Technology." Pacey reminds us that technology involves not only machines, techniques, and precise knowledge, but also the way we experience work and our deepest social and personal values.

There are issues of political power and human welfare behind all technology decisions. America's labor unions will continue to fight for participation by workers and unions in these decisions.

—By Markley Roberts
AFL-CIO Dept. of Economic Research

Labor assails Reagan trade policies as import tide sweeps away jobs

Continued from Page 1

Shoe factories are closing at a rate of more than one a week, Finley and Wynn said, and "thousands of workers are losing their jobs and their communites are being devastated."

Textile and apparel imports soared to a new peak for the fifth consecutive year, hitting $18.2 billion in 1985. That was a 12-percent increase from the $16.2-billion level reached in 1984.

In December alone the level of these imports was 45.9 percent above the same month in 1984, paced by a 90 percent increase in goods from mainland China.

There was a heavy upward surge in imports from the three countries targeted in the trade bill that Reagan vetoed. Compared to the same month a year earlier, textile and apparel imports from Taiwan and South Korea were 49 percent higher, while those from Hong Kong were up 40.5 percent.

President Sol C. Chaikin of the Ladies' Garment Workers called the situation "absolutely appalling" and sharply criticized importers and retailers who turn to overseas sources of supply for goods produced in Pacific-rim countries at wage rates ranging from a penny an hour in China to 57 cents an hour in Taiwan and $5 a week in Sri Lanka.

Low-paid victims

The victims, Chaikin said, are U.S. workers whose earnings are concentrated "in the lowest 10 to 15 percent of the industrial wage scale." He stressed the urgent need for legislation to protect "the 1.7 million workers in this industry who still remain alive—but barely."

Finley and ACTWU Sec.-Treas. Jacob Sheinkman criticized the President for "speaking platitudes" about the role played by the American family and the community in the so-called comeback from the Reagan Recession. In reality, they declared, the President's "misguided trade policies have stolen the livelihoods, hopes and futures of textile, apparel and shoe workers and have wreaked havoc on the communities in which they live."

Calling the situation a "national emergency," Auto Workers President Owen Bieber said the most serious problem remains with Japan, which accounts for a third of the national trade deficit.

Auto imports

The surge of Japanese autos and parts is responsible for the lion's share of the deficit, Bieber said. Passenger car imports from Japan jumped 20 percent last year while truck imports increased by more than 25 percent.

"Restraints on Japanese auto imports must continue," the UAW leader said, "and the level must not increase. The workers in auto and related industries must not be asked to accept more displacement than they have already suffered."

Electronic Workers President William H. Bywater branded the record-shattering trade deficit "deplorable and inexcusable," and accused Reagan of having "done nothing," even though he was "aware of our ever-worsening trade performance all along."

The Administration's failure to act has led to "continuing high unemployment, growing poverty and declining industries," Bywater continued.

President Howard Samuel of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. called the trade deficit "a disaster which the Reagan Administration either doesn't understand or has chosen to ignore." In addition to eroding much of the nation's manufacturing base, he asserted, the trade imbalance "is undermining our total economic growth and ending any possibility of full employment."

Despite labor's repeated calls for action, he declared, "there has been no response, no policy, no program" forthcoming from the Administration. All that Reagan has produced are "slogans which have, if anything, made a bad situation worse."

The report contained continued bad news for the beleaguered steel industry despite "voluntary restraint agreements" that the White House negotiated with foreign steel producers a year ago.

Although Reagan said foreign producers would abide by a market-penetration goal of 18.5 percent for imported finished steel during 1985, by year's end these imports had captured 23.6 percent of the American market.

For semi-finished steel, the Administration said "voluntary restraints" would hold imports down to 1.7 million tons for the year. Instead, they soared to 2.4 million tons—40 percent above the forecast.

John J. Sheehan, legislative director of the Steelworkers, said the figures make clear that the voluntary approach "is not showing any noticeable results" and that "strict enforcement" is essential.

Monitoring the docks

Concerned that budget cuts mandated by Gramm-Rudman may cut the ranks of customs officials who check on imports, the USWA has established its own committee to monitor the situation.

As the 99th Congress begins its second session, a number of trade bills remain in various stages of completion, including:

- A measure cosponsored by Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), to impose a 25-percent surcharge on goods from countries with whom the United States has a serious trade imbalance unless they phase down their exports and end unfair trade practices which keep American-made goods from entering their markets.
- The labor-backed Trade Modernization Act keyed to making American industry competitive with foreign producers and a more far-reaching program of income support, training and retraining, job counseling and relocation assistance than currently exists.
- Various measures to block imports from countries that do not adhere to internationally recognized standards for workers' rights.
- The vote to override Reagan's veto of the textile and apparel bill, delayed until August to give the Administration the opportunity to make good on promises made in the veto measure to address the issue in July's multi-fiber negotiations.

Members of the Ways & Means Committee are scheduled to go into seclusion at an out-of-Washington "retreat" in March to discuss trade legislation, with hearings expected to begin in April.

A shoestring

The Reagan Administration threw a meager bone to thousands of shoeworkers in six states and Puerto Rico who lost their jobs during 1985 to imports.

With more than 9,000 workers left jobless last year alone because of the flood of foreign-made footwear entering the country, the Labor Dept. announced a $3.1-million award under the Job Training Partnership Act.

That amounts to less than $350 for each displaced worker. Even when matching state funds are factored in, the amount spent on each unemployed shoeworker will be pitifully small.

The money can't be used to help workers balance their family budgets, either. It will merely finance training, job-search and placement programs.

The Labor Dept. awards include $1 million for Maine, $434,000 for Massachusetts, $300,000 for Missouri, $239,000 for New Hampshire, $724,000 for New York, $250,000 for Pennsylvania, and $148,000 for Puerto Rico.

Union publications faced with more postal rate hikes

The Postal Service Board of Governors has proposed increases in postage rates for second, third and fourth class mail that could cost non-profit and newspaper mailers, including union publications, up to $32 million.

The board set up two rate schedules, one anticipating budget cuts required under the Gramm-Rudman budget balancing law that would raise postage rates an additional 2 percent to 20 percent. An adjusted schedule will be adopted at the board's March meeting.

Without budget reductions called for by Gramm-Rudman, rates would rise from 2 percent to 13 percent for some second-class publications and between 10 and 13 percent for third-class non-profit mail.

With the Gramm-Rudman reductions, rates for second-class periodicals would increase between 6 and 20 percent, while third-class postage costs would rise 14 to 19 percent. Most union publications are sent by second and third class mail.

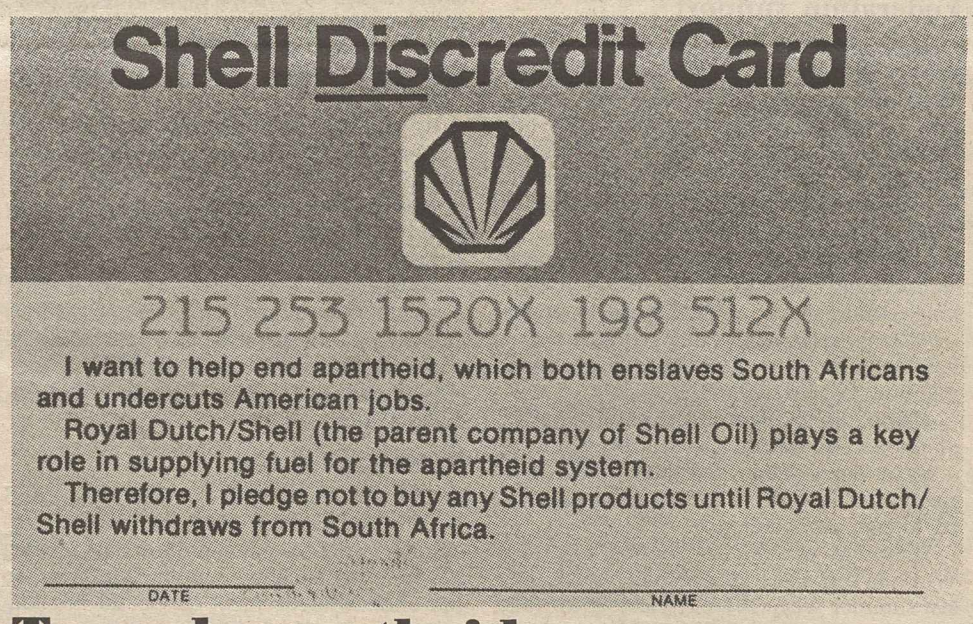
The AFL-CIO Executive Council has established a special committee to monitor postal rate increases affecting union publications.

Committee members include Teachers Sec.-Treas. Robert G. Porter, Postal Workers Sec.-Treas. Douglas C. Holbrook, Electronic Workers Sec.-Treas. Edward Fire and three officers of the International Labor Communications Association: Carolyn Jacobson, Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers, president; James M. Cesnik, Newspaper Guild, secretary-treasurer, and Robert J. Kalaski, Machinists, past president.

California unit of 1,500 affiliates with AFSCME

The State, County & Municipal Employees executive board ratified the affiliation of the more than 1,500 members of the Stanislaus County (Calif.) Employees Association.

The SCEA membership had approved the affiliation in November. The unit represents 960 active members and more than 600 retirees.



To end apartheid

Supporters of labor's boycott to persuade Shell Oil's parent company, Royal Dutch/Shell, to stop its support of South Africa's apartheid policy of racial discrimination will get this "discredit card" when they send a cut-up Shell Oil credit card to the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights. The boycott, launched in response to appeals from South Africa's unions, is endorsed by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

HRDI job training program aids laid-off Steelworkers

Houston—Hundreds of laid-off Steelworkers are engaged in a regional job search and training program launched by the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute in cooperation with their union.

The year-long program, funded by a $760,000 Labor Dept. grant under the Job Training Partnership Act, has been set up to serve a region and industry that has been battered by plant closings and heavy layoffs.

At the program headquarters here, jobless workers are being given realistic career counseling and testing.

They are encouraged to participate in job search workshops and job clubs. To the extent possible, HRDI will try to place participants in on-the-job training opportunities.

Texas AFL-CIO President Harry Hubbard and Steelworkers District Director Jack Golden welcomed the start of the program, which will serve a 13-county area that has suffered from cutbacks in steel-related employment. Over the past five years, the region has lost more than 5,000 jobs in basic steel and some 7,000 in related industries.

The HRDI program staff includes two displaced steelworkers who were given special training in counseling to assist their former co-workers.

Local Community Services representatives and AFL-CIO central bodies are cooperating in the program, and an HRDI advisory committee includes representatives of area employers. The program is coordinated by Eldon Soileau, who is employment counselor for the HRDI dislocated worker program serving Beaumont, Port Arthur and Orange.

Court, Congress urged to move on trade assistance

Continued from Page 1

san drive in the House and Senate to renew the program and pay retroactive benefits to persons affected by the cutoff.

If Congress moves fast enough, the issue will be resolved before the court case is heard. But if the legislation should get derailed, the court challenge will be pressed.

The legislative drive is moving on two tracks.

For short-term relief, the House Ways & Means Committee was trying to clear the way for an emergency bill to provide retroactive payment of benefits to those who were cut off or denied payments as a result of the Labor Dept. ruling.

At the same time, a budget reconciliation bill that stalled in the final hours of the first session of Congress is being revived—and could become the vehicle for a long-term extension and expansion of the trade adjustment assistance program.

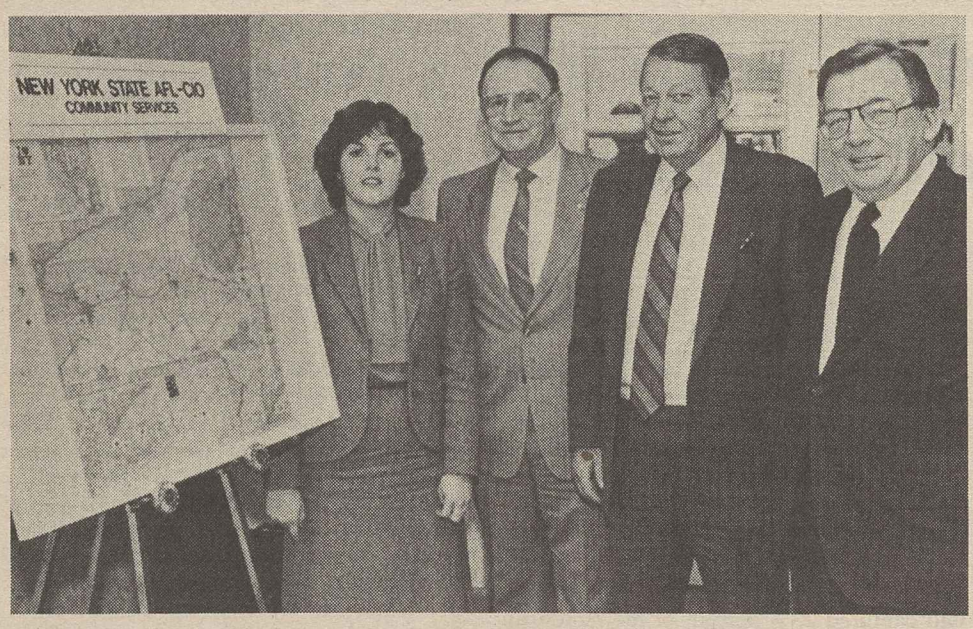
One of its provisions already approved by a House-Senate conference committee would renew the trade adjustment assistance program for six years and expand eligibility.

If the measure were enacted, TAA would be available for the first time to employees of firms that supply parts or services to companies whose production is directly affected by imports. Under present law, only employees of the company directly affected are eligible for assistance.

Training vouchers

The bill would also require workers to take suitable training, if it is available, to qualify for payments and would give them a $4,000 voucher to use for approved job training programs. Starting in the third year, the program would be financed by a small fee on imports.

Adjustment assistance was first provided as part of the 1962 trade bill which was intended to ease tariff barriers and open up new markets for American exports. At congressional hearings, the AFL-CIO has argued that ending the program as the Administration proposes would be an abandonment of a national commitment.



Labor's helping hand

New York AFL-CIO launches plans for a statewide community services program at a fund-raising luncheon in Washington. The state federation hopes to provide services and assistance to communities and more than two million union members. State Community Services Director Colleen Crawford and New York AFL-CIO President Edward J. Cleary outline plans to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Vice President Alvin Heaps, chairman of the federation's Community Services Committee.

CWA opens 'call-union' drive in long-distance rate struggle

The next time union members "reach out and touch someone," the Communications Workers hope, they'll do it through a unionized long-distance carrier.

Kicking off an intensive "call-and-buy-union" campaign, CWA expressed concern about possible job losses to its members if the public shifts much of its business to new long-distance firms which are either non-union or are out-and-out anti-union.

Of the major carriers, only AT&T and Western Union are unionized thus far, although CWA has established a beachhead at GTE Sprint and is talking to groups of MCI workers and getting what President Morton Bahr called "a positive response in many areas of the country." In addition, Bahr said, the union is exploring ways to organize IBM workers now that the typewriter firm is emerging as a leading communications company.

AT&T and the Bell System used to handle virtually all long-distance calling, the union pointed out, until a federal court ruled in 1983 that competing companies must be given "equal access" to customers.

Buoyed by the court decision, a rash of new companies entered the long-distance field. They are spending millions on separate television campaigns promising cut-rate prices along with the ability to "call anywhere, anytime."

But a lot of the savings, Bahr said, will be achieved through operations that are less labor intensive than those of AT&T.

As the union's informational campaign points out, "CWA members provide high-quality, personalized services that the non-union companies don't match." These include person-to-person, conference or collect calling, as well as immediate credit for misdialed calls.

Federation support

The AFL-CIO has thrown its support behind the CWA campaign. In August 1985, the Executive Council passed a resolution urging affiliates, central bodies and individual unionists to choose only those long-distance carriers that have a unionized workforce and to purchase phone equipment made in America with union labor.

CWA intends to organize the non-union competition, Bahr said, but views it as a long-term challenge. "It's difficult to organize a new, relatively young workforce at a volatile company where there is no union tradition to start with," he said.

Union employment in the manufacturing of phone equipment also has been eroded both by deregulation and government policies that CWA says have actually promoted foreign competition.

Hundreds of members of the Electrical Workers lost their jobs in Shreveport, La., last summer when AT&T, yielding to trade pressures, abandoned its residential phone manufacturing facility there in favor of a Singapore operation where cut-rate labor costs give them a competitive edge.

CWA and IBEW have seen thousands of jobs lost in U.S. plants making business phone and data equipment, as well, because of mounting competition from low-cost foreign and non-union domestic operations over the past three years.

Degrees awarded in labor studies at Meany Center

Silver Spring, Md.—Daniel R. Baz and Robert C. Blessington are the newest graduates of a baccalaurate degree program offered by Antioch University through the George Meany Center for Labor Studies here.

Both earned bachelor of arts degrees in labor studies from Antioch under a program set up in 1974 to enable trade unionists to earn college degrees while continuing their work in the labor movement.

Baz, 38, is a member of the Police Associations and recently served as first vice president of the Toledo, Ohio, Patrolman's Association.

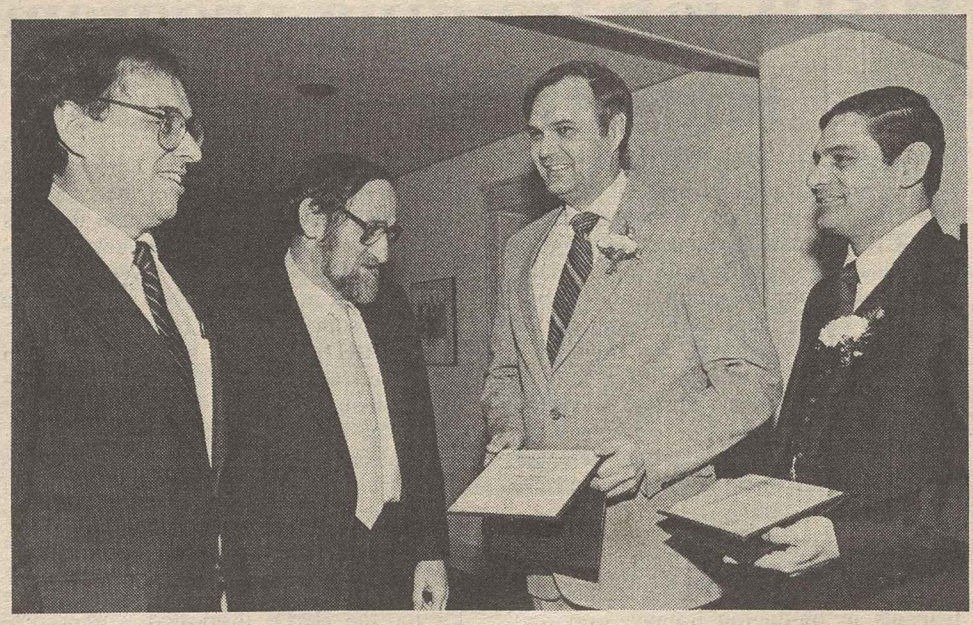
Blessington, 45, is community services director for the Wisconsin AFL-CIO and a member of the Auto Workers.

The labor studies program offers courses in collective bargaining, labor law, organizing, economics, labor history and other areas. Candidates for the degree also earn college credits for their trade union experience.

Since the program began, 82 trade unionists have been awarded diplomas under the degree program. Currently, about 150 trade unionists from local and international unions are enrolled.

Antioch University President Alan Guskin welcomed the new graduates "to the Antioch family" during commencement ceremonies at the George Meany Center campus.

Antioch's curriculum combines academics and work experience by requiring students to be employed for at least six semesters before obtaining an undergraduate degree.



Daniel R. Baz, right, and Robert Blessington receive degrees from Antioch President Alan Guskin and Meany Center Director Robert Pleasure, left.

Social security gives much-needed boost to private pension plans

More than 80 percent of all workers in larger and medium-size firms were covered by employer-sponsored pension plans in 1983, but production workers fared far worse, in terms of benefits, than did those in professional and technical categories earning the same level of pay.

Regardless of pre-retirement employment category, however, the only thing that saves most retirees from economic deprivation, a study released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows, is the existence of the half-century-old social security system, which does relatively more to help retired workers compensate for lost income than do private pension plans.

Data compiled by BLS economist Donald G. Schmitt and published in the December 1985 issue of the Monthly Labor Review shows that only at the $15,000-a-year income level do production employees receive monthly benefits slightly higher than those for professional and administrative participants, and for technical and clerical help.

Once workers in all categories reach annual earnings levels of $20,000, the tilt in the direction of non-production workers begins to take effect, with those in white-collar positions enjoying a 33 percent edge over blue-collar workers in the $40,000-a-year income category.

Benefit comparison

Production workers retiring at the $15,000-a-year income level draw monthly benefits averaging $406 after 30 years' service as compared with $367 for professional and administrative employees and $363 for those in the technical and clerical categories.

When earnings reach the $20,000 level, technical and clerical retirees receive an average benefit of $465 a month, and professional and administrative participants receive a $482 monthly pension, while retired production workers' benefit average only $449.

At the $30,000 income level, the gap widens to $738 for those in the technical and clerical category and $723 for professionals and administrative personnel, compared with only $589 for production employees.

At $40,000, the benefits average $1,033 a month for technical and clerical workers and $1,104 for professionals and administrative workers—far above the $739 in benefits drawn by workers retiring from production jobs.

Formulas differ

One of the reasons for this shift, BLS said, is that pension plans for half the production workers contain formulas spelling out pension benefits in dollar amounts, so that monthly retirement checks do not adequately reflect higher wage scales.

Although most production workers are covered by plans that multiply years of service times a specific dollar amount, many white-collar workers often have retirement plans based on the five highest consecutive years of earnings in the last 10 which puts a premium on wage gains toward the end of the employee's career. Another formula that averages earnings throughout the worker's entire work life is not as generous because starting wage levels distort the total earnings picture.

The disparity between production workers and those in the white-collar category is widened even further, BLS pointed out, because professional and administrative workers average higher salaries throughout their careers, and thus tend to receive larger benefits at retirement.

The study showed that benefits increase the longer an employee works before retirement—but the rate of increase slows as the length of service increases, particularly for service beyond 30 years.

According to the data, the average employee who earned $15,000 a year in 1983 and who retired Jan. 1, 1984, received a monthly pension of $137 for 10 years of service. The average benefit after 20 years on the job rose to $263, and went up to $385 for workers with 30 years' service, and $486 for those with 40 years of employment.

Moderate performance

Private pension plans do only a fair job of replacing pre-retirement income, the study revealed. At the $20,000-a-year income level, these benefit programs replace only 18.8 percent of lost income for the individual retiring after 20 years' service. The replacement rate after 40 years on the job is 34.3 percent.

It's at this point that social security becomes important because, as BLS pointed out, "private pension plans do not operate independently," but work in tandem with the federal program to supply retirement income.

When social security is added to benefits from employer-sponsored plans, the replacement ratio increases dramatically—to an average of 58 percent of pre-retirement earnings for those earning $20,000 a year who retire after 20 years with the same employer. The replacement rate rises to 73.4 percent after 40 years on the job—thanks to social security.

The replacement rate drops by almost a third for those in the $40,000-a-year earnings range. This is precisely because social security benefits are weighted more heavily to help those at the lower end of the income scale replace earnings lost when they retire.

ICFTU protests assaults against Tunisia's unions

Brussels—Sharply assailing Tunisia's "repressive actions" against its free trade union movement, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions called on that country to respect the "legitimate voice" of its working people.

At an emergency meeting convened by ICFTU Gen. Secretary John Vanderveken, European and American union representatives protested the mounting wave of government-sanctioned attacks on the Tunisian General Workers' Union (UGTT).

The labor officials expressed the "gravest concern" over the occupation of UGTT's offices by "government-sponsored groups," and a government-imposed overseas travel ban which kept the UGTT representative from attending the meeting here.

Democratic history

"Further repressive actions of the Tunisian authorities are damaging the standing and reputation of Tunisia as a democratic and stable country with a proud and long-standing reputation of respect for trade unions and other basic human rights," the participants asserted.

Acknowledging that Tunisia faces pressing economic and social difficulties, the ICFTU officials said the problems could be dealt with most effectively "through free dialogue and negotiations with the UGTT."

Representatives from affiliates in France, Germany, Britain, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and the United States attended the emergency session. The AFL-CIO was represented by James Baker, deputy European representative from the Dept. of International Affairs.

EDITORIALS

The Tilted Budget

THE DISMAL BUDGET that President Reagan sent to Congress was foreshadowed by his State of the Union address to the nation the previous night.

In his speech, the President spoke with eloquence and fervor of the American spirit. But there was a sour note in his report to the nation that was reflected in the budget he proposed.

Mr. Reagan pictured government as "a lumbering giant, slamming shut the gates of opportunity, threatening to crush the very roots of our freedom."

The rhetoric may have been shriller than usual, but it's not the first time he has expressed such sentiments. Given that point of view, it is understandable that the President's budget largely ignores the constitutional mandate to "promote the general welfare" as well as "provide for the common defense."

The defense budget has grown by tens of billions of dollars, year after year. Mr. Reagan has given the American people no valid reason to continue that costly curve.

The domestic role of government has shrunk painfully during President Reagan's tenure. He has made not the shadow of a case for another meat-ax swing at needed programs that serve the humane functions of government.

IN OTHER YEARS, Congress wisely rejected many of these proposals to diminish the role of government. The need for such programs has not disappeared because the President puts forth the case for abolition with all the fervor of a convert to the deficit reduction timetable of the Gramm-Rudman law.

However unwise the rigid timetable of Gramm-Rudman may have been, there is nothing in the law that requires a still bigger tilt of national priorities to the military sector.

Nor, despite the President's distaste for the notion, is there any bar to closing the deficit by increasing tax revenues as well as through budget economies.

Congress recognizes this, even if the President doesn't. At the Senate Budget Committee hearing convened to hear the Administration's case for the Reagan budget, Republicans and Democrats alike insisted that the deficit timetable cannot be met by spending cuts alone.

At the hearing, Republicans expressed hope that the President will bow to realities and cooperate in reshaping his budget package. Democrats tended to be more skeptical. But there was a clear consensus that Congress will write its own budget and that there are elements of the Reagan proposals that simply won't fly.

But America's workers and their unions have too much at stake to sit back and count on Congress to reshape Reagan's budget priorities in the interests of all the people.

It would be a dangerous mistake to assume that all would be well if Congress merely succeeds in making unacceptable policy more fiscally responsible.

The true test is not whether it meets the deficit reduction target set by law, but how it does so.

There is no consensus in either the House or Senate on the levels of spending appropriate to the various programs of government. And there is certainly no consensus on the nature of tax changes that should be enacted to raise revenues.

That's an area where America's workers, not just business and bankers, must be heard.

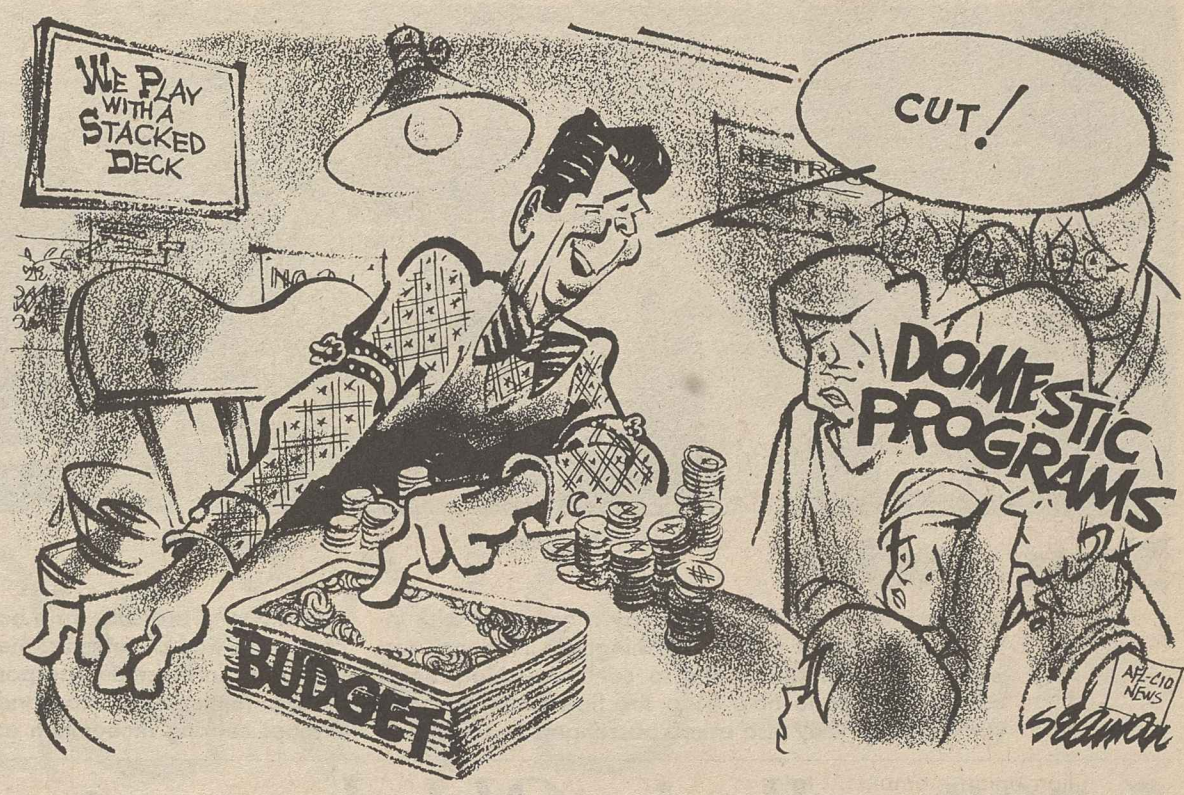
Through their unions, they will be.

Law Enforcement

WITH THE passage of the Occupational Safety & Health Act, Congress made a decision to shift the primary responsibility for the promulgation and enforcement of health and safety standards from the states to the federal government. Experience demonstrated that states had failed to protect the health and safety of workers and that federal legislation was needed.

The present Administration may not agree with Congress's action federalizing health and safety responsibility. But the Administration has a duty to abide by existing law and is not free to alter the national policy adopted by Congress in 1970.

—From AFL-CIO testimony at House hearings on field sanitation standards for agriculture, Feb. 5, 1986.



Washington Window

White House breaks faith on trade adjustment aid

By Press Associates Inc.

The Trade Act of 1962 struck a bargain between the advocates of "free trade" and the workers in manufacturing industries who would lose their jobs to imports.

The government agreed that workers displaced by the lifting of import restrictions would be compensated in the form of trade adjustment assistance. The TAA program included job training, job search and relocation assistance, and income maintenance to supplement unemployment compensation.

However, since 1981 the government has largely reneged on its part of the bargain. TAA was among the domestic programs that got crunched under the Reagan budget steamroller.

From 1975 to 1981, despite shortcomings in retraining and other snags, TAA eased the difficulties of job loss and readjustment for hundreds of thousands of displaced workers and their families.

The TAA cutbacks couldn't have come at a worse time. Since 1981, the nation's trade deficit, especially in manufactured goods, has swelled to new records each year. Millions of workers lost their jobs as an overvalued dollar spurred imports and hurt U.S. exports. The situation was exacerbated by the Administration's "free trade" policies and by the Reagan recession.

Import-battered industries

In 1975, some 47,000 dislocated workers were certified by the Labor Dept. to receive TAA benefits. By 1980, with imports battering the nation's manufacturers, about 750,000 workers received benefits. Most of them had worked in the auto, steel, textile and apparel, footwear, electronics, and fabricated metal products industries.

The effect of the 1981 cutbacks can be read partly in the numbers. In the 1982 recession year, only about 15,000 displaced workers were certified to receive TAA benefits. In 1983, the figure was about 40,000. In 1984, fewer than 30,000 workers were certified.

In 1982, the Reagan Administration proposed that the TAA program be discontinued and that its job training function be folded into the Administration's Job Training & Partnership Act (JTPA). However, the JTPA's displaced workers training component has been poorly funded and its planning and execution have been uneven.

Congress has refused to go all the way with the Administration and has kept TAA alive in its emasculated form. After it expired last Oct. 1, Congress approved a temporary extension as part of its continuing budget resolution.

However, last December the Administration suspended the income maintenance part of the program, claiming that Congress needed to approve specific spending authority to continue cash benefits. Congressional action to force the Labor Dept. to resume payments is under way.

Extension proposed

Congressional budget conferees late in the 1985 session approved a labor-backed bill to continue TAA for six years and to improve the program substantially. Sponsored in the House by Donald J. Pease (D-Ohio) and in the Senate by Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.), the bipartisan bill is part of the fiscal 1986 budget reconciliation package that was derailed by other congressional controversies.

The bill would, for the first time, put TAA on the safer and more fitting financial footing originally intended in the TAA provisions that were part of the 1974 Trade Act.

The bill also would broaden the program to include workers displaced in the parts and supplies sector as well as the currently eligible workers who produce the final product.

It also would guarantee a full 52 weeks of income maintenance, instead of 26 weeks, beyond the basic 26 weeks of unemployment insurance, unless "suitable work" or proper training is available.

Congress now must take the lead in fulfilling the promise made to American workers in 1974 by enacting the Moynihan-Roche-Pease bill and, if necessary, by overriding a Presidential veto.

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New twist

Members of Electronic Workers try a new twist with informational picket line at Washington's National Airport, calling on the public to continue to patronize Eastern Airlines to help keep the financially strapped carrier flying. They also asked passengers to voice their opposition to pressure from bankers to force Eastern to cut wages and benefits for members of the Air Line Pilots, Machinists and Transport Workers. The 80 IUE pickets represented thousands of ticket agents and skycaps seeking recognition and bargaining rights.

5,000 rally in Oklahoma to protest vote on compulsory open-shop scheme

Oklahoma City, Okla.—A rally sponsored by the United Labor Committee drew 5,000 trade unionists to the steps of the state capitol here to protest a measure that would have put an open-shop constitutional amendment to the state's voters.

The House on Feb. 3 passed a resolution by a 58-41 vote that called for a state constitutional amendment on the open shop. The Senate had earlier voted approval, 26-20. The measure now goes to a joint conference committee. The House and Senate votes each fall short of the required two-thirds majority needed to call a special election.

Last year, the Oklahoma legislature defeated bills for a so-called right-to-work law four times.

The United Labor Committee has stressed the negative economic impact an open-shop law would have in the state. Oklahoma is surrounded by RTW states—Texas, Arkansas and Kansas—where on the average employers pay much lower wages.

Missouri AFL-CIO President Daniel J. McVey told unionists how his state defeated the RTW proponents with the help of a similar rally last month. The Missouri federation got key legislative leaders to express strong opposition to any such measures.

Voicing the slogan on the picket signs, "Right to work is a rip-off," McVey stressed that Oklahoma's average weekly wage of $401 is $63 a week higher than the rate in RTW states.

Education is the key to defeating RTW proposals, McVey said. It is up to labor to educate its members and the public to "understand the unfair, undemocratic, and yes, un-American, aspects of this phony right-to-work-for-less legislation."

Leo Hopper, state president of the American Agricultural Movement, told the crowd that "true enough, right-to-work rhetoric celebrates the same rugged individualism that farmers find appealing—but a hard second look convinces most of them that voting for 'right to work' is like buying a pig in a poke. You don't get what you paid for."

Too high a price

Dr. Max Glenn, executive director of the Oklahoma Council of Churches, called the right-to-work effort "morally and socially wrong" and said it "seems to be associated with greater human misery." With a 30 percent rise in poverty in the state since 1980, "we can ill afford such a law here," he said.

Declaring that "you are not alone," AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland sent a message to the rally, pledging that the labor movement will provide Oklahoma's unionists with "as much help as you need for as long as you need it to beat 'right to work.'"

Curiously, labor's effort to kill the so-called right-to-work measure was aided by the National Right to Work Committee in Springfield, Va.

A rift developed between the National RTW Committee and the state's Chambers of Commerce. The Chambers backed a voter referendum, but National RTW Director Reed Larson opposed it and urged a state statute instead.

The daily Tulsa World, in an editorial, called Larson a "professional fund-raiser" and suggested that he wanted the issue used as "an annual excuse for raising money."

Ralph S. Rhoades, chairman of the Chamber and state president of Blue Cross/Blue Shield, had to declare his company neutral on the issue after a letter urging passage of a right-to-work statute was sent out on a company letterhead.

Nearly half the state's 100,000 unionists are in health plans covered by Blue Cross-/Blue Shield.

Idaho unions seek RTW stay until November referendum

Boise, Idaho—The Idaho AFL-CIO is seeking to have the state supreme court reconsider its ruling allowing a compulsory open-shop law to go into effect without waiting for this fall's referendum on the issue.

By a 4-1 margin, the court said the legislature was within its rights to include an "emergency clause" in the law without spelling out the nature of whatever emergency existed, if any.

State AFL-CIO President Jim Kerns pointed out that the supreme court ruled only on the "narrow issue" of the so-called emergency clause and did not address itself to other legal issues raised in the state federation's case.

"The court didn't rule at all on our position that, by making the law effective immediately, the legislature prejudiced the rights of Idaho's voters to speak out on this issue" through the referendum process, Kerns said.

He pointed to a law enacted by the legislature early in the century which states that no bill can become law unless it has been approved by the voters, and that a bill can never become law if the people reject it.

"Under existing law, it's clear that the people share a responsibility with the legislature," he insisted. "The people are the ultimate and final deciders on what is and is not Idaho law."

If the state's highest court chooses not to act on the federation's appeal for a rehearing, Kerns said, the case could be referred back to the district court for final adjudication. It was this court that originally stayed implementation of the compulsory open-shop law until after the November referendum.

The ruling allowing the law to become effective does not affect existing labor contracts. However, those collective bargaining agreements that come up for renewal in the next 10 months will be barred from including union shop clauses unless the ruling is overturned.

"There's going to be irreparable harm done to businesses and workers," Kerns said. "It's going to restrict the ability to negotiate dues check-off, hiring halls, and security clauses," and the result will be "lower wages and poorer working conditions."

Idaho has been the focal point of periodic "right-to-work" battles reaching back more than two decades. Kerns warned that in addition to being on the ballot in the form of a referendum, labor would also make it a major issue in the legislative races and the gubernatorial contest.

Rubber Workers appoint Call organizing director

Akron, Ohio—Jerald D. Call was named the organizing director of the Rubber Workers by URW President Milan Stone.

Call has served as a URW District 4 field representative since 1975 and was on the union's executive board from 1972 to 1975. The post has been vacant since February 1985.

Senate votes Conrail sale at cut rate

The Senate approved a "sweetheart deal" to sell the government-owned Conrail system to the Norfolk Southern Corp. at a bargain price. But the labor-opposed measure will get closer scrutiny in the House, where rail unions and their congressional allies are hopeful of the votes needed to force a reconsideration of the Transportation Dept.'s choice of buyer.

At issue is whether a now-profitable freight railroad will be sold to a competitor at a below-market price under conditions that will cost the Treasury $400 million in tax revenues.

Apart from the dollar loss to the government—and to rail workers who have made pay and work concessions for a 15 percent share of Conrail stock—the sale of Conrail to a competitor would mean reduced railroad freight service and a cutback in jobs.

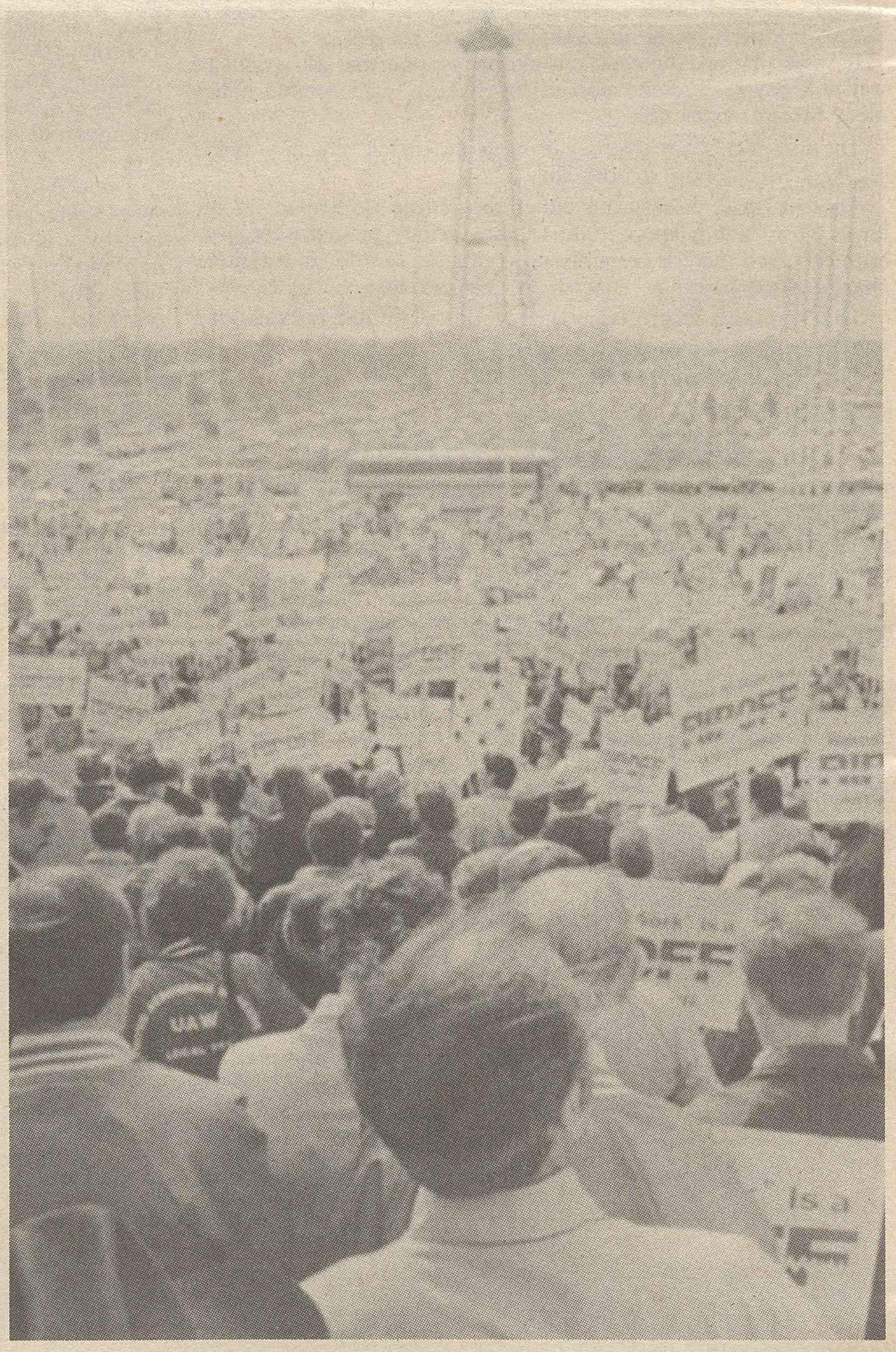
While the Senate voted 54-39 to approve the Norfolk Southern deal, the bipartisan bloc of senators from the northeast and midwestern states served by Conrail strongly opposed the legislation.

Better bid

The House is expected to take a close look at a $1.4 billion offer for the railroad made by Morgan Stanley & Co. on behalf of a group of institutional investors. The offer, which includes assurances that the railroad would be kept intact, would net the government $200 million more on the sale price plus the $400 million in tax revenues over the next five years.

The AFL-CIO and rail unions have urged public sale of Conrail, and the Morgan Stanley bid has drawn support from both Conrail management and the Railway Labor Executives' Association.

Conrail was formed in 1975 out of the bankrupt Penn Central Railroad and several smaller failing lines. It posted a $440 million profit last year.



Crowd of 5,000 protests on steps of Oklahoma capitol shortly before the House voted for a "right-to-work" referendum.

Corporations use tax cuts to spur profits, not jobs

Despite Reagan Administration claims that its 1981 tax-cut bill would stimulate economic growth and provide new jobs, corporations which reaped billions in tax bonanzas slashed their capital spending and workforce in the 1981-84 period.

In sharp contrast, corporations that paid the highest federal income tax rates during the same period showed substantial increases in both investment and employment.

This failure of "supply-side economics" was detailed in a study made public by Citizens for Tax Justice in cooperation with the Institute on Taxation & Economic Policy. The report, titled "Money for Nothing," revealed that 44 corporations took advantage of the Reagan tax bill to pile $2.1 billion in rebates on top of their pre-tax profits of $53.6 billion.

Citizens for Tax Justice is a research and lobbying group supported by a coalition of labor unions, churches, public interest groups and community-based organizations. It recently presented Congress with petitions bearing more than a million names, urging that corporate America be required to bear a fair share of the tax burden.

The no-tax corporations that cut capital spending and jobs included the four companies with the largest total refunds over the four years—Boeing, Dow Chemical, ITT and Tenneco. They were joined by such other profitable corporations as Weyerhauser, Union Carbide, IC Industries, Greyhound, General Electric, DuPont and many others.

By contrast, the 43 highest taxed companies, each of which paid 33 percent or more of its profits in federal income taxes, increased investment by 21 percent and added 4 percent to their workforces in the four-year period. They included such firms as VJ Corp., Whirlpool Corp., R.J. Reynolds Industries, Kellogg Co., Procter & Gamble, Briggs & Stratton, Cooper Tire & Rubber Co. and Campbell Soup Co.

"Corporate tax 'incentives' have been a huge failure at stimulating more investment or jobs," said Robert S. McIntyre, CTJ's director of federal tax policy. "The poor performance of no-tax corporations compared to high-tax companies indicates that an excessive management focus on chasing after tax shelters has a negative effect on investment and job creation."

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A REPORT ON 1985 CONGRESS

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Memorial to Christa

The Teachers established a scholarship program at Maryland's Bowie State College in memory of Christa McAuliffe who died aboard the space shuttle Challenger. McAuliffe was to be the first teacher in space. She had been an AFT member for eight years, teaching in Prince George's County public schools while she earned a graduate degree at Bowie State.

Trade report puts 1984's import toll at 2.3 million jobs

Imports cut a wide swath of destruction across the American economy during 1984, wiping out 2.3 million jobs in the manufacturing sector, cutting the gross national product by some $90 billion and contributing as much as $80 billion to the federal budget deficit.

This sweeping admission was contained in a Commerce Dept. study, "Trade Ripples Across U.S. Industries."

It was the first time that the government was this candid about the trade crisis. In the past it has resolutely refused to come to grips with the issue.

Last year, President Reagan vetoed a bill that would have provided a measure of relief to the beleagured textile, apparel and shoe industries which were specifically singled out in the study as suffering the most because of imports.

The AFL-CIO said that the figures contained in the new report "provide further evidence—if any such evidence is needed—that the trade problem isn't going to go away by itself."

Remedies needed

Federation economist Mark Anderson renewed labor's call for "concerted government action to reduce the gross imbalance in foreign trade," pointing out that this would have a "positive impact" on manufacturing, employment, the GNP and the massive federal deficit.

The devastating impact of imports on workers and their industries has worsened drastically since the figures were compiled, Anderson declared. The study was based on the performance of the economy in 1984, in the face of a then-record foreign trade deficit of $123.3 billion. In 1985, imports roared to another high, reaching $148.5 billion.

"Most of the adverse effects of the trade imbalance fell on manufacturing industries," the Commerce Dept. study noted, estimating that imports reduced output between 4.6 percent and 9.7 percent—about $40 billion to $85 billion.

At the same time, foreign-made goods that flooded the American market slashed manufacturing employment from between 4.1 percent to 13.1 percent.

Detailing what it called the "pervasive negative effects" on most parts of the economy as a result of the "deterioration of the trade balance," the government reported that:

- The textile and apparel industry was the hardest hit of all, losing 674,000 jobs in 1984. Another 356,000 jobs were wiped out in the electrical and electronic equipment industry, 238,000 in the shoe and leather industry, 196,000 in automobile production, and 148,000 in primary iron and steel.
- Six industries had 20 percent or more of their output displaced by imports in 1984. If both direct and indirect effects of imports are considered, the number of industries suffering a 20-percent-plus loss of output more than doubles to 14. "Indirect" effects means the impact felt by supporting trades

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Gramm-Rudman ruling clouds budget process

Congress will reclaim control over the budget process that it's not sure it wants if the Supreme Court agrees with the unanimous decision of a lower-court panel and declares a key element of the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law unconstitutional.

If the decision stands, the deficit reduction timetable will remain in the law but without an automatic enforcement procedure. Any deficit reduction legislation would be subject to a presidential veto.

If the Supreme Court upholds the Gramm-Rudman process and reverses the three-judge district court panel, spending cuts needed to meet the balanced budget timetable will continue to be made automatically.

The Gramm-Rudman Act makes the comptroller general the arbiter between the President's Office of Management & Budget and the Congressional Budget Office in determining the level of spending cuts necessary to stay under the law's deficit ceiling.

The three-judge panel agreed with a complaint by 12 House members that the constitutional separation of power between the legislative and executive branch would be violated by this process since the comptroller general is responsible to Congress. But it allowed the law to stay in effect pending a Supreme Court review of the

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Union contracts sweeten paychecks

Union contracts added an average of $104 a week to the paychecks of workers last year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics found on the basis of a census survey.

The union pay advantage has grown in each of the three years of the BLS survey. In 1985, the average worker covered by a union contract earned $419, an increase of $17 from the previous year. The average pay for workers not covered by a contract was $315, up $13 over the year.

Persons who identified themselves as union members had an even bigger wage advantage over nonunion workers, with average paychecks of $423 a week last year.

The union paycheck advantage was found in every age group and in the sex and ethnic categories of the BLS survey. Blacks and Hispanics working under union contracts, both men and women, had even higher percentage pay advantages over their nonunion counterparts than the average for the entire workforce.

If the value of employer-paid benefits had been included in the BLS survey, the dollar advantage of union representation would have been even greater, labor analysts noted.

Employment shift

But the BLS also found fewer workers enjoying the union advantage as the economy continued its tilt from a manufacturing to a service base.

Union membership as defined by the Labor Dept. dropped from 17.3 million to 17 million in 1984. The number of workers represented by unions was down from 19.9 million to 19.4 million. As a share of the workforce, that represented a decline from 21.6 to 20.5 percent.

By industry, union representation was highest in government (43.1 percent), communications and utilities (41.3 percent) and transportation (38.4 percent). It was above average in both manufacturing and construction. But it was under 10 percent of the workforce in services, wholesale and retail trade, agriculture and the finance, insurance and real estate category.

Among those represented by unions, construction workers enjoyed the biggest pay differential. Their weekly paychecks aver-

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2/15/86

Tricks of trade

The President's Council of Economic Advisers apparently doesn't know there's a government agency called the Commerce Dept.—certainly it appears not to have read any of the department's analyses of the effects of imports on the economy.

At the same time the Commerce Dept. was issuing a study documenting that imports wiped out 2.3 million factory jobs in 1984 alone, CEA was stoutly denying that foreign trade had anything at all to do with the steep decline in employment.

What caused the massive job loss in the industrial sector? CEA insisted in its annual report to Congress that it was improved efficiency and high wages, and that anyone who suggests otherwise has "an inadequate understanding of the benefits of trade."

CEA's denial of the devastation wrought by imports is generally regarded as the beginning of the Administration's assault on labor-backed legislation to save American industry and the jobs of American workers.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) sharply disagreed with CEA. "To argue this trade situation isn't harming our manufacturing base is like arguing up is down," Bentsen said. "It's ridiculous to argue that huge trade deficits have not been harmful."

Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.) pointed out that "if you look at what has happened to our trade balance in manufacturing since 1982, it's pretty hard to deny a relationship" between imports and job losses.

Bentsen accused CEA of being "out of step with the general consensus among economists." Obviously President Reagan's economic advisers aren't in tune with the economic experts in President Reagan's Commerce Dept., either.

Imports claim 2.3 million jobs in 1984 alone

Continued from Page 1

and services when a basic industry is hit by imports.

- If it weren't for the import-related joblessness, 1984's unemployment figure would have been between 1.3 percent and 2.7 percent lower.
- GNP was between 1.7 percent and 2.5 percent lower than it otherwise would have been because of what the study called the "huge trade deficit of 1984."

While jobs in the manufacturing sector were being battered by imports to the tune of 2.3 million in 1984, foreign trade was producing 850,000 new jobs in the wholesale and retail trades, the report said.

But these jobs were generally at wage scales far below those in manufacturing, leading to further erosion of the economy.

What is needed to remedy the situation, the study said, is a "balanced trade" approach that would lower the deficit, increase output and employment, and lower budget deficits.

The Commerce Dept. described the "balanced trade" concept as one under which both exports and imports expanded rapidly "possibly because of reduced trade barriers and accelerated economic growth" both at home and abroad.

"Balanced trade," the report said, would produce between 700,000 and 1 million new jobs a year, push down unemployment levels by at least 1 percent, raise the GNP a sharp 6 to 7.5 percent in the first two years with the added economic growth leveling off at about 1.6 percent in subsequent years, and slash the federal budget deficit by 40 percent.

Opponents claim labor-backed legislation to correct the trade imbalance would be inflationary. But the Commerce Dept. insisted its "balanced trade" proposal would have only a minimal impact on prices—about 1 percent a year.

Transport union sues Eastern on extended pay cuts

Miami—Trial opened in U.S. district court here to recover $33 million in wages that the Transport Workers charge Eastern Airlines illegally withheld from the pay of 7,200 flight attendants in 1985.

The suit grows out of a 1983 agreement under which Eastern's three unions—the Air Line Pilots, Machinists and TWU—agreed to 18-percent pay cuts to save the financially troubled airline $370 million during 1984.

Although the pay cuts were due to remain in effect for only one year, TWU told Federal District Court Judge Eugene Spellman, the airline continued the lower wages in effect throughout 1985.

Eastern insists that it is under strong pressure from a consortium of banks to either take the ax to its payroll again or face having its $2.3-billion debt called in and its assets sold.

Last month, Eastern unilaterally imposed additional pay cuts on its flight attendants, lengthened their hours and furloughed 1,100 of them in an economy move. That action followed expiration of a 30-day cooling-off period mandated by the Railway Labor Act, which left TWU free to strike and management free to institue its own pay schedule and work rules.

Meanwhile, ALPA is in the process of taking a strike vote among its 4,000 Eastern pilots, whose own cooling-off period expires Feb. 26. Federally mediated negotiations broke off Feb. 13 after management refused to back off its demand for another 20-percent cut in pay and other concessions.

Forced cuts

The situation is different as far as the IAM is concerned. Last fall, its 13,000 mechanics voluntarily reopened their contract to make further wage concessions to help Eastern out of its financial bind. Now the airline is trying to force them back to the table again to accept further pay cuts.

The IAM and ALPA have stepped up their drive to get Eastern's employees—who already own 20 percent of the company's stock—to buy up control of the company. When Eastern retaliated by closing down the option to make purchases under the existing employee stock ownership plan, the unions urged members to go out into the open market for additional purchases.

With majority control, the unions said, employees would be in a position to topple existing management and set Eastern back on a profitable course.

Court slap at OMB termed spur to safety enforcement

A federal court's crackdown on the White House Office of Management & Budget's interference in the federal regulatory process was welcomed by the AFL-CIO.

At the same time, the federation called for the voiding of OMB's action in gutting federal job safety rules.

The U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia declared OMB had no authority to delay regulations that are under statutory or court-ordered deadlines.

The case involved a suit against the Environmental Protection Agency for failing to issue regulations for underground tanks that cannot be entered for inspection. It was brought by the Environmental Defense Fund.

"Clearly OMB has no right to intervene in the process to change determinations already made by the regulatory agencies which have both the authority and expertise to promulgate federal rules," said Margaret Seminario, the federation's job safety director.

Seminario cited the significant delays and substantive changes OMB has made in regulations proposed by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration. She added that the budget office often seeks to negate provisions that it feels would inconvenience businesses.

Problems highlighted

While the district court ruling concentrates on those regulations under statutory or judicial deadlines, the court correctly identified the problems OMB's intervention causes for federal agencies, Seminario said.

Congress set a Mar. 1, 1985, deadline for the regulations. OMB's review began last March and lasted more than three months.

During that time, the court said, OMB tried to shift the regulations away from EPA's philosophy of containing "all leaks" of waste disposal from underground tanks to simply containing those leaks "that can be demonstrated by risk analysis to threaten or harm human health."

Judge Thomas A. Flannery wrote that if the executive order that empowers OMB to review regulations is used improperly, "OMB could withhold approval until the acceptance of certain content in the promulgation of any new EPA regulation, thereby encroaching upon the independence and expertise of EPA."

He added that this would allow the President to pursue administratively what he is unable to secure in lobbying Capitol Hill. "This is incompatible with the will of Congress and cannot be sustained as a valid exercise" of the President's constitutional powers, the court said.

Flannery noted that of 169 EPA regulations submitted to OMB under statutory or judicial deadlines, "on 86 occasions OMB extended its review beyond the time periods outlined" in the executive order. The average length of delay was 91 days.

The judge said that using the executive order to create delays and impose substantive changes in proposed regulations raises constitutional concerns.

More interference

A suit involving OSHA's failure to issue a short-term exposure limit for ethylene oxide is now before the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. OMB's last-minute objections to the short-term limit resulted in OSHA dropping it from its final standard. It deferred the final death knell for the short-term limit for six months while it gathered more information.

Some of the key constitutional issues concerning OMB's review of regulations may be decided in that case, Seminario said.

The ethylene oxide case was brought by several labor unions and a public health group. Five House committee chairmen who joined the suit stressed that OMB has "insinuated itself into the institutional decision-making processes of all executive agencies" and "utilized its purported authority . . . to force OSHA to drop a vital occupational health standard that was fully supported by the agency record."

Paula V. Smith nominated for Wage-Hour position

Paula V. Smith has been nominated by President Reagan to serve as administrator of the Wage & Hour Division of the Labor Dept.'s Employment Standards Administration. She would succeed William Otter, who left the post last March.

Smith has been the director of the Missouri Dept. of Labor & Industrial Relations since January 1981. Before that, she was manager of professional training and development at Trans World Airlines Inc.

Menapace to succeed Lutty as UFCW secretary-treasurer

The executive board of the Food & Commercial Workers elected Gerald Menapace secretary-treasurer to succeed Anthony J. Lutty, who is retiring after holding that post for nearly seven years.

Menapace, 52, who served as director of the union's 800,000-member retail division since 1984, will take up his new duties April 1.

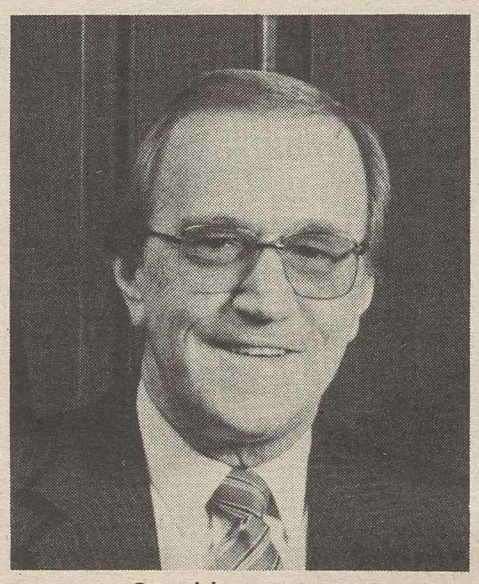
A member of the union since 1954, he held a variety of local union positions and was an officer of the Baltimore AFL-CIO and the Maryland State and District of Columbia AFL-CIO. A vice president of the former Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen, he became a UFCW vice president at the time of the 1979 merger.

Lutty, 66, a veteran of 33 years in the labor movement, came up from the local union ranks in Pittsburgh. He was a Meat Cutters' vice president, served on the merger committee, and became UFCW secretary-treasurer in 1979. He served as president of the Allegheny County AFL-CIO.

UFCW President William H. Wynn hailed Lutty's contribution to the union and noted that he was highly regarded within the labor movement as an expert on pension programs.

The board elected William J. Olwell, 51, an executive vice president to fill a post left vacant when Thomas G. Whaley retired earlier this year. Olwell has headed the collective bargaining and negotiated benefits department since November. Prior to that, he served for seven years as the union's public affairs and communications director.

Eight new vice presidents were also elected. They are Frank R. Dininger, director of Southeastern Region 7; Roger T. Clark, director of Southcentral Region 8; Robert Novicoff, director of Northeastern Region 2; Joseph T. Hansen, director of Northern Plains Region 13; William F. Senn, director of Pacific Region 14; Ronald Kurvink, director of Northwestern Region 17; Eugene Utecht, president of Local 653 in Edina, Minn., and Joseph Madzelonka, president of Local 88, Cleveland.



Gerald Menapace

Stone masons sent to study abroad

Young stone masons from the United States and Canada will be traveling to France to study under master craftsmen as part of an exchange program drawn up by the Bricklayers and the Friends of Vieilles Maisons Francaises. The latter group is an American organization supporting the French historic preservation group, Vieilles Maisons Francaises.

Fellowships provided by the Bricklayers and the historic preservation support group will be awarded to apprentices or new journeymen who will study the ancient craft of stone masonry and related skills under French masters.

The program calls for the first fellowship winner to be selected this spring. Later, the two groups plan to bring French masonry craftsmen to the United States and Canada to study brick and tile skills.

Bricklayers President John T. Joyce said the fellowship program will help the union preserve traditional masonry skills—one of its major objectives—and give young workers invaluable experience with master stone masons in France, where techniques for preserving historic stone buildings are highly developed.

He added that because bricklaying is "more highly developed in the United States and Canada than in France," the union looks forward to expanding the program so that "French masons can come here and work and learn with us."

Congressional inquiry scores failure to cope with factory job losses

Government and industry are failing to deal with massive unemployment caused by "rapid and irreversible" changes in trade and technology, the congressional Office of Technology Assessment reported.

Between 1979 and 1984, OTA said, the nation counted 11.5 million "dislocated" workers—people who lost their jobs because of automation, plant shutdowns or the rising tide of imports.

The brunt of dislocations occurred in the manufacturing sector which accounted for 20 percent of the nation's total employment but sustained more than half the total job losses.

Joblessness was particularly high in the import-riddled steel, automobile, industrial equipment, textile, apparel and shoe industries.

Rep. Berkeley Bedell (D-Iowa) said the report provides "clear evidence that increasing import penetration and factors which cause U.S. businesses to move offshore are depriving American workers of jobs at historically high rates."

Heavy burden

Bedell called for "greater attention" to improving the competitiveness of American industries, and insisted that the government "provide adjustment services for those workers who bear the burdens of America's open economy and liberal trade policies."

Unskilled and semi-skilled industrial workers were the hardest hit because their jobs are "the easiest to automate and the easiest to move overseas to low-wage countries," the agency pointed out.

"Given the incentives that lead U.S. firms to invest overseas and take advantage of cheap labor, or to use less labor at home, displacement is bound to continue," OTA said.

Job cutbacks fell with particular severity on blacks, OTA found. While 60 percent of all displaced workers eventually found new jobs, only 42 percent of the blacks who held their previous jobs at least three years located new employment.

"The victims of economic mismanagement are those least able to cope with the costs," declared Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), chairman of the House Small Business Committee.

Women lose out

"Structural unemployment is not only reversing the trend toward greater equality of opportunity," Mitchell said, "it is threatening the industrial base of this country and the future of all Americans."

Also bearing a disproportionate share of the burden were an estimated 4 million "displaced homemakers"—women forced into the job market because of divorce, widowhood, the unemployment of a spouse or the loss of welfare assistance, only to lose their jobs to imports and technology.

Many displaced workers who found new employment rarely were required to use skills they developed previously. And the new work was at wage levels far below those they had relied on to support themselves and their families.

New service industry jobs, averaging $7.52 an hour in 1984, were not equivalent to the lost manufacturing jobs with an average wage of $9.18 an hour, the report said.

Others often remained jobless for months, losing retirement and health benefits. By January 1984, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, almost one-quarter of all displaced workers with long-term employment records, were still unemployed.

The 1982 Job Training Partnership Act was supposed to deal with the problem. But, the agency estimated, it is reaching only 5 percent of those eligible for assistance.

Lag in training

The agency charged that adult education and job training programs "have not kept up" with the needs of American workers.

OTA said that one of the most effective ways to deliver services to displaced workers is through labor-management committees in plants that are closing.

"The combination of early warning of large layoffs and rapid in-plant response has worked in Canada for 20 years, providing effective reemployment help to most victims of plant closings at modest cost to the government—about $108 per worker," the study said.

The agency conceded that a similar system in the United States probably would mean higher total JTPA spending, despite the low cost per worker, because of greatly increased participation.

Such a program would reach many more workers than JTPA reaches now, and a higher percentage of displaced workers would enroll, the report continued. But "lower costs of unemployment insurance and higher tax revenues could offset program costs more quickly."

Although retraining is the "best route back" for displaced workers, the agency said that there is scant evidence that the program is doing much in this direction and new educational technologies that offer considerable promise are "not widely used."

The fortunate 44

Here's how the Reagan Administration's income tax system provided windfalls for 44 wealthy corporations in the 1981-84 period:

Company	In Millions Profit	Rebate	Tax Rate
ITT	$815.0	($177.7)	-21.8%
Dow Chemical Co.	972.0	(180.0)	-18.5%
Ashland Oil	336.1	(62.0)	-18.5%
Tesoro Petroleum	124.3	(22.5)	-18.1%
Piedmont Aviation	169.0	(25.4)	-15.0%
Boeing Co.	2,099.0	(285.0)	-13.6%
Int'l Minerals & Chemical	371.6	(43.7)	-11.8%
Northrop Corp.	416.8	(46.4)	-11.1%
IC Industries	534.7	(5.4)	-10.4%
Sun Chemical Corp.	103.2	(10.4)	-10.1%
Mitchell Energy	438.7	(41.1)	-9.0%
Pepsico	1,798.7	(235.8)	-7.6%
Georgia-Pacific Corp.	783.0	(59.0)	-7.5%
International Multifoods	43.9	(3.2)	-7.3%
General Dynamics	1,579.5	(103.8)	-6.6%
Weyerhauser Co.	929.2	(59.1)	-6.4%
Harris Corp.	307.6	(19.5)	-6.3%
Singer Co.	194.2	(11.6)	-6.0%
Santa Fe Southern Pacific	2,309.0	(133.4)	-5.8%
Scott Paper Co.	594.6	(30.5)	-5.1%
Tenneco	3,401.0	(166.0)	-4.9%
Centex Corp.	264.4	(10.2)	-3.9%
Southwest Airlines Co.	213.0	(8.1)	-3.8%
Texaco	1,819.0	(68.0)	-3.7%
Union Carbide	892.0	(26.0)	-2.9%
International Paper Co.	1,136.3	(32.6)	-2.9%
Greyhound Corp.	419.9	(10.4)	-2.5%
Allied Corp.	693.0	(12.0)	-2.5%
Panhandle Eastern Corp.	1,220.7	(28.8)	-2.4%
Ogden Corp.	231.5	(5.6)	-2.2%
Ohio Edison Co.	1,524.4	(31.8)	-2.1%
Northern Indiana PSC	792.5	(14.6)	-1.8%
Philadelphia Electric Co.	1,892.5	(30.3)	-1.6%
Tyson Foods	69.1	(1.0)	-1.4%
Columbia Gas System	1,147.1	(15.9)	-1.4%
Jim Walter Corp.	361.7	(4.1)	-1.1%
Arizona Public Service Co.	1,278.4	(14.1)	-1.1%
General Electric	9,577.0	(98.0)	-1.0%
DuPont	4,075.0	(40.0)	-1.0%
Xerox	1,122.7	(9.2)	-0.8%
Pennsylvania Power & Light	1,362.9	(10.0)	-0.7%
Burlington Northern	2,799.2	(1.1)	0.0%
Grumman Corp.	653.4	(0.0)	0.0%
Lockheed Corp.	1,670.9	(0.0)	0.0%

Money for nothing

Reagan tax cut misses growth goal

Continued from Page 1

Release of the report came as corporate pressure mounted on the Senate Finance Committee to "undermine the hard-gained corporate reforms in the House tax bill" that would close some of the many Reagan-inspired corporate loopholes, CTJ noted.

If the "loophole lobbyists" are successful in reversing the trend toward tax fairness contained in the House-passed bill, McIntyre said, the result would be "higher taxes on middle- and lower-income families."

Since 1980, CTJ reported, the cost to the Treasury of corporate tax breaks has tripled, to an estimated $120 billion in the current fiscal year, with the 44 biggest beneficiaries channeling the money into "virtually everything but new investment"—the purpose for which the "incentives" were given.

While cutting investment and employment, despite an 11-percent increase in pre-tax profits in the four-year period, the 44 no-tax corporations boosted their dividend payouts by 22 percent and added a staggering 54 percent to the pay of their chief executive officers.

In addition, the amount spent on corporate merger activities more than tripled, to an estimated $200 billion in 1985.

Eleven corporations included in the study were the acquiring companies in the top 25 mergers of 1985. The $40 billion they spent taking over other companies last year was far in excess of their expenditures on new plant and equipment during the three previous years combines, the tax report noted.

McIntyre pointed out that the $120-billion annual cost of corporate tax loopholes is responsible for more than half the federal budget deficit.

"These tax concessions have been a key factor in producing record-high real interest rates," he asserted. "These high interest rates are the major cause of the inflated value of the dollar, which in turn has led to record trade deficits and the loss of millions of manufacturing jobs in this country."

'Riverboat gamble'

After four years of a "riverboat gamble" which involved "throwing money at corporations," CTJ posed these questions:

"Are we more competitive in international markets today than we were when the build-up of corporate loopholes took off in earnest back in 1981?

"Did those companies that benefitted the most from the loopholes actually boost their investment spending between 1981 and 1984 as their lobbyists promised?"

The labor-backed group said that the answer to these questions is clearly "no."

McIntyre called on the Senate to "face up to the hard evidence that corporate tax 'incentives' plainly don't work," urging that body to follow the lead of the House to "close the loopholes, return the no-tax corporations to the tax rolls and restore fairness and economic common sense to our country's tax system."

Court ruling clouds budget process

Continued from Page 1

decision. The high court is expected to rule on the issue within the next six months.

A number of unions representing federal workers and retirees also challenged provisions of Gramm-Rudman, including some elements not dealt with in the case heard by the panel. Unions filing suits or submitting legal briefs included the Postal Workers, Government Employees and Letter Carriers.

Although President Reagan had signed and praised the Gramm-Rudman Act when it was passed last December, the Justice Dept. challenged the authority given to the comptroller general on the same constitutional grounds the district court panel gave for its decision. Attorneys for the House and Senate defended the law as written.

The automatic deficit reduction procedure was used to cut the spending ceiling for the remainder of this fiscal year by $11.4 billion, effective Mar. 1. As required by Gramm-Rudman, half the cuts were ordered in domestic programs, excluding social security, and half in the defense budget.

The cuts will take effect as scheduled. But if the Supreme Court lets the decision stand, the status of funds already sequestered would have to be resolved.

Pressure on Congress

Meanwhile, the uncertainty will put pressure on Congress to achieve deficit reduction in the budget for the 1987 fiscal year through the legislative process rather than the Gramm-Rudman procedure. But its ability to do so may depend on whether Congress and the President can agree on revenue increases and a cap on defense appropriations to help bring down the budget deficit.

There is a strong, bipartisan consensus against the budget Reagan submitted to Congress. It would substantially boost military spending, keep tax revenues at present levels, and rely on severe cuts in domestic programs to achieve the deficit reduction required by Gramm-Rudman.

Another route Congress might take if it wishes to keep the automatic trigger provision for budget reduction would be to redefine the role of the comptroller general, who heads the General Accounting Office.

The three-judge panel held that the comptroller general exercises executive power when he triggers the Gramm-Rudman spending cuts. But while the controller general is appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, as are other executive officers, he cannot be removed from office by the President. During his 15-year term, he can be ousted for cause only by a resolution passed by both the House and Senate.

In the court panel's opinion, the removal procedure makes the comptroller general part of the legislative branch of government and sets up a constitutional conflict.

New AFGE headquarters in Capitol Hill location

The Government Employees has a new Washington address on Capitol Hill, sharing a four-building complex with the Teachers and other tenants.

AFGE's new address is 80 F St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. Telephone: 202-639-6423.

Swapping information

Librarians from 19 unions discuss information-sharing and reference publications at their February meeting in Washington. Lili Crane, deputy associate editor of Resis, an information search service offered by the Bureau of National Affairs, outlines the various publications and research services available through BNA. The group—Washington Area Labor Information Specialists—plans to broaden its labor information base.

Jobless rate decline masks full extent of unemployment

Although unemployment dipped to 6.7 percent in January, its lowest level in nearly six years, the Full Employment Action Council charged that the figures seriously "understate the problem of joblessness, particularly among hard-hit groups and areas."

When underemployed and discouraged workers are factored in, the real jobless rate last month stood at 12.3 percent—nearly double the "official" unemployment rate—the council said.

Even while it was announcing an overall decline in joblessness, the Labor Dept. reported double-digit unemployment rates for three key groups—18.4 percent for teenagers, 14.4 percent for blacks and 10.1 percent for Hispanics.

But these figures, the coalition of unions, civil rights, religious and community-based organizations said, failed to tell the complete story. The real jobless rates, FEAC said, were 25.1 percent for teenagers, 23.5 percent for blacks and 17.9 percent for Hispanics.

At the same time, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that of the 7.8 million jobless, only 3.2 million—less than half—were drawing unemployment compensation benefits.

'Rebound' cited

The White House hailed January's two-tenths of 1 percent decline in unemployment as "solid evidence" that the economy is "rebounding" from the Reagan Recession.

But Janet Norwood, commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, told the Joint Economic Committee that part of the improved picture was due to seasonal adjustment.

January employment usually declines because retail businesses lay off extra workers hired during the Christmas shopping season, she said. But last month's declines were smaller because fewer seasonal workers were taken on in November and December.

Thus, although the raw data showed that 1.5 million people lost jobs last month, the figure was "adjusted" to show a gain of 565,000 jobs.

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.), who chaired the JEC hearing, expressed concern that this distorted the picture and that the February jobless figures will shoot back up.

BLS reported 800,000 more jobs in the service sector in January than in the same month in 1985, but employment in the import-battered manufacturing sector was down 135,000 from a year ago.

FEAC emphasized that the official rate of 6.7 percent, "while an improvement over the 1982 levels at the depths of the recession," is still greater than the 5.8-percent level in 1979. Meanwhile, the 12.3 percent real jobless rate was 2.6 percentage points greater than 1979's rate of 9.7 percent prior to the onset of the 1980 and 1982 recessions.

The council charged the Administration with failing to live up to the "spirit or intent" of the 1978 Humphrey-Hawkins Act that mandates a 4-percent unemployment goal.

The President's projection of a 5.5-percent jobless rate by the end of 1991 would still leave "approximately 2 million more persons unemployed than at the 4 percent level," FEAC said.

Instead of lowering the disproportionately high rates of unemployment among minorities and youth, the council continued, Reagan's budget would "weaken efforts to provide jobs, training and adjustment assistance to the structurally unemployed."

And Gramm-Rudman would make the problem worse because its mandated budget cuts could slow down the economy and send jobless rates soaring.

"America may be partially 'back' from the depths of the 1982 recession," FEAC said, " but it is not fully recovered. Deficit reduction need not and ought not come through spending cuts in programs that are effective and essential to the well-being and productivity of the nation."

Nine chewing tobaccos dropped from Boycott List

Nine brands of chewing tobacco formerly produced by the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. have been removed from the AFL-CIO Boycott List.

Sec.-Treas. Rene Rondou of the Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers said the products are now being made under a BCT contract with the Swedish Tobacco Co., which purchased Reynolds's chewing tobacco operation.

The brands are: Apple, Day's Work, R.J. Gold, Work Horse, Reynolds Sun Cured, Top, Cup, Brown's Mule and Reynolds Natural Leaf.

Seafarers' accord splits blockade by fish boat owners

New Bedford, Mass.—Cracking the solid management front that has kept 600 striking deepsea fishermen idled for more than seven weeks, the Seafarers have signed contracts with some boatowners who broke with their association plus a number of independent operators.

A total of 30 boatowners came to terms with the SIU and agreed to give fishermen a fair share of the proceeds from the scallop and fish catch.

Under the terms of the previous contract, which expired 10 months ago, crews aboard scallopers received a 64-percent share, while dragger crews received 54 percent.

But these amounts were reduced by the practice of requiring deepsea fishermen to share many of the costs of operating the fishing fleet. In the past, management has simply deducted these costs without documentation, leading to concerns that too large a share was being placed on the SIU fishermen.

Under the terms of the new agreements, the union said, gauges will be installed aboard fishing vessels to record the amount of fuel actually used, and SIU members will be entitled to see invoices for all expenses incurred by the owners.

As some of their competitors returned to the North Atlantic fishing banks and scallop beds, pressure mounted on the Seafood Producers Association to come to terms with the union.

The employers' group is also being squeezed by the defection of some association members, the SIU said.

Union pacts sweeten pay $104 a week

Continued from Page 1

aged $556 last year, compared with $315 a week for construction workers without a union.

But union retail workers, while lower paid, also had a big percentage lead over their nonunion counterparts—$346 to $235.

Women in all occupations average $356 with a union contract, $267 without.

Among black men, the union representation advantage was $381 to $266. For black women, it was a union advantage of $316 to $228.

Hispanic men averaged $391 with a union, $245 without. For Hispanic women the comparison was $285 to $218.

The survey showed that 24.4 percent of men and 15.9 percent of women worked under union conditions. It found that 19.6 percent of white workers, 27.6 percent of blacks and 21.4 percent of Hispanics were represented by unions.

The wage advantage for workers represented by unions has been consistent and slightly growing over recent years. For 1984, the union contract differential was $101; it was $98 in 1983.

Persons identified in the census sampling as members of unions, not just represented by unions, had an even bigger differential last year. Their pay advantage averaged $108 above the nonunion category, $4 more than the union-represented differential.

Five unions chalk up '85 membership gains

Five AFL-CIO unions reported membership gains in 1985 totaling 207,000 members.

The State, County & Municipal Employees added 100,000 new members last year to make it one of the largest AFL-CIO affiliates with 1.1 million members, the union said. AFSCME noted that women make up 51 percent of its membership.

The Food & Commercial Workers gained 70,000 new members in organizing drives last year. However, that total was partially offset by job losses in some of its industries. Still, the UFCW reported a net gain of 14,000, swelling its membership rolls to 1.3 million.

The Auto Workers, also topping the 1-million mark, reported a gain of 33,000 new members in organizing campaigns last year.

The Teachers won 79 out of 128 representation elections in 1985 to boost its membership to 650,000, the union said. The AFT gained 10,000 new members in 1985.

The Service Employees added 50,000 new members, bringing the SEIU membership to 850,000.

Video conference set on health care

The AFL-CIO is sponsoring a nationwide video satellite conference on protecting workers' health care benefits.

The technique will enable trade unionists to talk with health specialists and educators and join in a simultaneous question-and-answer session.

The two-day conference, "Negotiating for Improved Health Care," is scheduled for Apr. 21 and 22. It will originate in Washington and will be broadcast by satellite simultaneously to 16 sites throughout the country.

The program was developed by the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security and the George Meany Center for Labor Studies. The satellite hook-up and transmission will be coordinated by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland stressed in a letter to affiliates and state federations the importance of the health care issue and the need for such a "massive education effort."

He noted that union negotiators consistently are "confronted at the bargaining table with the problem of rising health care costs and employer demands to reduce negotiated health insurance benefits."

"How we address this problem and deal with employer demands is going to have a significant impact on the quality as well as the cost of negotiated health care coverage for years to come," Kirkland said.

Participants will review how the health care bargaining atmosphere has changed and will examine employer strategies to cut benefits, with advice for union negotiators facing contract talks. A panel of health specialists from several unions will join in the discussion.

Labor educators

The conference will be beamed to labor educators active in a network of labor extension programs at state universities. Faculty members who will coordinate the on-site sessions will participate in a planning session at the George Meany Center earlier in April.

During the broadcast, university coordinators will present video-tapes on medical cost containment, financial data and other negotiating concerns.

Labor extension programs participating in the video conference include: the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, University of Connecticut at Storrs, University of California at Berkeley, University of the District of Columbia in Washington, Florida International University in Miami, University of Illinois at Champaign, University of Indiana at Indianapolis, Michigan State University in East Lansing and Wayne State University in Detroit, University of Minnesota at Minneapolis, University of Missouri at Columbia, State University of New York at Albany, Ohio State University at Columbus, University of Oregon at Eugene, Pennsylvania State University at University Park, West Virginia University in Morgantown, University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Harold C. Crotty dies, headed Way Employees

Madison, Wis.—Harold C. Crotty, retired president of the Maintenance of Way Employees, died Feb. 12 of pneumonia. He was 74.

Crotty headed the BMWE for 20 years and was named president emeritus upon retirement in 1978. Earlier, he served for 10 years as deputy president and assistant to the BMWE president.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue said in a message to Crotty's wife Josephine that his "five decades of devoted service to America's working people enriched a great many lives, not only among BMWE members but far beyond their ranks."

Funeral services were held Feb. 14 at Queen of Peace Church in Madison.

AFL-CIO news

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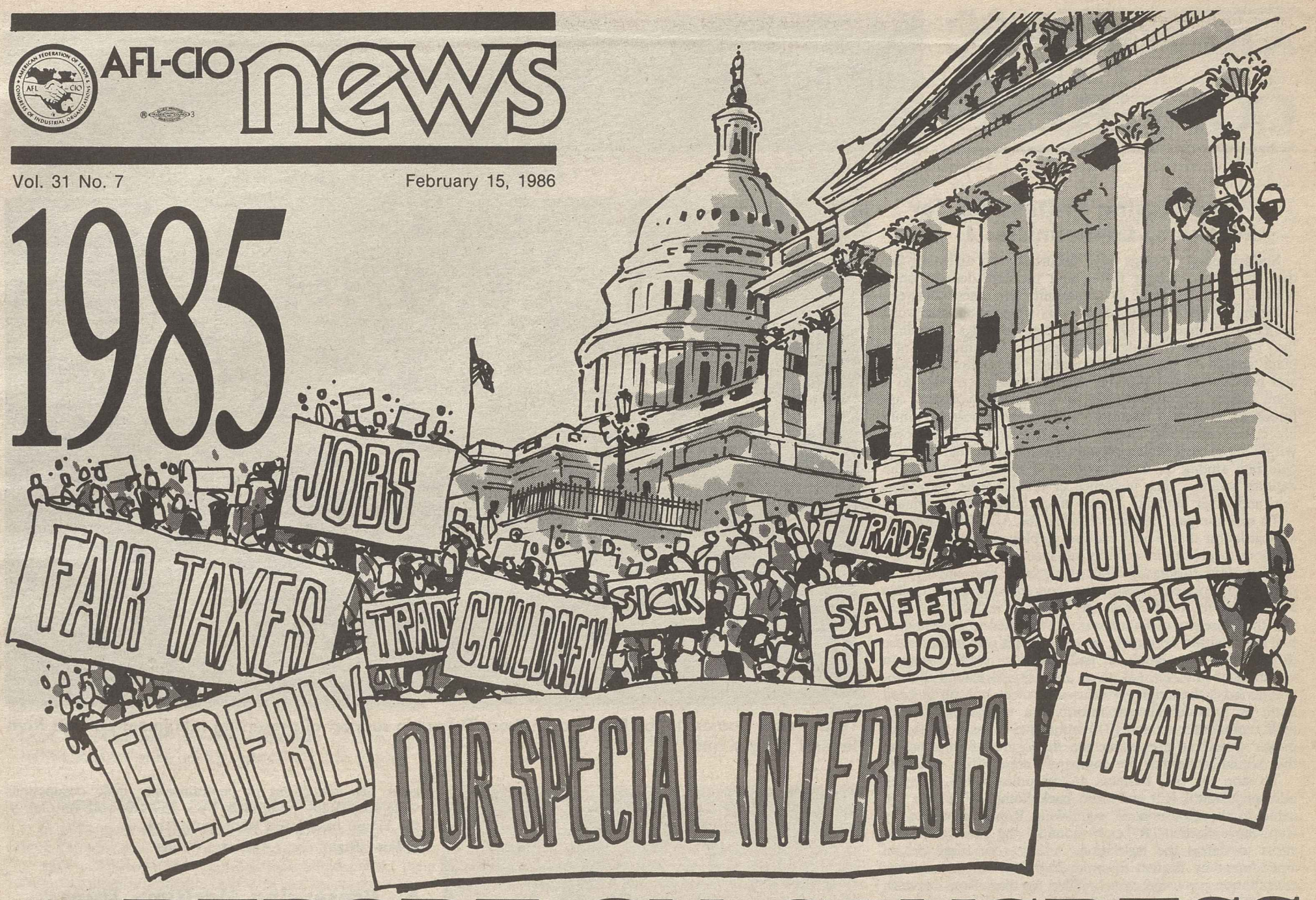


A REPORT ON CONGRESS

By Lane Kirkland

FROM START to finish the 1985 congressional agenda was dominated by three major issues—the federal deficit, taxes and trade. In each area the Reagan Administration, which only months earlier had won a landslide national election, demonstrated a lack of leadership and proved incapable of giving direction to congressional deliberations. Congress, too, wrestled with itself, seeking to force action on the nation's massive fiscal problems without raising new revenues.

Despite the political climate, working men and women won major victories in 1985, thanks to successful lobbying campaigns that saw the entire labor movement bring the power of constituency pressure upon Congress.

The biggest such victory was the federation's year-long lobbying campaign to kill the Administration's twin proposals to tax employee benefits and eliminate the deductibility of state and local taxes. The President's so-called tax simplification bill tried to pick the pockets of Americans by proposing a new tax on the entire range of employee benefits: health and dental insurance, educational benefits, prepaid legal services, workers' compensation benefits, black lung benefits and unemployment compensation. Moreover, the bill would have imposed double taxation on taxes paid to state and local governments by denying their deductibility on the federal tax form. Such a proposal would have seriously undercut the ability of these governmental entities to raise needed revenues to finance such vital public services as education.

A three-pronged attack of grassroots action backed up by AFL-CIO Legislative Action Committees in selected congressional districts, a massive direct-mail program and on-the-site lobbying in Congress brought about a total victory. Once again, the lesson learned—as it was in labor's 1984 win on bankruptcy legislation—was that when back-home lobbying by rank-and-file union members is teamed with a Capitol Hill effort, it can make the difference—and win.

By the time the Administration's pro-tax lobbyists made their rounds on Capitol Hill, labor's grassroots lobbying had made clear that the benefits tax and the repeal of deductibility were in serious trouble. The President backed down partially and in a second, scaled-down bill proposed a more limited tax on health care coverage along with workers' compensation and unemployment benefits. However, state and local tax deductibility was still repealed.

To defeat the benefits tax, labor's grassroots lobbying pressure intensified with a carefully targeted direct-mail program aimed at key members of the tax-writing House Ways & Means Committee. A flood of postcards and letters inundated their offices, while back-home face-to-face meetings took place. A "sense-of-the-House" resolution opposing the benefits tax was then introduced to give House members the chance to stand up and be counted as opponents of the benefits tax by signing on as cosponsors of the resolution. The strategy behind the resolution was to get a House majority as cosponsors and thereby show committee members that a tax bill with the benefits tax included would face rough sledding on the House floor.

By the time the Ways & Means Committee began its markup of the tax package, 280 House members had cosponsored—60 more than the full House majority. The result: a committee tax bill, eventually passed by the House, which maintained the tax-exempt status of all employer-provided employee benefits. Worker's compensation was also left untaxed. Only unemployment compensation—now partially taxed—will be fully taxed. Grassroots lobbying pressure also succeeded in defeating Reagan's other proposal to deny state and local tax deductibility. Stopping the benefits' tax and preserving the deductibility was a total victory for the labor lobby.

Concentrated grassroots pressure also helped to bury a Right to Work Committee proposal to inflict on union members the penalties of a little-known federal anti-extortion law—the Hobbs Act—for any incident of picket-line violence, no matter how trivial. Although such picket-line incidents are rare and they are subject to state and local law, the anti-worker lobby yearned for the days when the federal government policed strikes and busted unions for the benefit of employers. With attention focused on the Senate Judiciary Committee, labor undertook another grassroots lobbying blitz. The result: an embarrassing defeat for the anti-union lobby as efforts to report the bill were defeated in this Republican-controlled forum.

Labor's 1985 report card on Congress tabulates the votes on major issues of concern to the AFL-CIO in the first session of the 99th Congress.

House members have been judged on 17 key issues—"R-right" or "W-wrong"—on the basis of the position the AFL-CIO took on the legislation. Senators have been rated on 21 key votes.

The tables also include the cumulative voting record and cumulative "right" percentage of each member since election to the House or Senate. With the voting records are brief descriptions of the issues—what the vote was about and its importance to the labor movement and the nation.

Issues of prime importance to labor are the first eight votes in the House and the first six votes in the Senate. In the tabulations they are the votes listed to the left of the rules.

Another win came when labor detoured a conservative-backed bill to overturn a pro-labor decision by the Supreme Court and thus free state and local governments from the overtime pay requirements of the federal minimum wage law. The repealer bill was sidetracked when the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions, working in tandem with state and municipal lobbyists, fashioned a compromise measure later signed into law which left the underlying court decision intact.

Labor's biggest setback came, surprisingly, when the usual bipartisan, anti-worker conservative coalition teamed up with new allies to first cripple and then kill a plant closing protection bill. This modest bill simply required plant managers to notify workers 90 days prior to a permanent shutdown and to consult with the employees about possible alternatives. Considered labor's most important worker rights' initiative in recent years, the measure met with the opposition of Republicans overwhelmingly and a number of weak-kneed Democrats who were cowed by business lobbyists' cries of impending economic doom if this minimal bill were to become law. The real friends of organized labor stood firm on these votes—House votes 1 and 2 in this voting record. Meanwhile, the lobbying tactics of business put the lie to its hollow calls for labor-management cooperation.

The most contentious issue Congress faced in 1985 was on the federal budget deficit. In 1985, federal red ink for the year built up to more than $220 billion—the result of Reagan fiscal policies hatched in 1981 when Congress accepted Administration proposals for drastic tax cuts for the rich and corporations coupled with a big spending boost for national defense. While the President's number one priority in 1985 was his so-called tax simplification proposal, his tax bill did not simplify the code or raise any federal revenues. His tax proposal which was to be recast several times, was soon followed by a budget blueprint recommending such Draconian budget cuts that even the Republican-controlled Senate balked. This set the stage for congressional gridlock between the Senate and the Democratic-controlled House over how and where to cut the budget, and by year's end the deficit problem was worse than when the year began. With the House and Senate at odds and the White House stubbornly refusing to consider a tax increase, Senators Gramm, Rudman and Hollings proposed a statutory balanced budget plan forcing steep budget reductions in 1986 and future years until a balanced budget is achieved by 1991. This plan brought even more contentious debate and division within the Congress.

On trade, an explosion of pent-up back-home pressure forced this issue to the congressional center-stage as lawmakers returned from the August recess after listening to constituent outrage over lost jobs, padlocked plants and depressed communities. A labor-backed bill to limit textile imports was overwhelmingly approved by the House and Senate. But the vote margins were not good enough to stop a Presidential veto. Other labor-backed bills to modernize U.S. trade law still remain for 1986.

Action on other issues of importance to organized labor—labor standards, civil rights, the environment, aid to jobless workers and the poor—is detailed in the descriptions of the key votes contained inside. They are, however, only a snapshot of the broad public interest agenda of the AFL-CIO—the People's Lobby.

How Congress voted on these issues is of pocketbook importance to any union member's family, job, union and country as decision time nears in this year's election. We urge all union members to use this record accordingly.

For 1986 on Capitol Hill, much unfinished business remains on the congressional agenda. For labor, the success of lobbying in Washington depends upon the extent to which local union members are involved directly in the legislative process. In the final analysis—as the record shows—you are labor's best lobbying resource.

A REPORT ON 1985 CONGRESS

Major Issues in the House

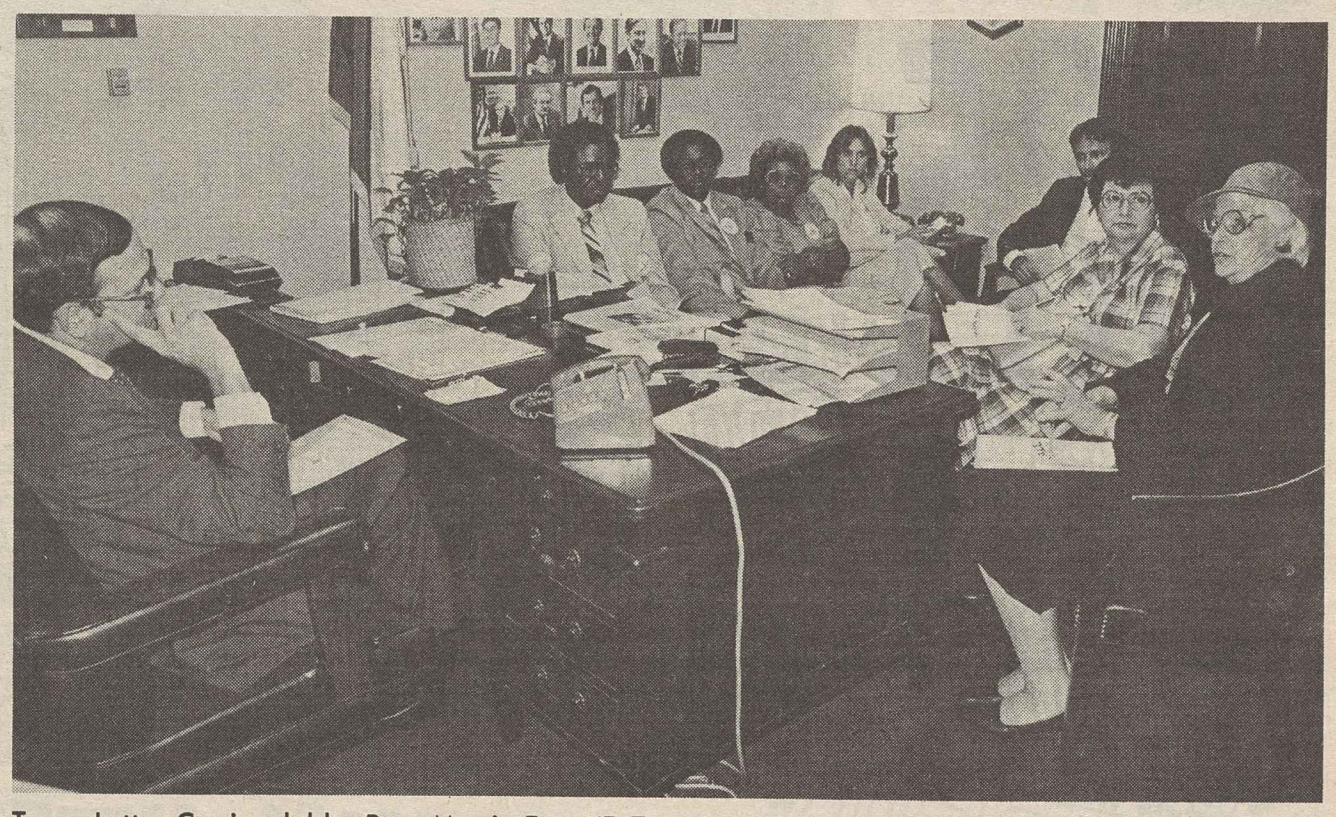
1. Plant Closing Protections for Workers, Communities I

Sudden plant closings have occurred with alarming frequency in this country throughout the past decade, often with no advance notice or community awareness. Between 1979 and 1984, five million workers were permanently displaced from their jobs by abrupt plant closings for which they received no warning. The impact on communities of a plant shutdown has been devastating in economic, social and personal terms. Workers who lose their jobs due to a plant closing are often unable to find reemployment or are forced to work at a fraction of their former wages. Family life is disrupted and mental and physical problems occur within these households. Studies have shown that the suicide rate among displaced workers is almost 30 times the national average. The incidence of heart disease, hypertension and other ailments is also much higher than normal.

To ease the pain of plant closings, the AFL-CIO supported legislation that would require employers of 50 workers or more to give three months advance notice before a permanent plant closing. The bill also required an employer to meet with representatives of the workers to discuss possible alternatives to the plant-closing plan. To enforce the new law the Secretary of Labor was: (1) directed to seek injunctive relief within 10 days if presented with reasonable cause to believe that an employer had ordered a plant closing in violation of this Act, (2) given authority to extend the notice period if the employer refused to meet, consult in good faith, or provide relevant information to the workers or their representatives, and (3) empowered to issue protective orders aimed at preventing the disclosure of information that would jeopardize the company's competitive interests.

To stop the bill, business groups unleashed a lobbying blitz on Capitol Hill and from back home. When the bill came to the House floor, right-wing Republicans, led by Rep. Steve Bartlett (R-Tex.), mounted the business-backed effort to defeat the legislation. A key vote came on an amendment by Bartlett to strike from the bill the advance consultation provision, which called for discussions between workers' union representatives and companies to seek out possible alternatives to plant closing. The provisions called only for talks and did not mandate a solution. By a 215-193 vote, on Nov. 14, the House approved the Bartlett amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right



Texas Letter Carriers lobby Rep. Martin Frost (D-Tex.) in support of preserving retirement benefits from federal budget cuts.

2. Plant Closing Protections for Workers, Communities II

The final plant closing bill would still have provided assistance to displaced workers by simply giving them sufficient notification to allow them time to adjust and to find new jobs. Studies had shown that advance notice reduces the period of a worker's unemployment, thus reducing the cost to taxpayers of unemployment insurance and other transfer payments. Communities also gain time to prepare for the ripple effects of a mass layoff. Advance notice can also result in adjustments by workers and communities which make a layoff unnecessary. Thus, at no cost to employers and with significant savings to taxpayers, the plant closing bill was an important step in providing the human decency that American workers deserve, while preserving the right of employers to make necessary business decisions. Despite the enormous hardship and trauma inflicted on workers, their families and their communities because of no-notice plant closings, the House by a 203-208 vote, on Nov. 21, turned its back on America's workers and rejected the plant closing bill.

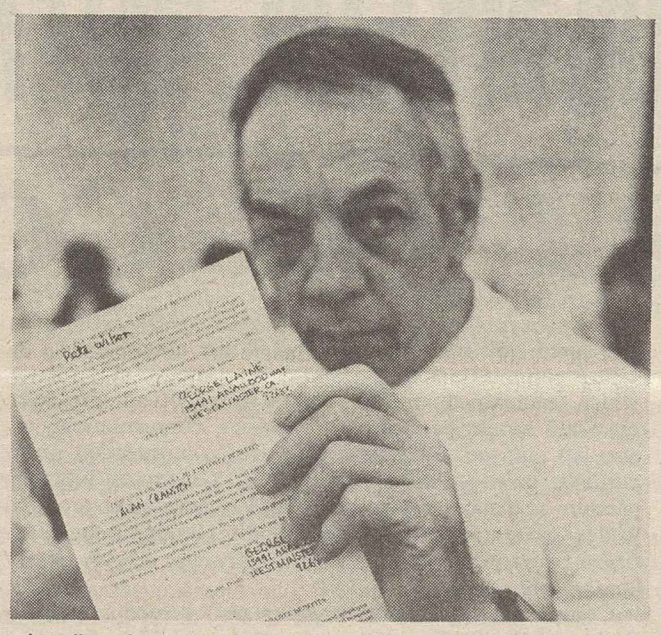
For—Right Against—Wrong

3. Saving U.S. Textile and Apparel Jobs

Public outcry over record-level U.S. trade deficits and the loss of American jobs to imports thrust the trade issue to the political center-stage in 1985. Congress responded by moving legislation to deal with an economic sector badly battered by the flood tide of low-wage imports—the textile and apparel industry. Despite trade agreements negotiated in 1974 to provide for orderly growth, textile imports have skyrocketed from 12 percent in the early 1970s to nearly 43 percent of the U.S. market by 1985. As a result, 300,000 jobs have disappeared since 1980. The textile share of the overall record-shattering $150 billion 1984 U.S. trade deficit was $16.2 billion or 13 percent of the total.

To better regulate textile imports, the AFL-CIO backed legislation to enforce the trade treaties originally negotiated in 1974. Limits on the rate of increase in exports to this nation would be established with advantages given to smaller, economically developing nations. Contrary to claims by importers that U.S. consumers would face higher prices, exhibits before Congress showed that men's, women's and children's garments cost no more when made in the U.S. The bill, which had strong bipartisan congressional support, was approved by the House by a 255-161 vote on Dec. 3. Despite this wide margin of support, President Reagan vetoed the bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong



The flood of post cards sent by union members to Capitol Hill helped defeat the employee benefits tax in the House.

4. Union Members' Political Rights

In recent years, the Supreme Court has handed down rulings stemming from suits filed by the anti-union National Right to Work Committee which severely limited the expenditure of union dues for certain activities. These activities included such legitimate and vital functions as lobbying, political action, judicial redress and even organizing.

In the 99th Congress, conservative Republicans tried to expand the scope of these Supreme Court decisions. During House consideration of a Treasury and Postal appropriations bill, Rep. Thomas Bliley (R-Va.) offered an amendment to force the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) to implement these decisions, even though the FEC does not have the statutory authority to interpret labor law decisions rendered under the Railway Labor Act or a state collective bargaining law or to determine what a union may or may not do with regard to state and local legislative and political activities. For these reasons the House agreed to a procedural motion by Rep. Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) which sidetracked the amendment as being non-germane. The Roybal motion was approved by a 233-186 vote on July 30.

For—Right Against—Wrong

5. Pay Equity for Women

Equal pay for work of comparable value is a major issue for the American labor movement. In recent years, labor's concern for pay equity has evidenced itself in legislative and judicial efforts to assure that women workers are not the victims of wage discrimination caused by pay classification plans which fail to compensate them adequately for their level of skills. In the House the AFL-CIO backed legislation sponsored by Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio) to advance the cause of pay equity for women at the federal level by providing for an independent study to determine whether the federal government salary structure undervalued jobs that are filled primarily by women. If a determination were made that pay discrimination existed, the Oakar bill required development of legislative proposals to close the pay gaps. Pay reductions in predominantly male occupations were specifically prohibited. By a 259-162 vote on Oct. 9, the House passed this labor-backed bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

6. Preserving Maritime Ships and Jobs

By 1985 the U.S. maritime fleet had become a relic of the once formidable force that had played such a key role in winning World War II. The merchant fleet, which had ranked second among global maritime powers in 1950, slid to a dismal 14th position by 1985. During these decades of neglect, thousands of U.S. jobs in seafaring and ship construction were lost to low-wage foreign "flags of convenience." The increasingly heavy reliance on foreign flag vessels for shipment of U.S. exports also contributed significantly to the record-level U.S. trade deficit and undermined U.S. security interests by jeopardizing defense sea-lift capabilities necessary to backstop the nation's global concerns.

In 1985 one of the few laws designed to assure a strong merchant marine—the 1954 Cargo Preference Act—became the target of agricultural exporters in the 99th Congress. Seeking to maximize profits at the expense of American maritime workers, the agricultural lobby sought to destroy this law, which requires that a minimum of 50 percent of all exports generated by federal programs, such as the "Food for Peace" foreign aid program, be carried on U.S. ships. During House debate on farm legislation, farm state conservatives led by Rep. Glenn English (D-Okla.) offered an amendment to exempt agricultural export credit programs from the cargo preference requirements. By a 179-245 vote, the House, on Oct. 3 rejected the English amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right

7. Rescuing a Railroad and Railroad Jobs

In 1970, when Congress established Amtrak to be a government-run national railroad passenger system, it recognized that a balanced transportation system was a critical national need—vital to commerce, freedom of movement and national defense. Amtrak now provides an important alternative to congested highways and airports, can carry more people more efficiently in all kinds of weather than any other mode of travel, and lessens America's dependence on the vagaries of the international oil market. Today the Amtrak system carries some 40 million passengers throughout 44 states.

The 1985 Reagan budget, however, proposed to eliminate completely all Amtrak subsidies. The elimination of this subsidy would have cost more than 25,000 railroad workers their jobs and wiped out intercity rail passenger service in the United States, with a particularly harsh impact in northeastern states. The proposed layoffs would have carried a federal government price tag of up to $2.1 billion severance pay—while the government would have taken an additional $5.2 billion financial loss in the sale or scrapping of Amtrak equipment. The House Public Works Committee rejected Reagan's proposal to destroy Amtrak and countered with a modest budget cutback of $13.5 million. However, during House debate on a transportation appropriations bill Rep. Bill Richardson (D-N.M.) offered an amendment to further cut Amtrak funding. By a 173-245 vote on Sept. 11, the House rejected the Richardson amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right

Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), chairman of the tax-writing House Ways & Means Committee confronts petitions and post cards supporting tax justice.

8. Sanitation for Farm Workers

In 1973, farm workers filed suit to force the Dept. of Labor's Occupational Health & Safety Administration (OSHA) to issue a field sanitation standard that would protect them from the physical ailments caused by prolonged job-site exposure to heat, pesticides and bacteria and provide access to decent sanitation facilities. Despite a 1975 U.S. District Court ruling in favor of the farm workers, 10 years later OSHA continues to refuse to promulgate a standard that would provide handwashing and toilet facilities and drinking water for workers in the field. Because of OSHA's continuing refusal to issue a field sanitation standard, Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.) offered an amendment to a 1985 farm bill that would require farms employing 10 or more workers to provide these sanitation facilities in order to be eligible for federal farm subsidies. Despite findings—undisputed even by OSHA—that due to the primitive working conditions, field laborers suffer high rates of infectious, parasitic and toxic diseases, the Miller amendment was rejected by a 199-227 vote on Oct. 8.

For—Right Against—Wrong

9. Battle for the '86 Budget Resolution I

As in previous years, the battle of the fiscal year 1986 budget turned into a slugfest between the Democratic-controlled House and the Republican-controlled Senate. With Senate Republicans bowing to President Reagan's demands to slash federal spending drastically, eliminate many popular domestic programs and cut social security benefits, the House countered with a more rational budget-reduction plan to reduce spending by some $56 billion while still protecting most programs, including social security. Rather than eliminate 13 federal programs as the Senate proposed, the House would phase out only revenue sharing. On budget cuts, the House alternative was a more balanced approach which froze spending for most government programs—including the defense budget for which the Senate would have actually allowed a significant increase.

When the Democratic budget alternative came to the House floor, conservative Republicans led by Rep. Delbert Latta (R-Ohio) offered a substitute bill that would have increased the Pentagon budget by $42 billion over the next three years, frozen federal workers' pay, eliminated several federal domestic programs and cut several others like social security. By a lopsided 102-329 vote on May 23 the House rejected the Latta substitute.

For—Wrong Against—Right

10. Battle for the '86 Budget Resolution II

Following the rejection of the Latta substitute and other substitute bills, the House adopted the Democratic alternative budget by a 258-170 vote on May 23. As a result of this action the House was able to position itself in conference on the budget bill to moderate the drastic federal program reductions contained in the Senate bill, prevent the elimination of 12 beneficial federal programs killed by the Senate, and retain cost-of-living adjustments for social security beneficiaries.

For—Right Against—Wrong

11. Gramm-Rudman Budget Amendment

Four years of bankrupt Reagan budgetary policies of steep tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations combined with large military funding increases came back to haunt the U.S. government in 1985 in the form of the highest budget deficit—$200 billion—in U.S. history. This dubious achievement—a budget deficit that exceeded the total accumulated deficits of every President from George Washington to Jimmy Carter—continued to take its toll on the economy's international competitiveness, as the huge budget deficit was a major cause of an overvalued dollar that priced U.S. goods out of foreign markets. Although the Administration eventually pushed through many deep program cuts, the deficit crisis worsened because the President refused either to raise taxes or to cut defense spending.

Late in the year, when the Senate had to consider a bill to raise the public debt to over $2 trillion, conservatives took advantage of a growing congressional concern over unyielding budget deficits to ram through a balanced budget mandate that will force huge cuts in certain domestic spending programs and the military budget as a way to erase the deficit by fiscal year 1990. The so-called Gramm-Rudman-Hollings balanced budget plan, named after its Senate sponsors, demanded massive multi-billion-dollar annual spending cuts for each of the next five years, threatening to wipe out scores of federal programs. The key vote on the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment in the House came when the conference agreement on the legislation to which it had been attached—a bill to increase the public debt—gained final approval from the House, 271-154, on Dec. 11.

For—Wrong Against—Right

12. Restoring Fair Corporate Taxes

The corporate share of tax revenues to operate the federal government has fallen steadily from 25 percent in 1960 to around 8.5 percent by 1985. As a result individuals—mostly working families—have been forced through higher tax rates to make up the difference. The deepest plunge in tax contributions to the federal government came as a result of the 1981 Reagan tax bill that cut corporate taxes by $170 billion over five years. In 1984, nearly 90,000 corporations paid no taxes at all. In fact, many corporations earning billions of dollars in profits in 1984 not only paid no taxes, but received hundreds of millions of dollars in handouts or in future write-offs from the federal government.

During floor deliberations on the federal budget bill to set spending and revenue-raising targets for fiscal 1986, Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio) offered a sense-of-the-House resolution calling on the tax-writing Ways & Means Committee to report out legislation imposing a minimum corporate tax. Her proposal was designed to force the committee to raise $25 billion annually in revenues to be used to cut taxes for individuals or to reduce the record-level federal budget deficit. By a 142-283 vote the House, on May 23, rejected taking even this symbolic step toward tax reform.

For—Right Against—Wrong

13. Jobs for Youth—A CCC Model

With youth unemployment running at nearly 30 percent, President Reagan in 1984 pocket-vetoed legislation to put jobless youth back to work on government-sponsored conservation projects. In 1985 the Democratic-controlled House resurrected the legislation, which was modeled after the successful Depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The House bill authorized a modest $75 million for three years. By a narrow 193-191 vote, on July 11, the House passed the legislation. The Senate thus far has taken no action on the bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

14. Fighting Racism in South Africa

Since 1958, the AFL-CIO has repeatedly expressed its outrage in Congress, international forums and elsewhere over the South African government's long-standing racist policy of apartheid. Under this system, black South Africans—who represent nearly 75 percent of the nation's population—endure a strictly enforced policy of racial discrimination and segregation that denies them basic human, political, economic and social rights. For trade unionists in South Africa, apartheid can be particularly brutal, denying workers the freedom of association necessary to improve wages and working conditions.

In 1985, the AFL-CIO endorsed legislation to impose a series of economic sanctions on South Africa to pressure that government to move toward reform and eventual elimination of apartheid. In the House, labor backed a bill introduced by Rep. Bill Gray (D-Pa.) which would have immediately banned any new commercial bank loans to South Africa and banned the sale of U.S. computers to the South African government. Two other sanctions—preventing U.S. companies from expanding their operations or making new investments in South Africa and prohibiting U.S. citizens from buying South African gold coins (Krugerrands)—would be phased in if the South African government did not move toward significant reform. The House by a 295-127 vote, on June 5, passed the anti-apartheid bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

15. Environmental Protection for Workers and Their Families I

In 1980, Congress recognized that abandoned toxic waste dumps are a major environmental and health hazard. In response, Congress created a "Superfund"—a $1.6 billion five-year cleanup plan to be administered by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in cooperation with affected states and local jurisdictions. However, under the Reagan Administration, the Superfund cleanup plan slowed to a crawl as a major scandal over mismanagement resulted in massive resignations within the Reagan-appointed EPA hierarchy.

The AFL-CIO strongly supported the Superfund reauthorization legislation that was brought to the House floor. Working with our allies in the environmental community, labor felt the legislation made great improvements in both current law and the Senate version of the bill, especially in the areas of adequate funding, mandatory cleanup schedules and standards, community right-to-know, and establishment of a new training function for on-site cleanup workers. One shortcoming of the original 1980 legislation which labor and environmental groups have tried to remedy was the failure to include a victims' compensation program. A study commissioned by the original 1980 cleanup law found that legal remedies available in state courts to victims of toxic wastes were inadequate. During House floor deliberations on a five-year $10 billion reauthorization of the Superfund program, Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) offered a labor-backed amendment to allow victims to sue in federal court those persons responsible for dumping toxic wastes. By a 162-261 vote on Dec. 10, the amendment was rejected.

For—Right Against—Wrong

16. Environmental Protection for Workers and Their Families II

A second controversy regarding the Superfund legislation concerned how funding would be provided to finance the multi-billion dollar cleanup effort. The House Ways & Means Committee had approved a funding formula which included a combination of taxes on polluters, general revenue funding and a value-added tax imposed on all manufactured goods. This excise tax would be levied on the sale of all manufactured goods at each stage of production, with a tax credit provided for those taxes previously paid by other manufacturers early in the production chain. But the bottom line was that the tax would be passed along to consumers. As such, the value-added tax was nothing more than a regressive national sales tax which, unlike the federal income tax system, would impose a levy on all consumers, regardless of their ability to pay.

During floor consideration of the bill, the AFL-CIO backed an alternative offered by Rep. Thomas Downey (D-N.Y.) which would strike the value-added tax and replace it with a provision to raise an equal amount of money through an increase in taxes on polluters responsible for toxic waste dump sites. By a 220-206 vote on Dec. 10, the House approved the Downey amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

17. Guarding Food Stamps for the Poor

A major supplemental benefit program to help feed the families of long-term jobless workers is the federal food stamp program. Today some 95 percent of food-stamp recipients live below the poverty line while half the food stamp beneficiaries are poor children. Long a target of conservatives, the program has been cut by some $7 billion since 1980, resulting in benefit cutbacks for thousands of beneficiaries while thousands more have lost benefits altogether. In 1985 the House Agriculture Committee reported an omnibus farm bill which included $1 billion more in food-stamp spending than was scheduled to be allocated over three years in order to restore benefits to the poor. House conservatives led by Rep. Bill Emerson (R-Mo.) countered with an amendment to cut $550 million over four years. By a 171-238 vote the House rejected the amendment on Oct. 7.

For—Wrong Against—Right

A REPORT ON CONGRESS 1985

How Your Members Voted

	1 Plant Closing I	2 Plant Closing II	3 Textile Trade	4 Union Political Rights	5 Pay Equity	6 Maritime	7 Rails	8 Field Sanitation	Total Labor Votes R	Total Labor Votes W	9 Budget I	10 Budget II	11 Gramm-Rudman	12 Taxes	13 Youth Jobs	14 Anti-Apartheid	15 Environment I	16 Environment II	17 Food Stamps	Cumulative Voting Record R	Cumulative Voting Record W	Cumulative Right Percentage
ALABAMA																						
1. Callahan (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	31	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	251	12
2. Dickinson (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	31	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	251	12
3. Nichols (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	31	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	251	12
4. Bevill (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	31	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	251	12
5. Flippo (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	31	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	251	12
6. Erdreich (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	31	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	251	12
7. Shelby (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	31	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	251	12
ALASKA																						
AL Young (R)	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	5	3	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	85	122	41
ARIZONA																						
1. McCain (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	39	17
2. Udall (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	39	17
3. Stump (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	39	17
4. Rudd (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	39	17
5. Kolbe (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	39	17
ARKANSAS																						
1. Alexander (D)	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	84	6	93
2. Robinson (D)	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	84	6	93
3. Hammerschmidt (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	84	6	93
4. Anthony (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	84	6	93
CALIFORNIA																						
1. Bosco (D)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
2. Chappie (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
3. Matsui (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
4. Fazio (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
5. Burton, J. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
6. Boxer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
7. Miller, G. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
8. Dellums (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
9. Stark (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
10. Edwards, D. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
11. Lantos (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
12. Zschau (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
13. Mineta (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
14. Shumway (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
15. Coelho (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
16. Panetta (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
17. Pashayan (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
18. Lehman, R. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
19. Lagomarsino(R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
20. Thomas, W. (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
21. Fiedler (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
22. Moorhead (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
23. Beilenson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
24. Waxman (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
25. Roybal (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
26. Berman (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
27. Levine (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
28. Dixon (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
29. Hawkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
30. Martinez (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
31. Dymally (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
32. Anderson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
33. Dreier (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
34. Torres (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
35. Lewis, J. (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
36. Brown, G. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
37. Hayes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
38. Dornan (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
39. Dannemeyer(R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
40. Badham (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
41. Lowery (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
42. Lungren (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
43. Packard (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
44. Bates (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
45. Hunter (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	13	72
COLORADO																						
1. Schroeder (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	3	5	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	166	59	74
2. Wirth (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	153	49	76
3. Strang (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	76	9
4. Brown, H. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	16	98	14
5. Kramer (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	39	9
6. Schaefer (R)	W	W	R	W	A	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	18	61	23
CONNECTICUT																						
1. Kennedy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	59	7	88
2. Gejdenson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	77	7	88
3. Morrison, B. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	42	4	88
4. McKinney, J.(R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	5	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	98	1
5. Rowland, J.G. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	7	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	17	96	3
6. Johnson (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	7	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	17	96	3
DELAWARE																						
AL Carper (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	30	17	64
FLORIDA																						
1. Hutto (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	42	76	36
2. Fuqua (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	4	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	105	178	37
3. Bennett (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	7	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	163	193	46
4. Chappell (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	3	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	95	167	34
5. McCollum (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	74	8
6. MacKay (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	24	134	15
7. Gibbons (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	5	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	139	215	39
8. Young, C. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	35	215	14
9. Bilirakis (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	24	128	16
10. Ireland (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	44	75	13
11. Nelson (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	40	15
12. Lewis, T. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	41	13
13. Mack (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	64	53	11
14. Mica (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	74	5
15. Shaw (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	42	49	7
16. Smith, L. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	191	76	71
17. Lehman, W. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	28	98	22
18. Pepper (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	19	39	9
19. Fascell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	277	59	82
GEORGIA																						
1. Thomas, L. (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	3	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	59	77	42
2. Hatcher (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	77	42	64
3. Ray (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	4	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	42	132	24
4. Swindall (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	7	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	12	97	11
5. Fowler (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	7	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	94	2
6. Gingrich (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	98	1
7. Darden (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	7	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	98	1
8. Rowland (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	13	94	4
9. Jenkins (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	5	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	26	96	3
10. Barnard (D)	W	W	R	W	A	R	W	W	3	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	56	120	7
HAWAII																						
1. Heftel (D)	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	103	47	69
2. Akaka (D)	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	139	24	85
IDAHO																						
1. Craig (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	77	6
2. Stallings (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	79	8
ILLINOIS																						
1. Hayes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	39	7	85
2. Savage (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	72	7	85
3. Russo (D)	R	R	R	A	A	R	A	A	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	162	42	79
4. O'Brien (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	50	130	28
5. Lipinski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	42	35	54
6. Hyde (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	35	200	15
7. Collins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	14	271	5
8. Rostenkowski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	20	310	6
9. Yates (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	40	27	92
INDIANA																						
1. Visclosky (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	12	148	7
2. Sharp (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	5	60	7
3. Hiler (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	77	6
4. Coats (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	72	6
5. Hillis (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	72	6
6. Burton, D. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	72	6
7. Myers (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	72	6
8. McCloskey (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	40	9
9. Hamilton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	40	9
10. Jacobs (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	40	9
IOWA																						
1. Leach (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	4	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	158	84	65
2. Tauke (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	4	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	10	6	63
3. Evans (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	4	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	41	230	15
4. Smith, N. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	60	56	52
5. Lightfoot (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	14	141	9
6. Bedell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	16	9
KANSAS																						
1. Roberts (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	276	7	97
2. Slattery (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	42	14
3. Meyers (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	197	110	94
4. Glickman (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	20	98	17
5. Whittaker (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	20	98	17
KENTUCKY																						
1. Hubbard (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	4	3	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	184	8	96
2. Natcher (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	107	7
3. Mazzoli (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	107	83	56
4. Snyder (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	98	20	83
5. Rogers (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	115	47	71
6. Hopkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	27	90	23
7. Perkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	41	5	89
LOUISIANA																						
1. Livingston (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	267	11	96
2. Boggs (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	56	3	94
3. Tauzin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	3	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	66	5	93
4. Roemer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	3	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	219	42	84
5. Huckaby (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	3	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	80	1
6. Moore (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	46	1	98
7. Breaux (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	3	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	226	9	96
8. Long (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	3	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	1	98
MAINE																						
1. McKernan (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	3	5	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	5	37
2. Snowe (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	3	5	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	3	63
MARYLAND																						
1. Dyson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	114	77	59
2. Bentley (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	114	4
3. Mikulski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	2	44	4
4. Holt (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	16	44	27
5. Hoyer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	35	14	71
6. Byron (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	2	83	2
7. Mitchell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	44	61	42
8. Barnes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	18	61	23
MASSACHUSETTS																						
1. Conte (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	166	59	74
2. Boland (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	153	49	76
3. Early (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	76	9
4. Frank (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	16	98	14
5. Atkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	39	9
6. Mavroules (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	18	61	23
7. Markey (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	159	10	73
8. O'Neill (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	27	55	33
9. Moakley (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	55	63	22
10. Studds (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	63	116	28
11. Donnelly (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	116	45	72
MICHIGAN																						
1. Conyers (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	4	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	45	18	71
2. Pursell (R)	A	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	1	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	18	79	19
3. Wolpe (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	79	35	69
4. Siljander (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	16	94	15
5. Henry (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	94	1
6. Carr (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	94	1
7. Kildee (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	94	1
8. Traxler (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	94	1
9. Schuette (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	94	1
10. Davis (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	94	1
11. Bonior (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	94	1
12. Crockett (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	94	1
13. Hertel (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	94	1
14. Ford, W. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	94	1
15. Dingell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	94	1
16. Levin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	94	1
17. Broomfield (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	94	1
MINNESOTA																						
1. Penny (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	26	73	26
2. Weber (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	1	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	39	15
3. Frenzel (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	1	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	39	209	16
4. Vento (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	149	13	92
5. Sabo (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	109	12	90
6. Sikorski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	44	12	94
7. Stangeland (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	17	145	10
8. Oberstar (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	189	15	93
MISSISSIPPI																						
1. Whitten (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	238	23	91
2. Espy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	68	82	45
3. Montgomery (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	109	12	90
4. Dowdy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	71	8
5. Lott (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	152	32	82
MISSOURI																						
1. Clay (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	177	11	94
2. Young (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	43	31	85
3. Gephardt (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	223	16
4. Skelton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	64	16	54
5. Wheat (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	147	13	92
6. Coleman (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	73	54	57
7. Taylor (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	265	6	97
8. Emerson (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	266	9	97
9. Volkmer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	42	25	89
MONTANA																						
1. Williams (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	52	5	90
2. Marlenee (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	189	207	20
NEBRASKA																						
1. Bereuter (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	26	21	55
2. Daub (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	73	9
3. Smith (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	39	209	16
NEVADA																						
1. Reid (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	109	13	89
2. Vucanovich (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	6	2

...n the U.S. House of Representatives

MISSISSIPPI

	1 Plant Closing I	2 Plant Closing II	3 Textile Trade	4 Union Political Rights	5 Pay Equity	6 Maritime	7 Rails	8 Field Sanitation	Total Labor Votes R	Total Labor Votes W	9 Budget I	10 Budget II	11 Gramm-Rudman	12 Taxes	13 Youth Jobs	14 Anti-Apartheid	15 Environment I	16 Environment II	17 Food Stamps	Cumulative Voting Record R	Cumulative Voting Record W	Cumulative Right Percentage
1. Whitten (D)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	5	3	R	R	R	W	R	R	A	R	R	134	211	39
2. Franklin (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	42	9
3. Montgomery(D)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	33	238	12
4. Dowdy (D)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	5	3	R	R	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	58	16	78
5. Lott (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	31	193	14

MISSOURI

1. Clay (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	226	12	95
2. Young, R. (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	W	7	1	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	A	119	38	76
3. Gephardt (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	128	34	79
4. Skelton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	6	2	R	R	W	W	A	R	W	R	W	100	55	65
5. Wheat (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	46	1	98
6. Coleman, E. (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	6	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	30	131	19
7. Taylor (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	26	200	12
8. Emerson (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	2	6	R	R	W	W	R	A	W	W	W	16	65	20
9. Volkmer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	6	2	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	107	53	67

MONTANA

1. Williams P. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	103	15	87
2. Marlenee (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	7	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	33	122	21

NEBRASKA

1. Bereuter (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	21	100	17
2. Daub (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	12	70	15
3. Smith, V. (R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	21	186	10

NEVADA

1. Reid (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	41	6	87
2. Vucanovich (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	A	W	W	R	W	3	43	7

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1. Smith, R. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	14	18
2. Gregg (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	11	71	13

NEW JERSEY

1. Florio (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	184	18	91
2. Hughes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	151	56	73
3. Howard (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	257	16	94
4. Smith, C. (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	54	28	66
5. Roukema (R)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	3	5	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	20	62	24
6. Dwyer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	78	4	95
7. Rinaldo (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	A	181	44	80
8. Roe (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	227	24	90
9. Torricelli (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	40	4	91
10. Rodino (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	322	18	95
11. Gallo (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	5	12	29
12. Courter (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	3	5	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	25	89	22
13. Saxton (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	2	15	12
14. Guarini (D)	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	109	11	91

NEW MEXICO

1. Lujan (R)	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	3	5	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	54	192	22
2. Skeen (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	75	9
3. Richardson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	7	1	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	41	6	87

NEW YORK

1. Carney (R)	W	W	A	A	W	R	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	20	97	17
2. Downey (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	178	25	88
3. Mrazek (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	A	40	6	87
4. Lent (R)	W	W	R	W	A	R	R	W	3	4	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	72	172	30
5. McGrath (R)	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	4	4	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	24	55	30
6. Addabbo (D)	A	A	A	R	A	A	R	A	1	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	284	19	94
7. Ackerman (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	43	1	98
8. Scheuer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	250	22	92
9. Manton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	7	0	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	13	3	81
10. Schumer (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	A	72	4	95
11. Towns (D)	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	A	R	W	R	A	42	1	98
12. Owens (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	44	0	100
13. Solarz (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	180	22	89
14. Molinari (R)	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	3	5	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	17	61	22
15. Green (R)	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	3	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	76	63	55
16. Rangel (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	229	16	93
17. Weiss (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	149	13	92
18. Garcia (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	126	6	95
19. Biaggi (D)	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	223	33	87
20. DioGuardi (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	3	5	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	6	11	35
21. Fish (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	A	W	A	W	R	W	R	R	116	140	45
22. Gilman (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	161	66	71
23. Stratton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	7	1	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	242	69	78
24. Soloman (R)	W	W	R	W	A	R	R	W	2	5	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	23	93	20
25. Boehlert (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	6	2	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	27	20	57
26. Martin, D. (R)	A	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	3	4	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	A	19	59	24
27. Wortley (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	2	6	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	17	64	21
28. McHugh (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	164	37	82
29. Horton (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	7	1	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	195	102	66
30. Eckert (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	16	6
31. Kemp (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	7	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	43	200	18
32. LaFalce (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	168	34	83
33. Nowak (D)	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	189	20	90
34. Lundine (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	A	143	32	82

NORTH CAROLINA

1. Jones, W. (D)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	121	143	46
2. Valentine (D)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	18	29	38
3. Whiteney (D)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	R	W	W	A	R	W	R	R	77	83	48
4. Cobey (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	16	6
5. Neal (D)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	3	5	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	98	99	50
6. Coble (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	15	12
7. Rose (D)	W	A	R	W	R	W	R	R	4	3	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	130	82	61
8. Hefner (D)	W	W	R	A	R	W	R	R	4	3	R	R	W	W	A	R	W	W	R	101	99	51
9. McMillan (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	16	6
10. Broyhill (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	26	270	9
11. Hendon (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	15	12

NORTH DAKOTA

AL Dorgan (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	W	5	3	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	58	22	73

OHIO

1. Luken (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	6	2	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	130	41	76
2. Gradison (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	A	A	W	A	W	A	W	W	R	30	171	15
3. Hall, T. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	94	22	81
4. Oxley (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	71	7
5. Latta (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	40	284	12
6. McEwen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	14	68	17
7. DeWine (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	7	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	6	41	13
8. Kindness (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	27	177	13
9. Kaptur (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	7	1	R	R	W	A	R	R	R	R	R	40	5	89
10. Miller, C. (R)	W	W	A	W	W	W	A	W	0	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	A	W	33	243	12
11. Eckart (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	71	11	87
12. Kasich (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	0	8	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	6	41	13
13. Pease (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	134	29	82
14. Seiberling (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	6	2	R	A	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	220	27	89
15. Wylie (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	2	6	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	62	209	23
16. Regula (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	3	5	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	74	159	32
17. Traficant (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	17	0	100
18. Applegate (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	6	2	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	117	46	72
19. Feighan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	40	7	85
20. Oakar (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	148	12	93
21. Stokes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	231	14	94

OKLAHOMA

1. Jones J. (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	2	6	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	101	120	46
2. Synar (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	3	5	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	70	50	58
3. Watkins (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	3	5	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	67	103	39
4. McCurdy (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	2	6	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	32	45	42
5. Edwards, M. (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	A	W	A	W	W	W	12	147	8
6. English (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	58	150	28

OREGON

1. AuCoin (D)	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	3	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	139	61	70
2. Smith, R. (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	42	11
3. Wyden (D)	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	3	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	66	16	80
4. Weaver (D)	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	173	26	87
5. Smith, D. (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	5	75	6

PENNSYLVANIA

1. Foglietta (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	76	3	96
2. Gray (D)	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	112	4	97
3. Borski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	44	2	96
4. Kolter (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	7	1	R	W	R	W	A	R	W	W	R	39	6	87
5. Schulze (R)	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	W	3	5	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	37	163	19
6. Yatron (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	7	1	R	W	W	W	A	R	W	R	R	207	49	81
7. Edgar (D)	A	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	176	21	89
8. Kostmayer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	7	0	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	108	19	85
9. Shuster (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	2	6	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	35	188	16
10. McDade (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	7	0	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	197	97	67
11. Kanjorski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	7	1	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	13	4	76
12. Murtha (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	178	36	83
13. Coughlin (R)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	6	2	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	88	174	34
14. Coyne (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	77	5	94
15. Ritter (R)	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	5	3	R	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	37	81	31
16. Walker (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	27	136	17
17. Gekas (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	2	6	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	8	39	17
18. Walgren (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	W	R	132	28	83
19. Goodling (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	49	146	25
20. Gaydos (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	7	1	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	222	26	90
21. Ridge (R)	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	5	3	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	21	26	45
22. Murphy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	126	33	79
23. Clinger (R)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	6	2	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	41	77	35

RHODE ISLAND

1. St Germain (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	267	32	89
2. Schneider (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	6	2	A	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	52	26	67

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. HARNETT (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	73	9
2. Spence (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	34	218	13
3. Derrick (D)	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	W	3	5	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	109	92	54
4. Campbell (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	107	7
5. Spratt (D)	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	3	5	R	R	W	W	W	A	W	W	R	23	22	51
6. Tallon (D)	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	4	4	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	28	18	61

SOUTH DAKOTA

AL Daschle (D)	R	A	W	R	R	W	W	R	4	3	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	A	85	31	73

TENNESSEE

1. Quillen (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	44	245	15
2. Duncan (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	55	237	19
3. Lloyd (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	6	2	R	R	W	R	A	R	W	R	R	117	89	57
4. Cooper (D)	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	4	4	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	30	16	65
5. Boner (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	6	2	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	A	R	95	21	82
6. Gordon (D)	R	R	R	A	R	W	W	W	4	3	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	10	6	63
7. Sundquist (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	6	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	38	17
8. Jones, E. (D)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	3	5	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	154	94	62
9. Ford, H. (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	183	17	92

TEXAS

1. Chapman (D)	W	W	R	*	W	W	A	W	1	5	*	*	W	*	*	*	W	W	R	2	8	20
2. Wilson (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	W	R	R	A	W	W	R	137	77	64
3. Bartlett (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	45	4
4. Hall, R. (D)	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	3	5	R	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	R	30	50	38
5. Bryant (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	43	4	91
6. Barton (R)	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	0	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	16	0
7. Archer (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	13	241	5
8. Fields (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	76	7
9. Brooks (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	W	R	245	86	74
10. Pickle (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	4	4	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	150	138	52
11. Leath (D)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	1	7	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	27	88	23
12. Wright (D)	R	R	R	R	A	A	R	W	6	0	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	237	80	75
13. Boulter (R)	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	0	7	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	0	16	0
14. Sweeney (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	0	17	0
15. De la Garza (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	160	114	58
16. Coleman, R. (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	6	1	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	38	8	83
17. Stenholm (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	2	7	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	18	100	15
18. Leland (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	106	6	95
19. Combest (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	0	17	0
20. Gonzalez (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	8	0	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	273	30	90
21. Loeffler (R)	W	W	R	A	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	A	10	109	8
22. DeLay (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	17	0
23. Bustamante (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	15	2	88
24. Frost (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	89	27	77
25. Andrews, M. (D)	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	4	4	R	R	W	W	A	W	W	R	R	27	19	59
26. Armey (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	0	17	0
27. Ortiz (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	41	6	87

UTAH

1. Hansen J. (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	72	5
2. Monsonn (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	15	12
3. Nielson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	44	4

VERMONT

AL Jeffords (R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	5	3	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	93	109	46

VIRGINIA

1. Bateman (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	44	4
2. Whitehurst (R)	A	W	A	W	R	R	W	W	2	4	W	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	38	215	15
3. Bliley (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	3	5	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	9	73	11
4. Sisisky (D)	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	4	4	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	29	18	62
5. Daniel (D)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	2	6	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	30	34	47
6. Olin (D)	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	3	5	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	23	23	50
7. Slaughter (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	2	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	15	12
8. Parris (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	3	5	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	20	59	25
9. Boucher (D)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	4	4	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	34	13	72
10. Wolf (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	7	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	12	69	15

WASHINGTON

1. Miller J. (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	7	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	4	13	24
2. Swift (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	100	21	83
3. Bonker (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	6	1	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	159	34	82
4. Morrison S. (R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	1	7	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	18	63	22
5. Foley (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	6	2	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	225	59	79
6. Dicks (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R

A REPORT ON 1985 CONGRESS

How Your Senators Voted

	Textile Trade	Davis-Bacon	Maritime	Rails	Jobless Benefits I	Jobless Benefits II	Total Labor Votes		Postal Rates	Jobs	Immigration	Budget	Gramm-Rudman	Line Item Veto	Taxes	Education	Social Security	Medicare	Food Stamps	Revenue Sharing	Anti-Apartheid	Environment	Endowment	Cumulative Voting Record		Cumulative Right Percentage
	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	R	W	%
ALABAMA																										
Heflin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	5	1	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	77	51	60
Denton (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	A	9	81	10
ALASKA																										
Murkowski (R)	W	R	R	W	A	A	2	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	18	70	20
Stevens (R)	W	R	R	W	A	W	2	3	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	103	138	43
ARIZONA																										
DeConcini (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	3	3	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	96	61	61
Goldwater (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	A	23	237	9
ARKANSAS																										
Bumpers (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	3	3	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	133	71	65
Pryor (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	3	3	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	78	51	60
CALIFORNIA																										
Cranston (D)	W	R	R	W	R	R	4	2	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	A		220	20	92
Wilson (R)	W	W	R	A	W	W	1	4	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	R	A	W	R	4	41	9
COLORADO																										
Hart (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	161	35	82
Armstrong (R)	W	W	W	W	A	A	0	4	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	123	1
CONNECTICUT																										
Dodd (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	84	2	98
Weicker (R)	R	R	R	R	W	W	4	2	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	147	83	64
DELAWARE																										
Biden (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	174	44	80
Roth (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	2	4	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	46	204	18
FLORIDA																										
Chiles (D)	A	R	R	R	W	W	3	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	132	116	53
Hawkins (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	3	3	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	A	R	W	W	R	28	59	32
GEORGIA																										
Nunn (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	90	153	37
Mattingly (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	85	8
HAWAII																										
Inouye (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	230	29	89
Matsunaga (D)	W	R	R	R	W	W	3	3	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R		137	25	85
IDAHO																										
Symms (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	84	2
McClure (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	20	199	9
ILLINOIS																										
Dixon (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	5	1	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	71	21	77
Simon (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	20	1	95
INDIANA																										
Quayle (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	9	82	10
Lugar (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	18	151	11
IOWA																										
Grassley (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	5	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	15	78	16
Harkin (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	19	2	90
KANSAS																										
Dole (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	42	210	17
Kassebaum (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W		26	100	21
KENTUCKY																										
Ford (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	4	2	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	153	54	74
McConnell (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	2	19	10
LOUISIANA																										
Johnston (D)	R	W	R	W	R	R	4	2	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R		96	115	45
Long (D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	4	2	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	162	156	51
MAINE																										
Mitchell (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	4	2	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	88	15	85
Cohen (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	A	50	78	39
MARYLAND																										
Sarbanes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	160	4	98
Mathias (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	W	R	R	R	A	R	W	R	R	W	R	A	R	R	R	180	65	73
MASSACHUSETTS																										
Kennedy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	253	18	93
Kerry (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	20	1	95
MICHIGAN																										
Levin (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	5	1	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	124	7	95
Riegle (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	5	1	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	154	10	94
MINNESOTA																										
Boschwitz (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	20	112	15
Durenberger (R)	W	R	W	R	A	A	2	2	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	49	71	41
MISSISSIPPI																										
Stennis (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	3	3	R	R	A	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	A	W	95	229	29
Cochran (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	19	109	15
MISSOURI																										
Eagleton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	W	R	R	R	219	31	88
Danforth (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R		46	122	27
MONTANA																										
Baucus (D)	W	R	R	R	W	R	4	2	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	W	96	31	76
Melcher (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		135	30	82
NEBRASKA																										
Exon (D)	W	W	R	A	W	W	1	4	A	W	W	A	R	W	A	A	A	A	R	R	R	R	W	46	73	39
Zorinsky (D)	W	W	R	R	W	W	2	4	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	57	114	33

	Textile Trade	Davis-Bacon	Maritime	Rails	Jobless Benefits I	Jobless Benefits II	Total Labor Votes		Postal Rates	Jobs	Immigration	Budget	Gramm-Rudman	Line Item Veto	Taxes	Education	Social Security	Medicare	Food Stamps	Revenue Sharing	Anti-Apartheid	Environment	Endowment	Cumulative Voting Record		Cumulative Right Percentage
	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	R	W	%
NEVADA																										
Hecht (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	47	4
Laxalt (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	W	R	20	176	10
NEW HAMPSHIRE																										
Rudman (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	18	73	20
Humphrey (R)	W	W	W	W	A	A	0	4	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	8	117	6
NEW JERSEY																										
Bradley (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	111	18	86
Lautenberg (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	5	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	45	3	94
NEW MEXICO																										
Domenici (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	50	174	22
Bingaman (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	4	2	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	43	6	88
NEW YORK																										
Moynihan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	153	11	93
D'Amato (R)	R	R	R	R	R	W	5	1	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	37	54	41
NORTH CAROLINA																										
East (R)	R	A	W	A	W	W	1	3	A	W	W	A	W	W	A	A	A	A	W	W	A	A	A	3	80	4
Helms (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	17	214	7
NORTH DAKOTA																										
Burdick (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	260	49	84
Andrews (R)	W	R	R	R	W	W	3	3	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	A	R	41	50	45
OHIO																										
Glenn (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	158	41	79
Metzenbaum (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	165	11	94
OKLAHOMA																										
Boren (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	5	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	A	W	51	78	40
Nickles (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	90	2
OREGON																										
Hatfield (R)	W	W	R	W	A	A	1	3	W	R	A	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	126	127	50
Packwood (R)	W	R	R	W	W	W	2	4	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	112	141	44
PENNSYLVANIA																										
Heinz (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	104	59	64
Specter (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	59	34	63
RHODE ISLAND																										
Pell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	280	21	93
Chafee (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	1	5	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	W		77	90	46
SOUTH CAROLINA																										
Hollings (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	3	3	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W		141	117	55
Thurmond (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	1	5	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R		37	301	11
SOUTH DAKOTA																										
Abdnor (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R		23	71	24
Pressler (R)	W	A	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R		39	75	34
TENNESSEE																										
Sasser (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	5	1	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	126	36	78
Gore (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	5	1	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	18	3	86
TEXAS																										
Bentsen (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	R	A	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	A	121	115	51
Gramm (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	21	0
UTAH																										
Garn (R)	R	W	R	W	A	A	2	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	21	186	10
Hatch (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	2	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	17	146	10
VERMONT																										
Leahy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	174	35	83
Stafford (R)	W	R	R	R	W	W	3	3	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	136	100	58
VIRGINIA																										
Trible (R)	R	W	R	A	W	W	2	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	6	42	13
Warner (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	3	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	18	114	14
WASHINGTON																										
Evans (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	7	31	18
Gorton (R)	W	W	R	W	R	R	3	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	19	74	20
WEST VIRGINIA																										
Byrd (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	237	98	71
Rockefeller (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	19	2	90
WISCONSIN																										
Kasten (R)	R	W	W	W	W	R	2	4	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	18	74	20
Proxmire (D)	R	R	W	W	W	W	2	4	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	221	114	66
WYOMING																										
Simpson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	8	121	6
Wallop (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	15	150	9

Key to Symbols

R Voted Right or was paired Right.

W Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong.

A Absent and not paired or voted "present."

A REPORT ON 1985 CONGRESS

Major Issues in the Senate

1. Saving U.S. Textile and Apparel Jobs

Along with many other U.S. economic sectors, the textile and apparel industry has been badly battered by the flood tide of imports. Despite trade agreements negotiated in 1974 to provide for orderly growth, textile imports exploded from 12 percent of the U.S. market in 1973 to 43 percent today. As a result, since 1980, 300,000 jobs have disappeared in this industry alone. The textile share of the record-shattering $150 billion 1985 U.S. trade deficit was $16.2 billion or 11 percent of the total. To restore order to the textile import market, the AFL-CIO backed legislation to enforce the textile trade treaty originally negotiated in 1974. Limits on the rate of increase in exports to this nation would be established with advantages given to smaller, economically developing nations. Contrary to claims by importers and retailers that U.S. consumers would face higher prices, exhibits before Congress showed that men's, women's and children's garments cost no more when made in the U.S. The bill, which had strong bipartisan congressional support, was approved by the Senate by an overwhelming 60-39 vote on Nov. 13. Despite this clear margin of support, President Reagan vetoed the bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

2. Protecting Fair Wages for Construction Workers

The 1931 Davis-Bacon Act insures that workers on federally financed construction projects will be paid at wage rates that prevail in their area of the country. For over 50 years this law has assured that contractors who uphold community labor standards have a fair chance to compete for government projects without being undercut by firms using cut-rate labor. It has also protected the government and taxpayers from fly-by-night operators seeking to win federal contracts by paying wages too low to attract competent craftsmen. During 1985 debate on a Defense Dept. authorization bill, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) offered an amendment to delete from the bill a committee-approved provision sponsored by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) to exempt military construction projects from the fair-wage standards of the Davis-Bacon law. By a tie 49-49 vote on June 4, the Republican-controlled Senate rejected the Kennedy amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

3. Preserving Maritime Ships and Jobs

By 1985 the U.S. maritime fleet had become a relic of the once-formidable force that played such a key role in winning World War II. The U.S. merchant fleet which had ranked second among global maritime powers in 1950, slid to a dismal 14th position by 1985. During these decades of neglect, thousands of U.S. merchant marine jobs in seafaring and ship construction were lost to low-wage foreign "flags of convenience." Further, the increasingly heavy reliance on foreign flag vessels for shipment of U.S. exports contributed significantly to the record-level U.S. trade deficit. The absence of a cohesive U.S. maritime policy has been the chief culprit in the decline of our merchant marine, which in turn poses a serious threat to U.S. security by jeopardizing defense sea-lift capabilities necessary to backstop the nation's global concerns.

One of the few laws designed to assure a strong merchant marine—the 1954 Cargo Preference Act—became the target of agricultural exporters in 1985. Seeking to maximize profits at the expense of American workers, the agricultural lobby sought to destroy this law, which requires that a minimum of 50 percent of all exports generated by federal programs, such as the "Food for Peace" foreign aid program, be carried on U.S. ships. During Senate debate on farm legislation, farm state conservatives sought to weaken existing cargo preference requirements. Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) successfully detoured this assault by offering a compromise amendment to exempt government-generated commercial agricultural exports from cargo preference requirements while requiring that 75 percent of government-donated exports be covered by cargo preference. A string of court decisions had already undermined application of cargo preference requirements to commercial cargos. By a 70-30 vote on Oct. 29 the Senate agreed to the Stevens amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

4. Rescuing a Railroad and Railroad Jobs

In 1970 when Congress established Amtrak to be a government-run national railroad passenger system, it recognized that a balanced transportation system was a critical national need—vital to commerce, freedom of movement and national defense. Amtrak now provides an important alternative to congested highways and airports, can carry more people more efficiently in all kinds of weather than any other mode of travel and lessens America's dependence on the vagaries of the international oil market. Today the Amtrak system carries some 40 million passengers throughout 44 states.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland accompanied by Legislative Director Ray Denison, left, and Research Director Rudy Oswald testify at Senate Finance Committee hearing in opposition to tax on employee benefits.

The 1985 Reagan budget, however, proposed to eliminate completely all Amtrak subsidies. The elimination of this subsidy would have cost more than 25,000 railroad workers their jobs and wiped out intercity rail passenger service in the United States, with a particularly harsh impact in northeastern states. The proposed layoffs would have carried a federal government price tag of up to $2.1 billion severance pay, while the government would have taken an additional $5.2 billion financial loss in the sale or scrapping of Amtrak equipment. During Senate debate on the budget bill, Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) offered an amendment to restore federal Amtrak funding to a level of 90 percent of 1986 spending—$616 million. By a 53-41 vote on May 9, the Senate agreed to the Specter amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

5. Saving Jobless Benefits for the Unemployed I

With unemployment exceeding seven percent for most of 1985 and more than 11 million workers unemployed or underemployed, the AFL-CIO supported legislative efforts to extend the federal program of supplemental unemployment benefits (FSB) for six months. For many of the longest-term unemployed, this federal benefit program—available after regular state jobless compensation is exhausted—protects against eviction from homes, hunger and even the breakup of families by providing up to 14 weeks of additional benefits. Without the extension, over 400,000 jobless workers and their families faced a cut off from extended benefits if the federal program terminated on its expiration date of Mar. 31, 1985. Despite the high rate of joblessness, President Reagan threatened to veto any extension of the federal benefit program, seeking instead an immediate cut-off of benefits. During Senate debate on the legislation to phase out the FSB program, Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) sponsored an amendment to provide a six-month extension of the federal supplemental program. With the President promising to make good on his veto threat, the Senate rejected the Specter amendment by a 34-58 vote on Apr. 3.

For—Right Against—Wrong

6. Saving Jobless Benefits for the Unemployed II

In a second key vote on unemployment benefits, Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) tried to liberalize extended jobless benefits. This program targets an extra 13 weeks of compensation to jobless workers in those states with unemployment rates in excess of 6 percent. However, restrictions imposed on the program since 1981 allowed only three states to qualify for extended benefits as of April 1985. Levin's amendment would have allowed states to provide these federally funded benefits if their unemployment rate exceeded 5 percent instead of the 6 percent rate contained in the existing law. By a 32-62 vote, on Apr. 3, the Senate killed the Levin amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

7. Stopping Postage Rate Increases for Union Journals

Since 1972, postal rates for the publications of non-profit groups such as unions and churches have skyrocketed by over 1,200 percent. By 1987, the rates will have increased by another 1,400 percent. As a result of these increasing costs, more than 100 union newspapers have been forced out of business while hundreds more have had to curtail the frequency of their publication. This, in turn, has restricted the ability of unions to communicate with their members. In 1985, the Reagan Administration recommended that $1.4 billion be cut from this federal subsidy. The result would be another increase in postage rates in excess of 100 percent for non-profit mailers. Particularly hard hit would have been the blind and disabled, whose free mailing privileges would have been wiped out. During Senate debate on the Republican budget bill, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) offered an amendment to restore $817 million in order to continue reduced rates for non-profit organizations, small newspapers, libraries and free mail for the blind. Once again conservatives lined up to defeat this amendment when the Republican majority approved by a 51-46 vote, on May 9, a motion offered by Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) to table and thereby kill the Metzenbaum amendment.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

8. Maintaining Jobs for the Unemployed

One of the nation's long-standing job-creation initiatives was the Economic Development Administration (EDA) program established by Congress in 1965 to provide grants to poor communities to help them attract new business investment or to revive failing industries in their areas. For the last two decades the EDA program has provided funds to finance public works projects earmarked for the repair and development of public infrastructure, including roads, water and sewer systems, education and health facilities. Much of the work of the EDA has been targeted to economically depressed areas. Elimination of EDA had long been a target of Reagan budget draftsmen, but Congress has prevented them from terminating the program. However, since 1980, EDA funding has been cut by the Reagan Administration from $500 million to less than $260 million for 1985.

In 1985 the Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee slashed EDA funding once again to $184 million for fiscal 1986. But for some Republicans that wasn't enough. During Senate debate on the Commerce Dept. appropriations bill Sen. John Chafee (R-R.I.) offered an amendment that would cut an additional $160 million. Chafee's amendment would have left only enough for the expenses needed to phase out and terminate EDA. A sizeable number of Chafee's Republican colleagues deserted him on his amendment as the Senate by a 39-57 vote, on Nov. 1, rejected the Chafee amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right

9. Importing Foreign Workers

During Senate debate on immigration reform legislation designed to curb the influx of illegal aliens, Sen. Pete Wilson (R-Calif.) offered an amendment to reestablish the discredited "bracero" program. Killed by Congress in 1964, this program had permitted the importation of hundreds of thousands of foreign agricultural workers during World War II, but subsequently displaced U.S. farm and migrant workers and undercut American working standards. Foreign farm workers, meanwhile, were subjected to some of the worst cases of exploitation in our nation's history. Under the Wilson amendment, up to 350,000 foreign workers could be brought into the country for up to nine months each year for agricultural work. These workers would not have to have a stateside job offer to obtain an entry visa. Their employers would not have to look for available domestic workers before hiring imported workers. Further, the U.S. government would have no role in such a program insofar as protecting job opportunities for American workers or promoting decent wage and work standards for foreign workers. The bracero program cruelly pits desperate foreign workers against desperate unemployed domestic workers in U.S. fields and on U.S. farms. It would also be used by growers as a tool to defeat farm worker organizing efforts. Despite strong labor opposition, the amendment was approved by a 51-44 vote on Sept. 17.

For—Wrong Against—Right

10. Seeking Fairness in Federal Budget Programs

The right-wing assault on federal spending continued in 1985 as the budget bill reported by the Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee slashed $56 billion in federal spending for an array of domestic programs, including education, transportation, job training and employment services, governments, social security, Medicare and other programs for the elderly and disabled, food stamps, health assistance and public housing for the poor, and economic development. Thirteen programs were targeted for outright elimination.

When this one-sided Republican budget came to the Senate floor, several days were spent in maneuvering and casting "political posturing" votes to protect Republicans up for reelection in 1986. The key vote finally came on a substitute budget bill offered by Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.). The Dole substitute discarded amendments that would have restored funds to critical programs and went back to an austere program-slashing version. On the final vote several Republicans still felt the cuts were too deep and joined the near-solid Democratic ranks in opposition.

Vice President George Bush was forced to cast a rare tie-breaking vote as the substitute bill passed by a 50-49 tally on May 9.

For—Wrong Against—Right

11. Gramm-Rudman Budget Amendment

Four years of bankrupt Reagan budgetary policies of steep tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations combined with large military funding increases came back to haunt the government in 1985 in the form of the highest budget deficit—over $200 billion—in U.S. history. This dubious achievement—a budget deficit that exceeded the total accumulated deficits of every President from George Washington to Jimmy Carter—continued to take its toll on the economy's international competitiveness as the huge budget deficit is a major cause of an overvalued U.S. dollar which prices U.S. goods out of foreign markets.

While the Democratic House fashioned a reasonable budget alternative, the Republican-controlled Senate refused to veer from Reagan's party line except to exempt social security cuts. Although the Administration eventually pushed through many deep program cuts, the deficit crisis worsened because the President refused either to raise taxes or to cut defense spending.

Late in the year, when the Senate had to consider a bill to raise the public debt limit to over $2 trillion, conservatives took advantage of a growing congressional concern over unyielding budget deficits to ram through a budget mandate requiring an end to the annual deficit by FY 1991. The law will force huge cuts annually in domestic spending programs and the military budget. Sponsored by Sens. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), Warren Rudman (R-N.H.) and Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.), the balanced budget plan as finally approved by Congress will demand massive multi-billion dollar spending cuts for each of the next five years. Overall, the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment threatens to wipe out scores of federal programs. The key vote on the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings provision came when the Senate by a 75-24 vote passed it for the first time on Oct. 9.

For—Wrong Against—Right

12. Giving the President Line-Item Veto Authority

As Reagan budget deficits ran wild in 1985, the Senate sought to hand him new constitutional authority to meat-ax domestic spending—the line-item veto. This authority would allow the President for two years to review congressionally approved appropriations bills on an item-by-item basis and to veto those individual expenditures he opposed. A vetoed item would stand unless overridden by a two-thirds vote of both the House and Senate. Under current law, the President can only veto an entire bill; he has no authority to "red line" single provisions of it.

The AFL-CIO opposed the line-item veto because it would primarily affect domestic, non-defense programs; undercut the ability of the executive and legislative branches to negotiate appropriate levels of spending, and provide the President with a sweeping grant of new constitutional authority by bypassing the normal constitutional amendment process. A bipartisan group of senators successfully mounted a filibuster which stopped the line-item veto proposal. After three failed attempts to invoke cloture and halt the filibuster, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.) pulled the bill from the Senate floor. The key cloture vote came when the Senate by a 57-42 vote, on July 18, fell three votes short of the 60 votes needed to invoke cloture.

For cloture—Wrong Against cloture—Right

13. Restoring Fair Corporate Taxes

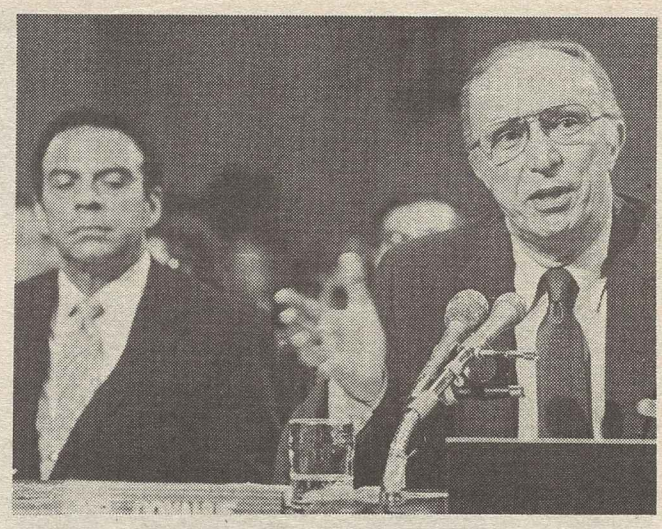
The corporate share of tax revenues to operate the federal government has fallen steadily from 25 percent in 1960 to around 8.5 percent by 1985. As a result, individuals—mostly working families—have been forced, through higher tax rates, to make up the difference. The deepest plunge in tax contributions to the federal government came as a result of the 1981 Reagan tax bill which cut corporate taxes in half by $170 billion over five years. In 1984, nearly 90,000 corporations paid no taxes at all. In fact, many corporations earning billions of dollars in profits in 1984 not only paid no taxes, but received hundreds of millions of dollars in handouts or in future write-offs from the federal government.

During floor deliberations on the federal budget, senators had a chance to stand up and be counted on the issue of fair corporate taxes. Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) offered an amendment to the budget bill to impose a 15 percent minimum tax on corporate earnings in excess of $50,000 and to use the revenues generated to reduce the record-level $200 billion federal deficit. The Metzenbaum amendment would have raised a modest $10.5 billion over the next three years. However, hard-line conservatives led by Republican Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.) sidetracked the amendment when Dole's motion to table and kill the Metzenbaum provision was approved by a 61-37 vote on May 9.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

14. Restoring Education and Job-Training Funds

President Reagan's five-year crusade to slash federal aid to public schools has worsened education problems at the very time that many states have sought to resolve serious deficiencies in their educational systems. Steep federal budget cuts have forced the cancellation of special teaching programs and tightened the squeeze on local school districts



AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in support of economic sanctions against South Africa. He is accompanied by Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, former U. S. Ambassador.

leaving many teaching posts unfilled—particularly in math and sciences—because school districts cannot afford to pay competitive salaries to their staffs. Meanwhile, America's international competitors, such as Japan, attribute their global economic successes to a firm commitment to education.

During the 1985 battle of the budget, conservatives swung their budget axe at federal education funding. The Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee recommended a whopping $3.5 billion cut in federal aid to education over three years. Among other cutbacks, a freeze was imposed on elementary and secondary education programs, including compensatory education for the disadvantaged and aid for the education of the handicapped. Student loans were also cut back, while the popular Job Corps program—which provides job training for disadvantaged youths—would have been slashed by $1.3 billion. During Senate floor debate Sen. Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.) offered an amendment to restore $7 billion for a range of education and job-training programs. The Chiles amendment was defeated by a 47-50 vote on May 9.

For—Right Against—Wrong

15. Protecting the Purchasing Power of Social Security

Since the Republicans took control of the Senate in 1980, conservatives have led an unrelenting assault on the social security program. In 1985 the assault on social security came during deliberations on the federal budget bill. In the Republican-dominated Budget Committee, conservatives demanded that the cost-of-living adjustment for social security recipients be eliminated for one year. This would slash these benefits to the elderly—many of whom have only meager pension benefits to rely upon—by an estimated $21.9 billion. On an individual basis this would mean that retirees would receive $220 less in their social security pension adjustment in 1986. During floor debate on the budget bill Democratic senators led by Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) tried to restore the full social security cost-of-living adjustment. Moynihan's amendment was defeated by the acceptance, 51-47, of a motion by Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) to table on May 9.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

16. Safeguarding Health Care for the Elderly and the Poor

The conservative assault on federal spending also targeted federal health care assistance for the elderly, disabled and the poor. The final budget bill adopted by the Senate slashed Medicare and Medicaid assistance programs by $16.3 billion over three years. For the nation's senior citizens who on the average pay 15 percent or $1,800 of their meager annual income for health care, $9.6 billion would have been lopped off the Medicare program over and above previous cuts of nearly $12 billion. This would translate into an average benefit reduction of $700 over the next five years for some 30 million elderly and disabled Medicare beneficiaries.

During floor debate on the Republican budget, Democrats, led by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), attempted to restore some $4.6 billion in funding. However, this amendment was blocked when Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.) offered a motion to table and thus kill the Kennedy provision. Packwood's tabling motion was approved by a 54-44 vote on May 9.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

17. Guarding Food Stamps for the Poor

A major supplemental benefit program to help feed the families of long-term jobless workers is the federal food stamp program. The program has long been a target of conservatives, who had succeeded in cutting it by $7 billion since 1980. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) engineered a sizable back-door cutback in the program in 1985 through his Agriculture Committee. Helms's provision required that, in determining eligibility for food stamps, any federal assistance to the poor for paying energy bills would be counted as income. This ignored congressional intent in reauthorizing a federal program of low-income energy assistance for the poor which made clear that the program was not to be counted as income in determining food-stamp eligibiliity. The Helms provision would have forced some 12 million low-income people to lose food-stamp benefits during the winter months. It would have hit hardest at the poorest food-stamp recipients because they receive more energy assistance and would thereby lose more in food stamps. Overall, poor families would lose $14.70 per month in food assistance. However, poor households in the colder states could have lost much more. During floor debate Sen. Robert Stafford (R-Vt.) offered an amendment to strike the Helms proposal. An effort by Helms to table and kill the Stafford amendment was rejected by a 37-59 vote on Nov. 12.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

18. Retaining Community Development and Jobs Programs

Federal revenue sharing, first enacted in 1972, provides grants to local governments for use on locally controlled programs based on local priorities. These grants have been used in a wide variety of projects ranging from pothole repair on local streets to health screening, immunization and improved police and fire services. Revenue sharing has provided jobs and helped soften the blow of continuing economic recession still battering many communities throughout the nation. Revenue sharing has long been a target of Reagan budget cutters and in 1985 Sen. Jake Garn (R-Utah), chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, successfully slashed revenue-sharing funds when his committee reported out a 1986 housing appropriations bill cutting revenue sharing by $570 million. During debate on the bill, Sen. David Durenberger (R-Minn.) successfully offered an amendment to restore this funding cut. Garn's effort to table and kill the add-back amendment was defeated by a 39-57 vote on Oct. 17.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

19. Fighting Racism in South Africa

Since 1958 the AFL-CIO has repeatedly expressed its outrage in Congress, international forums and elsewhere over the South African government's longstanding racist policy of apartheid. Under this system black South Africans—who represent nearly 75 percent of the nation's population—endure a strictly enforced policy of racial discrimination and segregation that denies them basic human, political, economic and social rights. For trade unionists in South Africa apartheid can be particularly brutal, denying workers the freedom of association necessary to improve wages and working conditions.

In 1985 the AFL-CIO backed legislation to impose a series of economic sanctions on South Africa in order to pressure that government to move toward reform and eventual elimination of apartheid. The final conference report on legislation originally sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.) would have prohibited all new investment in South Africa by U.S. corporations and individuals, disallowed any commercial bank loans to South Africa, mandated that U.S. employers of 25 or more workers in South Africa would have to adhere to the "Sullivan Code" of fair labor practices, and banned the U.S. sale of South African Krugerrand gold coins. However, the conference report failed to pass when the right-wing combine led by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) blocked final approval by a filibuster. On a 57-41 vote, on Sept. 11, a motion to invoke cloture and thus end the filibuster fell three botes short of the 60 votes required.

For cloture—Right Against cloture—Wrong

20. Environmental Protection for Workers and Their Families

In 1980 Congress recognized that abandoned toxic waste dumps are a major environmental and health hazard. In response, Congress created a "Superfund"—a $1.6 billion five-year cleanup plan to be administered by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in cooperation with affected states and local jurisdictions. However, under the Reagan Administration, the Superfund cleanup plan slowed to a crawl as a major scandal over mismanagement resulted in massive resignations within the Reagan-appointed EPA hierarchy.

One shortcoming of the original 1980 legislation which labor and environmental groups have tried to remedy was the failure to include a victims' compensation program. During 1985 Senate Environmental Committee deliberations on a five-year $7.5 billion reauthorization of the Superfund program, a victim-assistance demonstration program was added to the bill without dissent. The proposal would set aside $30 million annually for a five-year program for selected areas. These areas would qualify only if scientific studies showed that toxic exposures caused health threats. From the $30 million fund, the government would pay victims' out-of-pocket medical expenses only when they were not covered by other insurance. During floor debate on the bill Sen. William Roth (R-Del.) attacked the victims' aid program and succeeded in deleting this modest health assistance effort. By a 49-45 vote on Sept. 24 the Senate voted for the Roth amendment to strike the victims' assistance demonstration program from the bill.

For—Wrong Against—Right

21. Promoting Democracy Abroad

In 1983, Congress authorized the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)—a federally financed, private, non-profit organization open to public scrutiny whose various activities such as fostering trade unions in developing countries are designed to promote the evolution of democratic institutions abroad. The AFL-CIO, which since 1982 has had its own programs of bilateral aid to developing trade unions abroad through regional institutes, is a participating organization in the endowment program. During Senate debate on legislation providing funds for the endowment for fiscal 1986, Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C) offered an amendment to wipe out the entire $18.4 million appropriated for NED. By a 32-57 vote on Dec. 6, the Senate rejected the Hollings amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right

Domestic programs bear brunt of Reagan cuts

President Reagan wants Congress to shrink the nondefense role of government still further and then stand aside to let a deregulated private sector propel the nation to prosperity.

To union economists, Reagan's 1986 Economic Report is wishful thinking by the President's Council of Economic Advisers and reflects the Administration's ideological bias.

It projects huge federal spending cuts in domestic programs and no tax increases. It looks for new government functions to turn over to the private sector, and suggests that Congress consider ending the U.S. Postal Service "monopoly" on delivering mail.

Reagan's economists aren't concerned at the avalanche of imports that has hit America and deplore "protectionist" legislation to curb these imports.

The report attributes the reduction in U.S. manufacturing jobs primarily to production efficiency that reduced the number of workers needed, rather than to job losses from imports.

Another section of the report dismisses concerns that illegal immigrants streaming across U.S. borders depress wages and working conditions. Overall, it suggests, illegals are a cost-effective plus to the economy. Workers subject to deportation often hesitate to seek public services, the report notes.

The Council of Economic Advisers predicts a 4-percent real growth rate this year—with somewhat higher inflation and a virtually unchanged unemployment picture.

Employment forecast

It doesn't see unemployment dropping below 6 percent until 1990. And it doesn't even try to project when the 4 percent unemployment target—3 percent for adults—set by the Humphrey-Hawkins Act might be achieved.

AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald said sections of the report dealing with trade policy are "economic nonsense" and callous to the plight of U.S. workers who lose their jobs.

The report reflects the Administration's opposition to renewal of the trade adjustment assistance program which provides extended unemployment benefits as well as retraining opportunities for U.S. workers whose jobs are wiped out by imports. Shielding any industry against foreign competition lessens the "discipline" of the marketplace, the report suggests.

The report argues for reliance on "strong economic growth" rather than programs with cash benefits to offset job loss caused by imports.

In dealing with the economic effects of immigration, it makes little distinction between legal or illegal immigrants in the workforce. "Aliens may also provide a net fiscal benefit to the nation, often paying more in taxes than they use in public services," the report concludes.

According to the Wall Street Journal, the original report by the Council of Economic Advisers estimated that legislation to crack down on employers who hire illegal aliens would cost employers from $1.6 billion to $2 billion a year.

But the Justice Dept. persuaded the Council to delete that reference and the Economic Report concludes with a disclaimer that "the economic gains provided by international migration, however, do not justify the presence or employment of aliens in the United States on an illegal basis."

GNP predictions

In predicting economic performance for the fourth quarter of 1986 as compared with the fourth quarter of 1985, the report anticipates an after-inflation rise of 4 percent in the gross national product compared with 2.5 percent last year.

But a consensus of economic forecasters sees a growth rate of only 3.1 percent for the year.

The Administration also forecasts inflation rising from 3.2 percent in 1985 to 3.8 percent in 1986, with compensation per hour up 5.5 percent as compared with 3.7 percent the previous year. It projects an end of the year unemployment rate of 6.7 percent, about even with current levels and down slightly from the 6.9 percent recorded at the end of 1985.

Criminal probe takes over as OSHA fails to get tough

New York—The Occupational Safety & Health Administration's failure for four years to halt a nonunion thermometer manufacturer from exposing workers to mercury poisoning has prompted criminal and congressional investigations, as well as internal Labor Dept. inquiries.

On Feb. 6, OSHA cited Pymm Thermometer Co. Inc. for 16 violations of federal safety standards, many of them "willful," and recommended $30,100 in fines.

Pymm's workers—mainly low-paid blacks and Hispanics, many of whom are undocumented aliens or from the state workfare program—have high levels of mercury in their urine and exhibit symptoms of mercury poisoning, according to documents filed in court cases against the company.

Excessive exposure to mercury can cause vision loss and serious harm to the nervous system, brain and kidneys.

The Ladies' Garment Workers are trying to organize the Pymm workers. Several organizing attempts by the unaffiliated Teamsters failed to beat the company's anti-union tactics.

ILGWU Sec.-Treas. Jay Mazur said the union is assisting the firm's 80 workers "in every way we can to force their employer to improve working conditions."

Tragic victims

He cited OSHA's voluntary compliance approach to worker safety as the problem. "These workers are the tragic victims of the indifference and budget cuts which have characterized OSHA during the Reagan years," Mazur said.

The turnover rate at the plant is high and perhaps hundreds of workers have been overexposed to mercury.

Rep. Joseph M. Gaydos (D-Pa.), in announcing a congressional investigation of OSHA, assailed the agency for failing to act for the past four years.

Acting OSHA Director Patrick Tyson, according to the Washington Post, said, "This case really bothers me. How the hell could something like this happen? It is clear to me that we made some mistakes."

New York area OSHA Director Anthony Merisola and supervisor Michael Paris were transferred temporarily to another OSHA office, pending the outcome of an internal OSHA review. Tyson said these were not disciplinary actions and noted the case was referred to the Labor Dept.'s inspector general.

The saga of indifference at OSHA's New York office began following an inspection of the Pymm plant in early 1981. Citations issued against Pymm ordered protective equipment for the workers, immediate cleanup of the plant, and installation of ventilation equipment within a year. OSHA proposed a $1,400 fine.

Annual extensions

Pymm got three annual extensions of the requirement to install ventilation equipment, and the fine was reduced to $350.

An OSHA inspection in August 1983, in response to a worker complaint, netted only a citation for allowing workers to eat around mercury-contaminated equipment. It drew a $100 fine.

Four more citations were issued in mid-March 1985 following an earlier inspection that evidently was prompted by an inquiry from a CBS television reporter. A fine of $2,880 was proposed.

The company has appealed those citations and fines to the Reagan-appointed Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission.

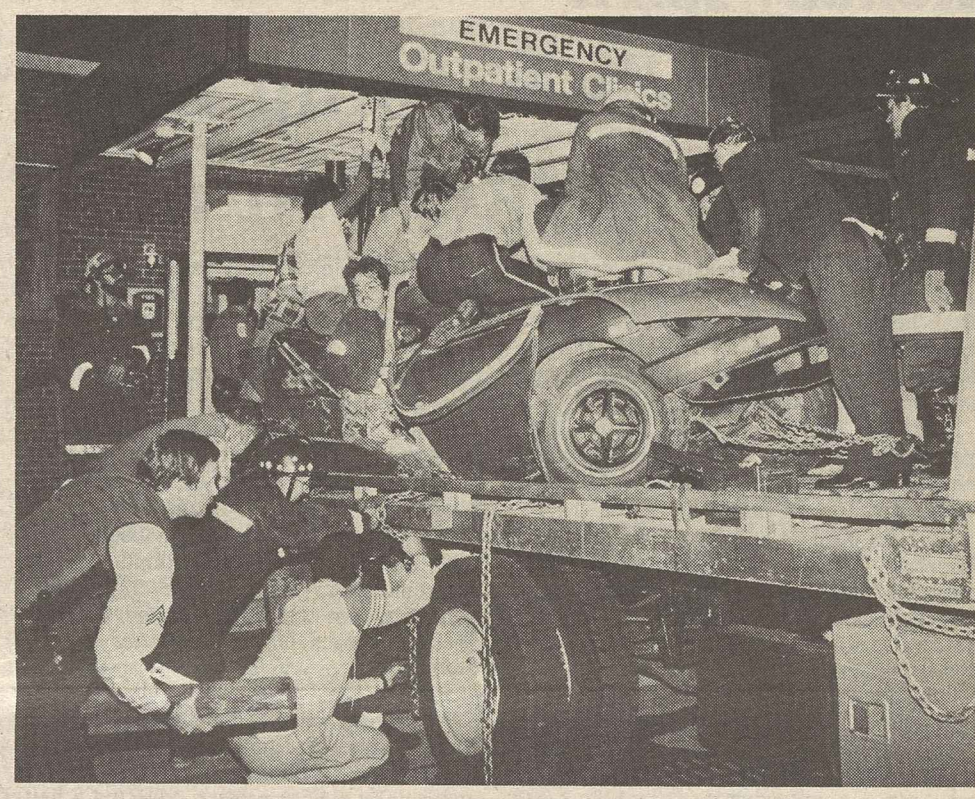
After finding high levels of mercury in the workers, the city health department in January 1985 ordered Pymm to cleanup the plant within three days and come up with ventilation system plans within 30 days—the same action OSHA sought in 1981. The company responded by having a union-busting law firm sue the health department.

Former Labor Sec. Raymond Donovan, in a statement to the court, sided with Pymm, declaring the city action was preempted by OSHA law, and that's how the federal court here ruled.

State Atty. Gen. Robert Abrams filed suit charging Pymm violated the state's right-to-know law. Pymm's attorneys are again arguing the state lacks jurisdiction and is preempted by OSHA law.

Abrams is working with the Brooklyn district attorney on a criminal investigation of the Pymm firm.

The Feb. 6 OSHA citations are for improper respirators, lack of training, lack of protective equipment, unsanitary conditions, haphazard storage, exposure of workers to excessive levels of mercury and poor ventilation.



Fire Fighters rescue

In a dramatic rescue effort, members of Fire Fighters Local 481 in New Bedford, Mass., scramble to free a driver, who was trapped in his vehicle after it struck a tree. The wrecked auto was delivered to the Parkwood Hospital emergency door atop a flatbed truck. The IAFF rescue squad worked for 40 minutes to free the driver. He survived, but had a leg amputated.

Bus manufacturer reneges after taking government aid

Honeybrook, Pa.—Less than a year after receiving more than $2.1 million in federal and state aid to begin operations here, a new bus assembly plant is closing up shop rather than negotiate with the union chosen by its workers.

The action by Neoplan USA Corp., a subsidiary of the Stuttgart-based Gottlob Auwarter GmbH & Co., came on the heels of an election in which its 120 workers voted by a 2-to-1 ratio to be represented by the Transit Union.

In what the union charged was retaliation for the lopsided ATU victory last October, the company immediately began laying off employees who had been the strongest union supporters, including the top officers of ATU's newly chartered Local 1606.

The company pared its workforce to only 20 people. The union charged it transferred most of its operations to a nonunion facility in Lamar, Colo., where workers are pulling double shifts to keep up with demand.

Gov. Richard Thornburgh (R) put together an attractive financial package to induce Neoplan to set up operations here. This included arranging for a $2-million low-interest federal loan, augmented by $150,000 in state money to train the employees, and an order from the state's Dept. of Transportation to build 900 buses for public transit agencies throughout Pennsylvania.

As a further incentive, state officials began beating the bushes for additional business for the company, including a trip to Israel by the deputy secretary of transportation and a state representative to solicit orders for buses.

At the official ribbon-cutting ceremonies in June 1985, Thornburgh called the deal "a milestone in the development of economic growth in the state," and the company responded by promising that the plant would create at least 450 new jobs.

In the wake of the mass layoffs, ATU filed unfair labor practice charges with the National Labor Relations Board, contending that the action grew directly out of the workers' union activities.

At the same time, ATU President James LaSala called on Thornburgh to take prompt action to protect the state's interests as well as those of the workers victimized by the West German firm's actions.

Labor Dept. budget shortchanges youths

President Reagan's avowed concern for America's youth took a back seat to budget slashes in the Administration's funding requests for Labor Dept. programs.

The summer youth program, already slated for a $28.6-million cutback under the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction formula, would be chopped an additional $208 million for this fiscal year under the President's budget proposals.

Last year, 785,000 school-age youngsters worked at summer jobs under the program. Reagan's proposal would cut the number to 467,000 this summer and 441,000 in 1987.

The Job Corps, which Labor Sec. William E. Brock praised as having "accomplished a great deal in helping some of our most severely disadvantaged young men and women rise above poverty," would be cut nearly in half under the budget proposal.

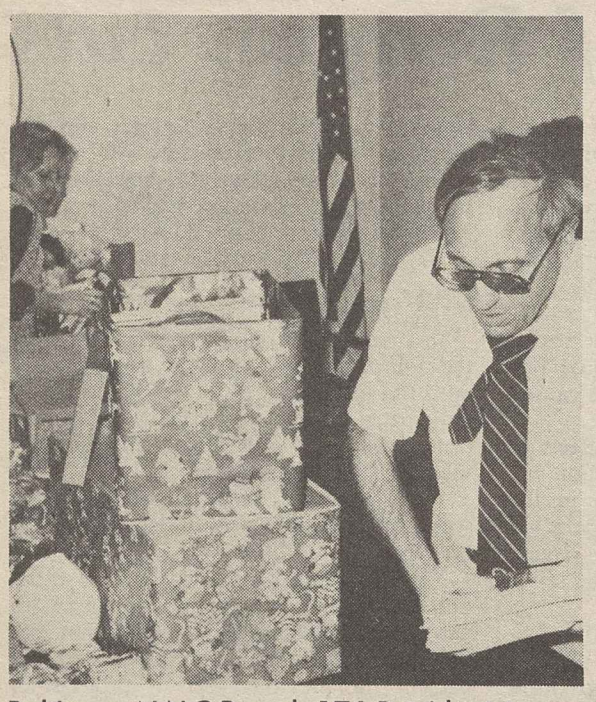
Job Corps hit

Some 40 centers across the country would close, reducing the number of young people enrolled in the program from 40,500 to 22,000 by the end of this year. Reagan wanted to abolish the program entirely last year, but Congress refused.

The other big Labor Dept. budget cut would be achieved through elimination of trade adjustment assistance as a separate program with extended unemployment compensation payments. Its training component would be folded into the program for dislocated workers, which would be given some additional funding.

The budget proposal would restore funds for job safety and health inspections that were cut this fiscal year through the Gramm-Rudman process. Inspections dropped from 71,303 in fiscal 1985 to about 65,000 this year and would go back to 71,400 under the budget estimate for fiscal 1987, which starts next Oct. 1.

Labor Under Sec. Dennis Whitfield said at a budget briefing that OSHA will give greater emphasis to workplace health inspections than to safety inspections.



Baltimore NALC Branch 176 President James Kerner puts children's gifts in Christmas boxes.

Los Angeles AFL-CIO volunteers fed more then 2,000 homeless and unemployed at Thanksgiving from funds donated by local unions.

In Mobile, Ala., CWA Santa Claus, Robbie Beardon, and friend.

Holiday spirit

Labor's helping hand aids workers in need

Trade unionists from coast to coast experienced the warm, inner feeling that comes from helping others this past holiday season as special projects made an extra effort to aid workers in need, the AFL-CIO Dept. of Comunity Services reports.

The San Diego AFL-CIO, for example, packaged complete turkey dinners—large enough to feed 10 to 15 people—that were distributed to 336 families.

In both Kansas and Missouri, the Auto Workers' Kansas City community action programs launched an area-wide food drive that collected five-and-a-half tons of non-perishable food and $1,500 from some 50 collection points.

Food & Commercial Workers Local 1099 in Dayton, Ohio, made an extra effort at Christmas for the 238 members of Paperworkers Local 19 who are locked out at Miami Paper. The UFCW provided vouchers for turkeys, adding them to the boxes of commodities picked up by the UPIU member from the city's labor-run food pantry.

Just to the east, a Care/Share program run by Youngstown UAW Locals 1112 and 1714 and management at the General Motors' Lordstown complex "adopted" 300 families at Christmas, providing them with more than 40,000 cans of non-perishable items and 100 baskets of food and toys. Nearly $63,000 was raised through drawings, flea markets and regular collections.

In Wisconsin, the Kenosha AFL-CIO and 10 of its affiliates, along with Teamsters and plant guard locals, aided in a project to help restock two area food banks. Seven tons of food and $900 were raised.

A group of 50 Mobile, Ala., senior citizens and retarded children and adults found the holiday season a little nicer, courtesy of Communications Workers Local 10907, which gave them a Christmas party.

The Baltimore AFL-CIO collected food and funds to help provide dinner baskets and children's gifts to some 50 families, half of whom were unemployed members of Steelworkers District 8. Letter Carriers Branch 176 provided and wrapped many of the presents.

Just north over the Mason-Dixon line, State, County & Municipal Employees Local 1398 in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., in its first community service project, collected a half-ton of or non-perishables to give to the Salvation Army.

Helping a hospital

A hospital in Elkhart, Ind., benefitted from labor's efforts as the city central body and several local unions joined in raising funds to purchase a machine for diagnosing breast cancer.

The retirees of UAW Local 838 in Waterloo, Iowa, brightened Christmas for workers laid off from nearby John Deere plants. Gift boxes there included food for a complete ham dinner and other meals, plus toys appropriate for the children in each family. That same local served up nearly 1,000 pounds of turkey at Thanksgiving to 1,300 of the city's jobless.

Union volunteers helped the Los Angeles AFL-CIO dished up Thanksgiving dinner for more than 2,000 homeless and unemployed. At Christmas, thousands of toys were distributed by the county federation through the United Way and through locals that had large numbers of unemployed or striking members.

UAW Local 838 retirees in Waterloo, Iowa, pack food boxes at Christmas.

Judge dismisses 'slander' charge against Walesa

Gdansk, Poland—In what could be a sharp shift in the government's attitude toward the outlawed Polish trade union movement, a provincial court here threw out charges that Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa had "slandered the state."

The AFL-CIO had vigorously denounced the Jarulzeski government for harassing the Nobel Peace Prize winner. Federation President Lane Kirkland called the charges "an affront to trade unionists everywhere."

Walesa, who faced a fine and prison term, showed up in court with a forbidden Solidarnosc badge and a likeness of the Madonna of Czestochowa pinned to his sweater.

He was charged with "slandering" election commission officials by expressing doubts about gains the government claimed to have made in parliamentary elections.

Although the prosecutor demanded an apology as a condition for dropping the charges, Walesa refused to comply, limiting himself to a statement that he "had no intention of belittling anyone."

After lengthy delays and out-of-court conferences with the prosecutor, the judge returned to the courtroom, dismissed the prosecutor and called off the trial.

Walesa called the court's action "the first step toward compromise since Dec. 13, 1981," the day martial law was declared to crush the Polish trade union movement.

Milwaukee to crack down on fatalities in workplace

Milwaukee—All fatal job accidents in Milwaukee County will be investigated for possible criminal charges against the employer, Milwaukee District Attorney E. Michael McCann warned.

The county action was prompted by the Wisconsin Committee on Occupational Safety & Health (WISCOSH) following the death of a worker at an automobile frame factory. WISCOSH is a coalition of labor unions, health professionals and lawyers.

Last Nov. 29, Dayle R. Godejohn, 43, died when he was overcome by carbon dioxide while testing a sprinkler system in a paint booth. Godejohn, a member of Directly Affiliated Local Union 19806, worked as the fire chief at the A.O. Smith Co. plant here.

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration proposed a fine of $2,400 for the safety violations it found.

McCann said that "it is important that we get the support and candid and truthful statements of those who work at the scene." Too often, he noted, workers are concerned about an employer's retribution if they speak honestly about worksite problems.

He stressed that while workers in unionized businesses have some protection from retribution, such protection does not exist in nonunion settings.

McCann pointed out that Wisconsin law provides for criminal prosecution of employers whose actions contribute to a worker's death. He said the county's action is similar to a 1985 Illinois case in which three officials of a silver reclamation firm in Chicago were sentenced to 25 years in prison for the cyanide poisoning death of a worker.

WISCOSH President Milan Racic, safety director for the Allied Industrial Workers, noted that Los Angeles County, Calif., has taken similar action to investigate job-related deaths.

AIW President Dominick D'Ambrosio, co-chair of the OSHA/Environmental Network, a coalition of labor and environmental groups, praised McCann for having "taken the lead in the area."

Reagan's budget gospel falls flat

St. Louis—President Reagan raised some $800,000 for a Republican senatorial candidate at a $500-a-plate dinner here, but the political consensus here was that he gave the wrong speech in the wrong state.

Reagan touted his budget proposal for a big rise in military spending and heavy cuts in domestic programs. But the GOP candidate he was trying to help, former Gov. Christopher Bond, has called for cutting defense spending. Bond is battling labor-backed Lt. Gov. Harriett Woods for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton.

The Republican dinner was in an area of St. Louis restored with the help of a federal Urban Development Action Grant, a program Reagan's budget would eliminate.

Farmers protesting the Administration's agricultural policies picketed the dinner. Reagan sought to defuse the protest by saying the farm bill he signed into law was "the best we could get through Congress." But as reporters quickly noted, Reagan had wanted the farm budget cut some $15 billion below the level Congress approved and had only reluctantly been persuaded that a veto would hurt Republican congressional candidates.

Stricken by imports

Reporters also noted that Reagan's vigorous defense of his trade deficit policy drew no applause from his audience in a state that has lost many jobs to imports.

In Massachusetts, meanwhile, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis (D) was trying to set the record straight on Reagan's response to a question at his Feb. 11 news conference.

A reporter noted Reagan's repeated assertions that the test of a good welfare system is the extent to which it gets people off welfare. Why then, he asked, was the President proposing to abolish an education and training program funded by the Labor Dept. that was doing just that. He noted that Gov. Dukakis had credited it for enabling 23,000 people in his state to be trained and placed in jobs, saving taxpayers $2 in welfare costs for every $1 spent on the program.

Reagan's rambling answer confused the program with workfare, claimed that he originated it as governor of California, and said want ads in newspapers show employers have a hard time finding workers.

It turns out that the Massachusetts program has no connection with workfare. It includes such elements as child care and transportation while training welfare recipients for private-sector jobs. The California workfare program begun under Reagan was abandoned the year after he left office. California's current program, similar to that of Massachusetts, also would be hard hit by Reagan's proposed budget cuts.

EDITORIALS

Importing Poverty

THE IMPORT-BATTERED copper industry is now demanding that the remnants of its workforce take a one-third reduction in pay and benefits in a four-year contract. That's the "offer" two leading companies put to the Steelworkers and other unions in the copper bargaining coalition.

In effect, the once profitable copper companies are telling American workers to drop their living standards to Third World levels.

As the union negotiators made clear, that's a prescription for economic suicide, not an agreement. But the conditions that brought such an outrageous proposal to the bargaining table stem directly from the Reagan Administration's economic and trade policies.

The industry's employers are following the White House lead when they tell their workers to "drop dead."

BACK IN 1984, the International Trade Commission unanimously found that subsidized imports were seriously injuring the U.S. copper industry and recommended that President Reagan provide relief through quotas or tariffs.

The President rejected that recommendation. U.S. copper workers were to be left, as in the Watergate-era phrase, to twist slowly in the wind.

Last year, Congress tried to help out by adding to the textile import relief bill a mandate to the President to negotiate import restraints with other copper-producing nations.

That's the bill President Reagan vetoed shortly before Christmas.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland spoke of that veto at the recent legislative conference of the Industrial Union Dept.

"With a stroke of the pen, he wrote off hundreds of thousands of jobs," Kirkland noted.

"The Administration's answer to the trade deficit is for the American worker to accept less." The White House message is that "our standard of living is too high; to compete we will have to lower it."

On trade policy, Kirkland suggested, it is the Administration that always wants "to blame America first."

It is shameful for the copper industry to mock the bargaining process by proposing to make American mining towns part of the Third World.

And it is shameful that a President would encourage such a move by his indifference to the plight of the industry and its workers.

Reagan at the Bat

AT HIS most recent news conference, President Reagan ducked and parried most of the questions about the impact of his proposed budget cuts.

The further reductions he was seeking, the President assured questioners, would merely get into "the area of fat."

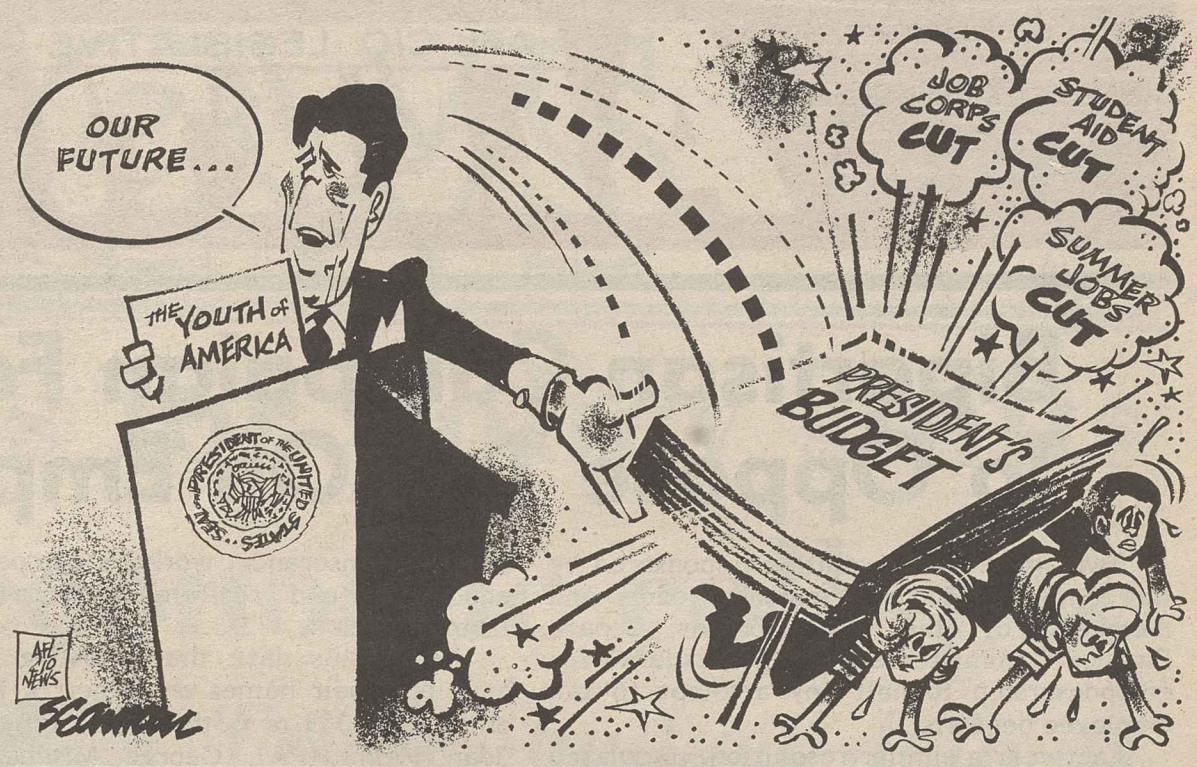
After all, Reagan suggested, "you don't bat a thousand percent in making sure that everyone is deserving" who gets a reduced price lunch or a student loan. Besides, some belts have to be tightened to fund another multi-billion dollar defense increase.

But the President stood ramrod straight in declaring that any tax increase Congress sent him would be "VOA—vetoed on arrival." The tax cuts he instituted on taking office, Reagan bragged, led to "38 straight months of economic recovery."

Some might quibble that the first effect of Reagan's economic policies was the longest and most severe recession of the post-war era. And others might point to the huge federal deficit.

As for the actual effect of the generous "tax incentives" given to businesses, a study by Citizens for Tax Justice notes that companies paying a fair share of taxes also had the best record of adding jobs and increasing investment. But those that had big profits and yet paid no taxes during most of the Reagan years reduced employment and channeled their tax windfalls into "virtually everything but new investment."

Sometimes you don't bat a thousand percent, even if you're the President of the United States. Sometimes, in fact, you strike out.



Washington Window

Reagan wrong actor to play role of FDR

By Press Associates Inc.

In a forthcoming book, a historian argues that President Reagan's perception of "what a president does" was formed by observing Franklin D. Roosevelt. Reagan was 21 when FDR was first elected in 1932. What did Reagan see in FDR? "He rallies the people, he's on stage, he changes things," the historian said.

Reagan was on stage for his State of the Union address before a joint session of Congress and a national TV audience. He showed the polished form that made him so popular with the American people. He was generous with compliments: "What brought us back? The American people brought us back—with quiet courage and common sense . . . . "

Later, he got to his favorite point: "Tonight, let us speak of our responsibility to redefine government's role—not to control, not to demand or command, not to contain us, but to help in times of need and, above all, to create a ladder of opportunity to full employment so that all Americans can climb toward economic power and justice on their own."

The question to be asked about the historian's observation is: rally the people for what and change things for whom?

That's where the connection between FDR and Reagan ends.

FDR's first hundred days

For Franklin D. Roosevelt's words and actions were connected. FDR came to office in the Great Depression. Millions were jobless, destitute and despairing. The economy was in chaos.

In the famous first hundred days of FDR's Administration, an alphabet soup of agencies was established to reorganize banking, send jobless city youth to work in parks and forests, revive agriculture, feed the hungry and shelter the homeless, create TVA, refinance home mortgages for millions of people and help basic industry recover.

FDR believed that the federal government had a responsibility to help people help themselves.

In contrast, Reagan's words about government creating opportunities leading to full employment were contradicted by the budget he sent to Congress. In that budget, Reagan renewed his attack on the poor, the elderly, the disabled and schoolchildren.

The non-profit Center on Budget & Policy Priorities analyzed Reagan's budget proposals and found they would make the deepest cuts in low-income assistance programs since 1981. The cuts would total $9 billion next year, bringing a shutdown of 14 program aiding low-income citizens, with benefit cuts planned for nearly all programs.

Slashing to the core

Reagan said, "Family and community remain the moral core of our society." Yet his proposed budget slashes all major programs enabling the poor to survive: Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Medicaid, supplemental security income, food stamps and child nutrition.

In addition, 14 non-entitlement programs would be abolished. These include housing aid for the elderly and handicapped, emergency food and shelter for the homeless, legal services, rural housing, job training for welfare mothers, and community services block grants.

When it comes to "changing things," Reagan has aimed high and, fortunately, fallen far short. Even so, hunger and poverty have increased; family farmers are plowed under and workers and their communities abandoned while the concentration of power increases in agribusiness and corporations.

Presiding over declining living standards for the average American family, Reagan hardly resembles FDR. Invoking Roosevelt's name is so much blarney for a man who has spent his career trying to dismantle social security, FDR's greatest achievement.

The more accurate parallels for Reagan are Warren G. Harding, the amiable man who maintained his ignorance in office; Calvin Coolidge, who spoke in schoolbook maxims and gave business free rein, and the decent Herbert Hoover, who continued to express optimism as crises unfolded around him.

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE

ALERT!

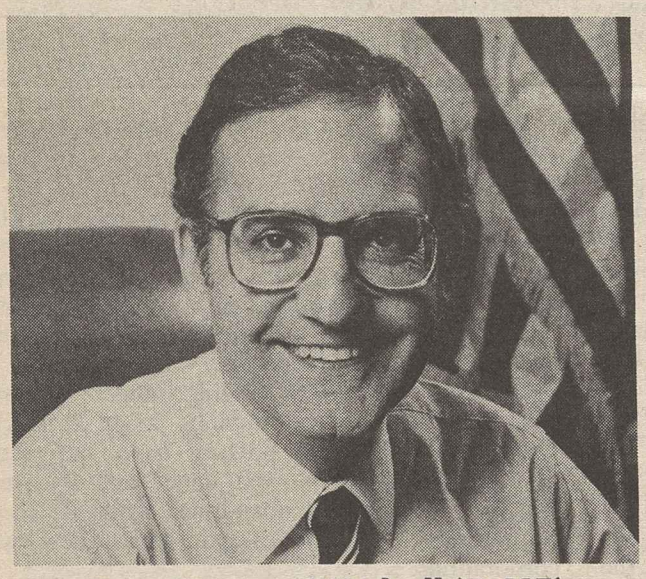
Bipartisan Campaign Forms In Senate To Oppose Tax On Employee Benefits

Two important resolutions, sponsored by the Senate Democratic minority leader and members of the all-important Senate Finance Committee are being circulated for co-sponsorship to halt any attempt to tax employee benefits.

Last year a similar resolution, circulated among members of the House of Representatives, was instrumental in keeping the proposed benefits levy off the House tax reform bill that ultimately passed December 17. Now there is growing pressure from the White House and GOP leaders to find additional revenue by "revisiting" employee benefits.

To nip this dangerous trend in the bud, two Senate resolutions with language identical to that in the House are being circulated --S. Res. 303, sponsored by Senators John Heinz (R-PA) and Daniel Moynihan (D-NY) and S. Res. 339, sponsored by Senators Robert Byrd (D-WV) and George Mitchell (D-ME).

Twenty-seven senators have already co-sponsored one or both of the resolutions and the number is expected to rise when Congress returns from its mid-February recess.



Sen. George Mitchell (D-ME)

Union members are urged to contact their home-state senators to sign on, with the goal of committing a majority of the Senate on the issue.

Joining in the fight to save these vital family supports are community leaders, consumer organizations, health providers, educators, senior citizens and others from across the country who want to see health care, life insurance, worker's compensation, education, and retirement security free from taxation.

As of this date the following senators have put their names on either S. Res. 303 or S. Res. 339 or both: Robert Byrd (WV), John Heinz (PA), George Mitchell (ME), Daniel Moynihan (NY), Arlen Specter (PA), Robert Stafford (VT), Mark Andrews (ND), James Abdnor (SD), Alan Dixon (IL), Quentin Burdick (ND), Dale Bumpers (AR), Wendell Ford (KY), Albert Gore (TN), John Melcher (MT), William Proxmire, (WI), Donald Riegle (MI), Jim Sasser (TN), Paul Simon (IL), Christopher Dodd (CT), Ernest Hollings (SC), John Kerry (MA), Daniel Inouye (HI), Alan Cranston (CA), John Rockefeller (WV), Larry Pressler (SD), Frank Murkowski (AK), and Lloyd Bentsen (TX).

Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV)

House-Won State And Local Deduction Threatened As Senate Considers Tax Bill

The deduction for state and local taxes, a principle that has been around as long as the federal tax code itself and which most Americans take for granted, could be wiped out during Senate consideration of the President's tax reform bill in the next few weeks. At stake is one of the oldest rules of taxation -- that money paid in state and local levies should not be taxed a second time by the federal government.

In 1981 the President initiated a $175 billion tax giveaway to big business with more liberalized depreciation allowances. Now Congress is looking for ways to pay for the loss in revenues it created. With the revision bill before the Senate Finance Committee, there will be a strong push to eliminate this all-important deduction.

Among the programs at stake are the state education systems which are funded almost exclusively from local property taxes and state income taxes. Since citizens have direct control over education funding, there will be greater temptation to withhold spending for education.

The Congressional Research Service estimates that for every dollar the federal treasury would gain from repeal of this deduction, states and local governments would be forced to cut 47 cents from their own budgets. This would force them to take a new look at increasing excise taxes, utility levies or other regressive forms of taxation.

Working families won an important victory in the House last December when their cards and letters to the Ways and Means Committee convinced members not to meddle with this important tax principle. However, as with employee benefits, Americans will have to mount another grassroots effort this year to make sure the Republican-dominated Senate does the same. The next few weeks will be critical, so contact your two senators today!

Write Your Two Senators Today!

The tax reform bill is now before the Senate Finance Committee and the next few weeks could be critical. Copy the sample card below and write your two senators today. Let them know that you strongly oppose both the tax on employee benefits and the elimination of your state and local tax deduction and you would like to see their signatures on one or both employee benefits resolutions. Address them to Senator _____, the United States Senate, Washington, D.C., 20510, and do it today!

Dear Senator _____,

I am strongly opposed to the taxation of my hard-earned employee benefits or the elimination of the deduction for payment of my state and local taxes. I urge you to vote against any measure that might contain these damaging features and to show your support for working families by signing S. Res. 303 or S. Res. 339 or both. Please let me know where you stand on these important issues.

Sincerely,

_____

Reconciliation Still Alive; Budget Panels May Re-Appoint Conferees

The fiscal 1986 reconciliation bill, which failed to pass Congress last year, may still be alive. The measure contains authorizations for important programs like Trade Adjustment Assistance, toxic waste clean-up, and the beleagured Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation.

The House and Senate were unable to pass a conference agreement last December before adjourning for the holidays and conferees will have to be re-appointed to resolve differences between both houses and the White House.

President Reagan has indicated he would like to see the reconciliation bill pass this year, but has maintained a rigid stance against any new authorization for TAA.

In its present form, the measure would authorize TAA for 6 more years and extend eligibility to employees of independent suppliers of parts and services. Pension language would make it harder for companies to dump their pension withdrawal liability on the PBGC and would inject new money into the rapidly depleting fund.

Also included in reconciliation is an important Superfund authorization that will protect workers involved in clean-up operations and affected communities.

AFL-CIO news

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MEMO FROM COPE
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Council calls for policy shifts to head off economic collapse

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. briefs Executive Council on congressional outlook. He called for action on tax reforms and trade legislation.

Trade, budget deficits undercut worker goals

By John M. Barry

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO warned that the "massive trade and budget" deficits are creating doubts about the nation's future as economic conditions for American workers continue to deteriorate.

The federation's Executive Council, in a statement on the national economy adopted at its winter meeting here, stressed that "the true picture of the economy is not the rosy one painted by President Reagan." The council pointed out that workers' real income is declining, "economic growth is slowing down, interest rates remain high, and so does unemployment."

The council renewed the federation's call for "national economic policies—fiscal, monetary, training and job-creating—aimed at full employment."

A companion statement pointed to the "bleak" outlook for the U.S. position in international trade and called on the government to "assert control over its trade policy and the overvalued dollar."

As the council was meeting, revised government figures showed that economic growth slumped to 1.2 percent during the final three months of 1985 under the battering of a soaring trade deficit.

Shrinking GNP rate

The Commerce Dept. had originally estimated a 3.2 percent gain in the "real" gross national product for the fourth quarter. But as the import imbalance worsened, the figure was downgraded to 2.4 percent and ended up at half that rate. The record $148.5 billion trade deficit held the growth rate for all of 1985 to 2.3 percent, the lowest level since the 1982 Reagan Recession.

The statements were among the major actions taken by the council during the early sessions of its meeting. They were accompanied by detailed fact sheets on the balance of trade, the relationship of the dollar to other major currencies and the critical state of the unemployment compensation system, which is failing to provide benefits for more than two-thirds of jobless Americans.

Other statements were adopted by the council dealing specifically with the federal budget and tax policy.

These topics also dominated discussions with House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. and House Ways & Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) on the opening day of the meeting and with Labor Sec. William Brock a day later.

The council paid tribute to the long service to organized labor of New York City AFL-CIO leader Harry Van Arsdale, who died the day before the meeting opened, and in a message to his wife Madeline praised his concern for workers who were left unprotected. The council meeting was recessed to permit a delegation of council members to attend the funeral in New York.

In other developments during the first half of the five-day meeting, the council approved a new procedure for resolving disputes over organizing responsibility, heard

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O'Neill prods Reagan on halting revenue drain

Bal Harbour, Fla.—House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. prodded President Reagan to "face the facts" and come up with a program to recoup some of the federal revenues drained from the Treasury by his 1981 tax cut for big business and the wealthy.

Unless Reagan "moves on revenues, his defense buildup is over," O'Neill told the AFL-CIO Executive Council. He noted that last year, the President proposed a 13-percent increase in defense spending but ended up with nothing, and this year could be worse.

Consistent support

O'Neill, who has announced plans to retire from Congress after the current session, was greeted warmly by council members on the opening day of their winter meeting here. The Massachusetts Democrat recalled his consistent support for the causes of organized labor during some 50 years as a public official.

The Speaker's remarks, which his office made public here and in Washington, focused mainly on the economic policies of President Reagan and the problems O'Neill said they have created for the nation.

"This is the year of the budget in Congress," he said, and he warned that it will produce "new challenges and unpleasant surprises."

He predicted that the Supreme Court will uphold the decision of a special appeals court panel that declared the heart of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings balanced budget law to be unconstitutional.

Nevertheless, O'Neill said, Congress has stepped into a "fiscal straitjacket" that will limit its ability to consider new legislation as budget considerations dominate the session. Despite this situation, he said, tax reform, trade legislation, farm credit, defense procurement reform and South Africa all remain high on the agenda for the 99th Congress.

O'Neill laid direct responsibility on the President for the nation's current fiscal problems growing out of the huge federal budget deficits, pointing out that the national debt has doubled over the past four years under Reagan.

Yet Reagan "does not see budget deficits as a problem to be solved," O'Neill charged.

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U.S. crackdown on Marcos urged over vote fraud

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The U.S. government should strongly denounce the Marcos regime's attempt to defy the will of the Philippine people through massive fraud and terrorism that marred that country's presidential election, the AFL-CIO declared.

After several days of ballot-counting, President Ferdinand E. Marcos was proclaimed the winner over challenger Corazon Aquino in the disputed Feb. 7 election.

Had the election not been distorted by fraud, "the Aquino-Laurel ticket would have been victorious," the Executive Council said in a statement.

In Manila, Ernesto F. Herrera, the 1985 winner of the AFL-CIO's George Meany Human Rights Award, condemned the "rampant vote-buying, terrorism and ballot

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To avoid disputes

Organizing accord plan adopted

Bal Harbour, Fla.—A new "Procedure for Determining Organizing Responsibilities" designed to avoid "wasteful" competition among unions seeking to sign up unorganized groups of workers was approved by the Executive Council.

Acting on the recommendation of its Committee on the Evolution of Work, the council approved a detailed procedure, effective Mar. 1, for resolving organizing competition through the use of mediators and umpires, following the pattern of Article XX of the AFL-CIO Constitution which has proved successful in resolving raiding disputes over existing bargaining units.

The council acted under its constitutional authority, but it is expected that the new procedure will be incorporated in the constitution at the next AFL-CIO convention.

Following the council's action, Federation President Lane Kirkland announced the appointment of Alan Kistler, who is retiring as director of organization and field services, to be the leading mediator under the process. Serving as an alternate will be Jack Gentry, who currently is mediator for the Article XX internal disputes plan.

Kirkland named former AFL-CIO Vice Presidents Douglas Fraser of the Auto Workers and William Sidell of the Carpenters as umpires. Neither will handle cases involving his own union.

Building trades exempt

The internal disputes plan set forth in the AFL-CIO Constitution covers disputes between federation affiliates over units for which representation rights already have been established. The new procedure will apply in organizing situations where bargaining rights are open. It will not apply to organizing disputes in the construction industry, where machinery already exists for resolving such disputes.

In presenting the recommendation of the Committee on the Evolution of Work, Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue noted that in its report a year ago the committee had deplored the competition of unions in organizing as wasteful. He cited the recent example of the campaigns for groups of Ohio public employees in which several AFL-CIO unions were pitted against each other.

The new procedure may be invoked by any affiliate actively engaged in organizing a group of workers and seeking to become their exclusive bargaining representative. To invoke the procedure, a principal officer of the union must give notice to the AFL-CIO president with copies to other affiliates involved or likely to be involved in organizing the same group of workers.

The mediator to whom the matter is referred must bring the parties together

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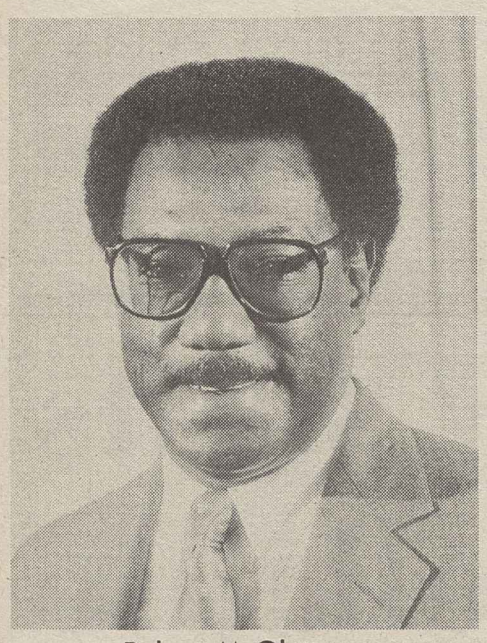
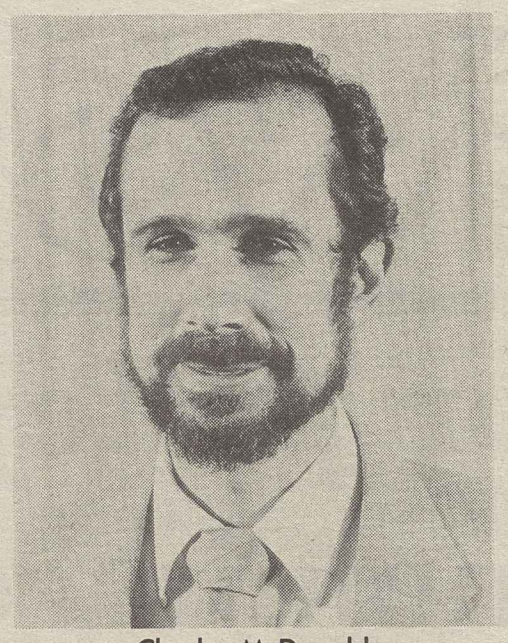


Robert McGlotten



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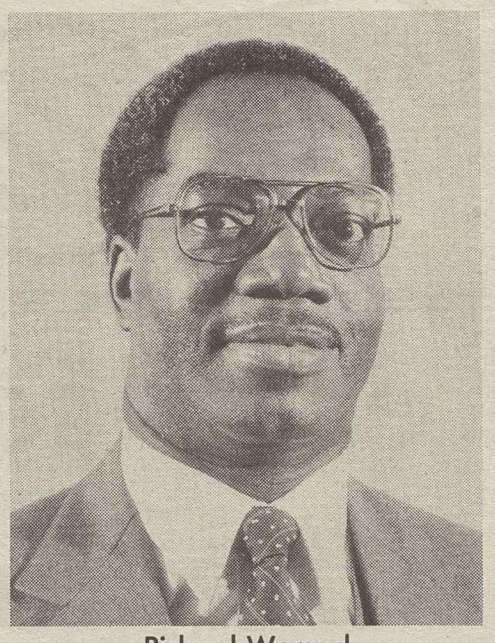

Richard Womack

Three department heads to retire, Kirkland appoints staff successors

Bal Harbour, Fla.—Three AFL-CIO department directors will retire later this year and federation President Lane Kirkland has designated their successors.

William E. Pollard will step down as director of the Dept. of Civil Rights on Mar. 4, and will be succeeded by Richard Womack.

Legislative Director Ray Denison will retire on Apr. 30, to be succeeded by Robert M. McGlotten.

Alan Kistler will retire as director of the Dept. of Organization & Field Services on June 30. His successor will be Charles McDonald.

Kistler, 65, was a volunteer union organizer in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, worked as a newspaper reporter, held local offices in the Newspaper Guild and the Steelworkers, and joined the CIO staff in 1952 after earning a master's degree from the University of Chicago. He became an assistant to Allan Haywood, the CIO's executive vice president and director of organization.

In the merged AFL-CIO, Kistler served as assistant organizing director and was named director of the expanded Dept. of Organization & Field Services in 1974. He also serves as president of the AFL-CIO's Human Resources Development Institute, the federation's employment and training arm.

New appointment

After his retirement, Kistler will continue as HRDI president and will also serve as the chief umpire in the organizing disputes procedure being established by the AFL-CIO.

McDonald, who will succeed Kistler, is 42 and has been the department's assistant director since 1975, also serving as secretary to the AFL-CIO Evolution of Work Committee.

After graduation from Georgetown Law School in 1968, McDonald came to the AFL-CIO as an organizing intern. He moved on to positions with the State, County & Municipal Employees and the Communications Workers. McDonald held posts with several government agencies and served as a counsel to the Senate Labor Subcommittee before joining the AFL-CIO staff.

Denison, 62, will have a key role in the new associate membership benefit program when he steps down as legislative director.

He has been on the AFL-CIO staff since 1963, initially in what was then the Dept. of Public Relations. Denison became legislative representative in 1967 and was appointed director of the department in 1980.

After World War II service, he became managing editor of the Seafarers Log and received a journalism degree from New York University. Returning to his home state of Michigan, Denison served as regional editor of Solidarity, the UAW newspaper, from 1957-59. He then became an official of the Great Lakes District of the Seafarers, serving until he joined the AFL-CIO staff.

McGlotten, who will succeed him as legislative director, is 47 and has served in a number of major assignments since joining the AFL-CIO staff in 1967.

Job training posts

He started with the Dept. of Civil Rights, negotiating Apprenticeship Outreach agreements that brought thousands of minority youngsters into the building crafts. From 1970-72, McGlotten served as executive director of the Human Resources Development Institute.

He was given a leave of absence to serve as special assistant to the Secretary of Labor, and then returned to the AFL-CIO staff, becoming a legislative representative in 1974. McGlotten was named associate director and has been Denison's chief deputy since 1984.

McGlotten, who attended the University of Pennsylvania and St. Joseph's College for Industrial & Labor Management, is a former staff representative of the Transport Workers and has held leadership roles in a number of civil rights and civic organizations.

Pollard, 70, has been the AFL-CIO civil rights director since 1974 and a staff member since 1964.

Starting as a dining car employee on the Southern Pacific Railroad, he worked his way through a succession of union posts and served 14 years as president of the Joint Council of Dining Car Employees of the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees. Pollard became an organizer for the Los Angeles Joint Board of HERE and served as a vice president of the Los Angeles County AFL-CIO. He attended Los Angeles City College and UCLA.

Pollard's initial assignment with the AFL-CIO involved liaison between the federation's affiliates and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. He is a member of the national board of the NAACP and has received distinguished service awards from the Urban League, the NAACP and the Dept. of Justice, among others.

Womack, 46, has been on the civil rights staff since 1977 and a part of the labor movement since 1963, when he went to work for Reynolds Metal Corp. in Chester, Pa., joined the Steelworkers and became active in the union.

He was elected chairman of his local's grievance committee, served on the negotiating committee, took on organizing assignments and was treasurer of the Delaware County AFL-CIO central body. An army veteran, he attended Cheyney State Teachers College and Pennsylvania State University.

Womack was a field coordinator for the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council from 1968 to 1971, when he joined the HRDI staff. He served as assistant HRDI director, supervising a field staff in 55 cities, before coming to the Dept. of Civil Rights. He is currently chairman of the Newspaper Guild unit that represents staff employees at AFL-CIO headquarters.

Disputes plan adopted as aid to organizing

Continued from Page 1

within 14 calendar days and attempt to bring about an agreed-upon solution. If the mediator determines that the controversy can't be resolved within a 14-day mediation period, the matter will be referred to an umpire. A hearing will be conducted by the umpire within 14 days, giving all parties a chance to present evidence bearing on their claims.

Within 10 days after the hearing the umpire will issue a final and binding award. If the umpire finds either (1) that one of the unions involved began a full-fledged organizing campaign significantly before any other union and has a reasonable chance to succeed, or that (2) in any other case one affiliate is significantly more likely to gain majority support from the employee group than any other affiliate involved in the case, the umpire will enter an award so stating.

The affiliate in whose favor the award is issued will have the sole right to seek to become the exclusive bargaining representative of the employee group in question for one year, unless the umpire for good reason extends the period. If the umpire decides that neither of the situations cited is true, the award will affirm the right of all interested affiliates to seek to organize the employee group in question.

Comprehensive review

As adopted by the council, the new procedure sets several specific criteria to be included in the factors considered by the umpire in reaching a decision. It also includes provisions for protesting the noncompliance of an affiliate and sanctions against unions found to be in noncompliance.

In cases where all the affiliates seeking to organize a group of employees are parties to a written agreement designed to resolve such controversies, the provisions of that agreement are to be carried out before the new AFL-CIO procedure is invoked.

Evaluation of the new procedure is to be undertaken annually by the Article XX Review Committee for report to the Executive Council.

Council, New York workers mourn death of Van Arsdale

New York—Harry Van Arsdale Jr., president of the New York City AFL-CIO since 1957, died of prostate cancer Feb. 16 at his home. He was 80.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, at its midwinter meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla., paid tribute to Van Arsdale's dedication to trade unionism in a letter to his wife Madeline.

"New York City labor and Harry Van Arsdale Jr. were synonymous. He organized workers who had been left unprotected, like the city's taxi drivers; he reached out to minority workers to bring them under the protection of union contracts, and he worked to elect progressive political leaders at every level of government," the council pointed out.

"The country, state and city he loved so much, the labor movement and all of his legion of friends have suffered an irreplaceable loss. We know where to look for Harry's monument—it is all around us."

Van Arsdale joined his father in the electrical trade and became a member of Electrical Workers Local 3 at age 19. In October 1933, he was named business manager of IBEW Local 3, and won re-election to that position until he stepped down in 1968.

Local 3 members made significant gains under Van Arsdale's leadership, winning the seven-hour workday in 1934. Additional improvements came in later years.

Van Arsdale spearheaded the establishment of a training school in 1950 to help union members to improve their skills. Later, advanced courses were made available through New York, Columbia and Cornell Universities. A scholarship program was set up for members' children.

Civil rights advocate

In Local 3, he set up a Hispanic Labor Committee and a Black Trade Union Leadership Committee to address concerns of minority members. And in 1961, he began an affirmative action program in the local.

After becoming president of the city central body in 1957, he became a key figure in major contract settlements in the city. He was a confidant of a string of mayors and governors in New York.

Van Arsdale headed the effort to revitalize the city's annual Labor Day parade, and in 1971 established the first labor college devoted to teaching workers at Empire State College.

He also succeeded in organizing the city's taxi drivers into a directly affiliated local union that later became part of the Service Employees. He served as president of the taxi drivers union for years without pay. He also served the central body without pay.

A council delegation of federation vice presidents and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue joined thousands of mourners at funeral services on Feb. 20 at St. Patrick's Cathedral. Besides his wife, Van Arsdale is survived by four children, including Thomas, who has temporarily headed the city AFL-CIO since last August.

Harry Van Arsdale Jr.

O'Neill prods Reagan on revenues

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"He sees them as an excuse to take mortgages away from veterans, food away from poor children and housing away from old people. It is hard to believe that he did not know what his proposed budget would do to veterans' mortgages when he was asked about that at his press conference."

The Speaker recalled that Reagan, in his budget message, said his proposals would not cut into "legitimate programs for the poor and the elderly," yet in 1987 the budget will impose major reductions in child nutrition, Medicare, Medicaid and housing for the elderly.

"The President's budget turns the safety net into a safety trap," O'Neill declared. "It makes sure that the hungry will be hungrier, the poorly housed will be homeless and that the welfare recipient struggling for a job will give up the struggle.

"His budget has no plans to reduce the trade deficit; 1987 will be another year for record trade deficits.

"He should be less concerned about how people will get to Tokyo on the Orient Express in 30 years and more concerned about getting every American who wants to work a job."

O'Neill said Democrats in the House were more united in 1985 than they had been in more than 20 years, and he predicted that they will have another good year in 1986, largely because Reagan and the Republicans have "ignored the unemployed, the underemployed and the hard-pressed farmer."

Council sounds alarm on economy

Labor's program responds to knotty national problems

Continued from Page 1

a progress report on a new benefits program for union members in response to recommendations of the council's Committee on the Evolution of Work, and endorsed President Lane Kirkland's appointment of Charles McDonald as director of the Dept. of Organization & Field Services on the retirement of Alan Kistler. Under the constitution, filling of the organizing post requires council approval.

The retirements of Civil Rights Director William Pollard and Legislative Director Ray Denison also were reported, and Kirkland announced the appointments, respectively, of Richard Womack and Robert McGlotten to fill those positions.

The council also engaged in a lengthy discussion of problems faced by unions locked in prolonged struggles with employers who exploit the current high levels of unemployment to import strikebreakers and openly seek to break the unions. The issue was referred to the Committee on the Evolution of Work to develop specific approaches to the problem.

Focus on trade

"It's a complex issue involving many facets that will be discussed in depth in that committee," Kirkland told reporters at one of his daily news conferences, "and I expect that we shall have some concrete proposals for new approaches in the future."

Midway through the meeting, the council engaged in a seminar on current corporate practices involved in takeovers and corporate raids and on the consequences for workers and their unions. A trio of lawyers and financial experts was brought in for the discussion—Gene Keilin of Lazard Freres investment bankers, Brian Freeman, an investment consultant retained by several unions faced with management takeover battles, and Bruce Simon, counsel for the Air Line Pilots.

At his news conferences, Kirkland reviewed a number of other problems confronting organized labor in the United States, focusing particularly on those related to the nation's huge trade deficit. He noted that the enormous U.S. domestic market—"built and sustained by American levels of wages and the American standard of living"—is now being penetrated by the products of exploited labor. He condemned particularly those American companies "that honor no flag and have no sense of responsibility to their own country, who will—given the fact that capital is infinitely mobile—pursue the cheapest and most exploited labor they can find in the world and flood our markets."

This situation and the mercantilistic practices of competing nations constitute one of the most critical problems facing the country, Kirkland said. And the resolution of this problem, he added, "will define the future of this country and not just of the trade union movement."

The council's statement on trade said that to avoid further economic erosion and job loss, the nation needs programs that will:

- Rectify the major trade imbalances with countries like Japan through such legislation as the Trade Deficit Reduction Act.
- Tighten and streamline U.S. trade law to deal with unfair practices through enactment of such legislation as the Trade Modernization Act.
- Bring the dollar to a more appropriate level and mitigate the wide swings in its value.
- Enact legislation to deal with the problems of specific industries such as textiles and apparel, telecommunications, printing, maritime, shipping and shipbuilding.
- Purge the tax code of incentives for the movement of U.S. jobs overseas by eliminating foreign tax credits and tax deferral on foreign earnings.
- Enact the Trade Adjustment Assistance Reform & Extension Act and provide retroactive coverage to workers currently being denied such benefits.

"We must not permit goods manufactured in countries which refuse to respect basic worker rights to freely enter this country," the council said. It called for the inclusion of a social clause in U.S. law and in the rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade that would assure the adherence of nations to minimum international labor standards.

Decline in wages

In its statement on the national economy, the council noted a 7 percent decline in real average earnings of non-farm workers over the past 10 years, the increasing number of families in poverty in the 1980s, "and the growing maldistribution of income with the wealthy reaping a larger proportion of the nation's income while workers and the poor receive less."

It noted that unemployment in 1985 averaged 7.2 percent, more than 8.4 million jobless workers, figures previously considered a "recession" level of joblessness. And while the jobless rate improved to 6.7 percent in January, it was still a full percentage point higher than the 1979 level before the onslaught of the 1980 and 1981-82 recessions.

Among other actions, the council renewed the federation's call for steps to reduce interest rates and thus stimulate job-creating economic activity and for an industrial policy "to modernize and revitalize basic industries to achieve better international competitiveness for the U.S."

Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) voices concerns on the nation's twin afflictions—the huge trade and budget deficits—to council members.

Reagan's budget scored as lopsided

Bal Harbour, Fla.—Congress should reject President Reagan's attempt to slash domestic programs in order to pay for another big rise in defense spending, the Executive Council said.

The council called for repeal of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction law, branding as "irresponsible" its remedy of massive across-the-board cuts.

Additional tax revenue, achieved by making the tax system fairer, can avoid unacceptable budget cuts, the council insisted. But "if Congress determines that some program reductions are necessary to impose budget restraints, defense spending must not be exempted from such cuts."

Reagan's budget ignores the constitutional requirement to promote the general welfare as well as provide for the common defense, the council charged.

The President's budget would slash funding for dislocated workers, the Job Corps, summer youth employment, vocational education, college student aid, Medicare, Medicaid and child nutrition assistance, among others. It would "continue to scapegoat federal employees" through layoffs, reduced retirement benefits and curtailment of pay raises, the council charged.

The AFL-CIO statement also assailed Reagan's proposals to end trade adjustment assistance to workers whose jobs are wiped out by imports, end new construction of government-assisted housing, abolish economic development programs and sell a number of the government's assets.

It urged Congress to continue the government's role in support of "the general welfare of all Americans, including workers, their children, their parents and the poor."

Kirkland responds to questions at press conference.

Tax reform revenue urged to fund needs, curb deficit

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO called on Congress to build on House-passed tax reforms to raise additional revenue to fund needed government programs and reduce federal deficits.

An Executive Council tax policy statement lists additional reforms that would raise $200 billion in new revenue over the next five years, while making the tax system fairer. Its starting point is the tax bill the House passed last December, which is awaiting action by the Senate.

The House-passed bill contains loophole-closing provisions "long advocated by the AFL-CIO," the council noted. But because President Reagan threatened to veto any bill that isn't "revenue-neutral," the House bill uses savings from reform to reduce tax rates, especially for wealthy individuals and big corporations.

Despite Reagan's opposition to new taxes, the punishing realities of the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction timetable have convinced Democrats and Republicans alike of the need for additional revenue. But Congress is stalemated over the solution, the council pointed out.

Labor's proposal would raise $41.5 billion in the first year by making these modifications in the House-passed bill:

- Add a fourth individual tax bracket to the House bill, which in its present form would drop the top tax bracket from 50 to 38 percent. Labor's proposal would apply a 45-percent tax to income over $100,000 a year on a joint return, raising revenue by $4.3 billion.
- Reduce the corporate tax rate, now 46 percent, only to 41 percent. The House bill would drop it to 36 percent. The added revenue is $12.5 billion.
- Reduce the preferential treatment for capital gains for an additional $6.2 billion.
- Curb oil and gas industry special privileges as originally proposed by the Treasury Dept., to raise $62 billion.
- Transform the foreign tax credit to a deduction, raising $9.7 billion.
- Impose a minimum tax of 25 percent of all corporate income over $150,000 and all individual income over $100,000. The revenue gain is $4.2 billion more than the House bill.
- Curb tax shelters as originally proposed by the Treasury Dept. to raise $300 million.
- Reject a proposed 10-percent corporate tax deduction for dividends paid, to save $200 million.

Added revenue can be achieved without taxing employer-provided benefits and without eliminating the deduction for state and local taxes, the Executive Council stressed.

Its statement reiterated the AFL-CIO's opposition to "creating new inequities through the enactment of value-added taxes, selective excise or consumption taxes which bear most heavily on low- and middle-income working families."

The council urged the Senate to remedy some of the defects in the House bill affecting public employees, persons drawing unemployment compensation and those in jobs with fluctuating incomes.

But it praised the House for rejecting the Administration plan to tax health care protections and proposals to tax other employment benefits such as life insurance, tuition payments and legal services.

Building trades spur diabetes research fund

Bal Harbour, Fla.—Three building trades leaders are serving as cochairman of the "Blueprint for Cure" campaign, a three-year fund-raising effort to support the Diabetes Research Institute at the University of Miami.

The campaign to mobilize the trade union movement on behalf of the 12 million sufferers from diabetes is headed by Presidents Patrick J. Campbell of the Carpenters, Edward J. Carlough of the Sheet Metal Workers and Robert A. Georgine of the Building & Construction Trades Dept., which is spearheading the effort.

Its goal is to raise close to $10 million to help fund construction of a modern research facility for the institute, which Georgine described as at the "pinnacle of diabetes research."

The first annual Labor of Love golf tournament, held at the Turnberry Isle Country Club in Miami last week, raised $200,000 for the fund. The field of players included Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), chairman of the House Ways & Means Committee as well as trade union leaders.

The BCTD plans a fund-raising dinner during its annual legislative conference in April.

Credit card plan crux of new benefits package

Bal Harbour, Fla.—A new credit card for members of AFL-CIO unions, with fees and interest rates substantially below those currently prevailing, is being developed by the federation in negotiations with the Bank of New York.

Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, in an interim report to the Executive Council on behalf of the Committee on the Evolution of Work, said the credit card is part of a package of benefits being developed to carry forward recommendations in the committee's landmark report last year on "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions." The benefits plan would be made available to AFL-CIO unions to offer their members and associate members in addition to the benefits provided in collective bargaining agreements.

The credit card is the centerpiece of the package and could mean significant savings for the more than 60 percent of AFL-CIO union members who have major national credit cards. As typical credit card users, they pay on average $20 a year as a fee for the privilege of having the card and 19 percent interest on outstanding balances charged to the card. The average credit card user carries a monthly unpaid balance of $869.

Other elements of the benefits program on which talks also are proceeding include forms of group health and life insurance, prepaid legal services and investment instruments.

Donahue said the committee hopes to present the details of this benefit package to the Executive Council at its May meeting and by early summer to begin working with affiliates to test-market the plan.

The AFL-CIO convention last October approved the concept of a benefits package that would encourage workers not covered by a collective bargaining agreement to retain union ties.

Following the committee's report, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland announced that Ray Denison, whose retirement as the federation's legislative director was announced at the council meeting, has agreed to head a new corporation to administer the benefits plan.

Kirkland said the benefits corporation will be separate from the AFL-CIO structure, but will have a board made up of council members and other officers of AFL-CIO unions.

Following up on another recommendation in last year's report, the federation is establishing within its Dept. of Organization & Field Services a new Office of Comprehensive Organizing Strategies & Tactics (COST).

It will be charged with promoting wider use of "corporate" or "comprehensive" organizing techniques against recalcitrant employers and helping affiliates develop their own comprehensive campaign capabilities.

The office will draw on the experience of AFL-CIO unions and departments and will run demonstration projects on corporate campaign strategy, provide advice and assistance to affiliates, conduct training conferences and develop training materials for organizers.

AFL-CIO Executive Council shapes labor's policies at its midwinter meeting.

Philippine election fraud assailed, council cites threat to democracy

Continued from Page 1

snatching" that occurred during and after the elections.

Herrera, general secretary of the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, said that the efforts to frustrate the people's will were capped by a "last-ditch attempts to manipulate the tabulations of the votes cast."

The council said that under the circumstances, "Marcos's continuation in office is insupportable." It termed the Marcos record as being one of "corruption, economic mismangement, ineptitute and brutality."

The forces of democracy in the Philippines will be weakened if the United States continues its support of the Marcos regime, the council warned. The proper course, it stressed, would be for the U.S. government to actively encourage the political, trade union and church groups that are "looking to the replacement of the Marcos regime with a truly representative government."

The council reaffirmed its support for TUCP, which is a member of the National Movement for Free Elections. The independent, citizens watchdog group monitored the national elections and challenged the government's vote tally.

Herrera called on the Marcos regime to "show for once real respect for the popular will so that there may be peace in this country. No less than a genuinely mandated leadership is needed to let the democratic center hold and put the nation on the road of reconciliation and renewal."

In its tallies, the citizens movement reported Aquino leading with 53 percent of the vote. The nonpartisan coalition was aided by 7,000 TUCP volunteers.

The Marcos-controlled Philippine National Assembly, however, declared that Marcos got 54 percent of the vote to 46 percent for Aquino.

But the National Assembly's vote count did not match at least a half dozen other election results that were reported.

U.S. observers

A U.S. congressional delegation, observing the elections, charged that Aquino supporters were harassed and often prevented from voting. There were reports of Marcos' soldiers stealing ballot boxes and 30 computer operators at the government's election headquarters walked off their jobs, charging that computer tallies showing Aquino leading by 100,000 votes were being ignored by their superiors who posted winning numbers for Marcos.

At a news conference, Aquino called the election "one of the most shameful electoral frauds ever perpetrated against a people in the name of democracy."

The executive council praised the actions of TUCP and the citizen volunteers who were subjected to harassment and death threats while monitoring the elections.

TUCP, which works closely with the AFL-CIO Asian-American Free Labor Institute, had mounted a nationwide, nonpartisan voter turnout campaign. It sponsored full-page newspaper advertisements and radio and television spots, and place thousands of posters in every major city and key rural areas.

It was the only nonpartisan get-out-the-vote drive besides that of the Catholic Church. The election produced the largest voter turnout in the country's history.

The trade union congress and its affiliates refused to participate in an election boycott that had been called by the Communist National Democratic Front and supported by some labor groups.

Working mothers increase in '85 to 18.2 million

Fifty-eight percent of mothers with children under 18 were employed last year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported. That's up from the previous year, when the ratio was 56.3 percent.

Over the year, according to the census sampling on which the report was based, the total number of families with children under 18 rose by 460,000 to 31.4 million, while the number of employed mothers increased 765,000 to 18.2 million.

The percentage increase in employed mothers, however, was entirely based on households with children over the age of six.

Both last year and in 1984, 49.1 percent of mothers with children under six were employed. But the percentage of employed mothers whose children were all between 6 and 18 increased to 64.1 percent, up from 62.3 percent in 1984.

The figures cover all household units with a mother and children, both single-parent and two-parent families.

Among married-couple families, with and without children at home, 42.1 million had at least one employed member. Both husband and wife were employed in 23.5 million or 47 percent of this category.

The median weekly earnings of families with one wage earner came to $333 last year, only $2 higher than the previous year. But the median for families with two or more wage earners rose from $677 in 1984 to $705 last year.

Among married couples living together, one-earner families had median weekly earnings of $446 last year if the husband was employed and $211 if the wife was the only person employed. The combined weekly earnings of both husband and wife in two-earner families came to $698 in 1985, up from $666.

The number of families with one or more unemployed persons stayed about the same last year, at 5.9 million.

Alaska trades adopt 'build union' pact

Fairbanks, Alaska—Union construction workers on Alaska's North Slope have agreed to more competitive pay scales in order to assure that oil companies operating in the area continue to use union contractors.

At stake is an estimated three to four million hours of construction work over the next 24 months, most of it above the Arctic Circle.

The agreement, with the North Slope Contractors Association, includes a 40-hour workweek guarantee. When weather permits, workweeks at North Slope construction projects typically run 60 to 70 hours during the July-November prime building season.

Alaska Building Trades Council President Richard Peluso said unions are determined "to do everything we can" to stay competitive so that fair employers will not lose out in bidding for contracts.

For the first year of the two-year agreement, pay scales will be about 20 percent below the previous hourly rate. In a "temporary emergency" contracts will be able to assign workers across craft lines.

The contract provides for a wage reopener in its second year.

Employer payments into union health and welfare funds for building trades craftsmen remain intact under the new agreement, Peluso noted.

Conventions

The AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. will hold its 1986 convention in Hollywood, Fla., Oct. 8-10.

The Maintenance of Way Employees will convene July 14-18 in Kansas city—not July 11-19 as previously reported.

Centennial label

Leaders of the Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers accept a 6-by-10-foot banner denoting the union's 100 years of service. The banner, presented by the AFL-CIO Union Label & Service Trades Dept. in Bal Harbour, Fla., will hang in the lobby of the BCT headquarters building in Kensington, Md. From left, Department Sec.-Treas. John Mara, BCT President John DeConcini, Department President James E. Hatfield and BCT Sec.-Treas. Rene Rondou.

Aid cutback urged

Kingpins in murders elude Salvador trial

The AFL-CIO isn't satisfied with the conviction of two triggermen and wants military aid to El Salvador cut back until the men who ordered the slaying of Michael P. Hammer, Mark D. Pearlman and Jose Rodolfo Viera are brought to justice.

Two National Guard enlisted men who admitted the killings were sentenced to 30-year prison terms by a Salvadoran court on Feb. 13. But the politically influential army officers and wealthy businessmen who directed the murders have gone unpunished.

Hammer and Pearlman were land reform specialists on the staff of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development. Viera was head of El Salvador's largest farm worker union and director of his country's land-reform agency. All three were gunned down in a San Salvador coffee shop on Jan. 3, 1981. There is strong evidence that the killings were planned by a right-wing death squad to prevent the government's land-reform policies from being carried out.

The AFL-CIO statement acknowledged the efforts of El Salvador's President Jose Napoleon Duarte to reopen the case by establishing a judicial commission. But until justice is achieved, the AFL-CIO will continue to urge a reduction in military aid to El Salvador.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told reporters covering the Executive Council meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla., that the issue is whether El Salvador will move ahead as a democracy, with civilian control of government and the judicial system.

The danger, he warned, is an officer corps "immune from due process of law," and able to shift full responsibility for the murders to "the two hapless creatures who were ordered to do the shooting."

While President Duarte "is doing his level best," Kirkland said, "he has not yet succeeded in getting control of the military establishment." Cutting back on supplies is a means of influencing the military and "we propose to use it," he said.

The AFL-CIO is "concerned about justice in the future for the working people of El Salvador, the people who have to live down there," Kirkland stressed. He called for "a sweeping reform of the system of justice" and civilian control over the military.

Action endorsed

In San Salvador, an American Embassy spokesman strongly endorsed the AFL-CIO charge that the persons who planned the slayings to set back the land reform goals have not been brought to justice.

The gunmen and independent witnesses identified Lt. Lopez Sibrian as having given them their orders and Capt. Eduardo Avila as having furnished the guns used in the slayings.

An army major, Mario Denis Moran, and two right-wing businessmen were also linked to knowledge and complicity in the crime. Despite Moran's role in the cover-up, he has since been promoted to colonel.

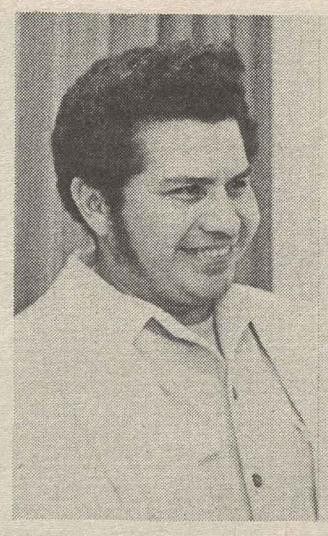
Capt. Avila was shielded from prosecution by his uncle, a member of El Salvador's highest court. Lt. Sibrian was allowed by the court to change his appearance before standing for identification in a police lineup. A New York Times account described the case as "one of the best documented instances of a death-squad killing."

The land reform project involved redistribution of land from wealthy families to poor peasants at a fair price.

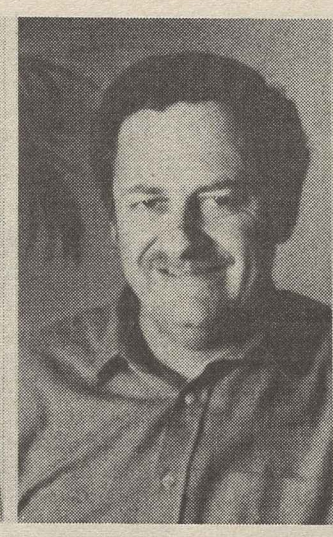
Land reform advisers

Pearlman, whose home was in Seattle, had come to El Salvador as the AIFLD's adviser to farm unions involved in implementing land reform. Hammer, a 17-year veteran of the AIFLD staff from Potomac, Md., had arrived in El Salvador the day he was killed to consult with Viera on the land distribution. The three were talking in the coffee shop of a San Salvador hotel when the killers opened fire with automatic pistols.

The government prosecutor told the jury during the one-day trial of the two gunmen that Hammer and Pearlman had not come to El Salvador "to sell us arms" but to bring "ideas" for a better life for the people.



Jose Rodolfo Viera



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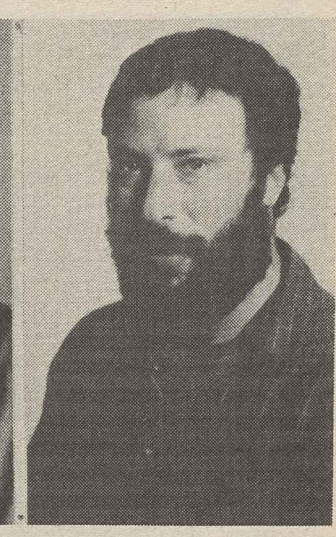


Mark D. Pearlman

14,000 Steelworkers strike major can manufacturers

Nearly 14,000 Steelworkers went on strike against container manufacturers after rejecting a major contract proposal from National Can Corp., one of the five key can companies in the industry.

The USWA members set up picket lines at 87 plants across the United States and in Canada when no agreements were reached before contracts expired on Feb. 16.

The struck companies are National Can, American Can Co., Crown Cork & Seal Inc., Continental Inc. and Continental Can Ltd. of Canada.

USWA Vice President Leon Lynch, who heads the metal container negotiating team, said the committee could not recommend approval of National Can's offer because the bonuses and economic package did not reflect the company's profitability.

National Can had offered its 2,200 workers a year-end bonus of $400 instead of a wage increase. But a majority of union presidents from metal container locals noted that the company's profitability justified a pay increase and rejected the proposal by a vote of 57 to 38.

Companies healthy

The National contract proposal was considered to be "superior" to that of the major can makers. But the union said the bonus offered by National amounts to little more than 10 cents per hour over the life of the proposed three-year agreement. The USWA also pointed to its economic analysis of the four American manufacturers showing each company to be operating comfortably in the black.

The union is seeking pension improvements, job security provisions and the extension of a labor-management problem-solving plan currently in place for 4,500 workers at American Can, in addition to wage improvements.

The can manufacturers refused to negotiate on an industry-wide basis, but several companies offered agreements with annual bonuses instead of wage increases, the USWA said.

Workers at American Can and Continental plants who are members of the Machinists are honoring USWA picket lines where both unions represent workers at a single plant, IAM Vice President George Poulin said.

More than 300 IAM production workers at an American Can facility in Georgia and some 400 at a Continental plant in Nebraska are supporting the USWA strikes, while smaller IAM units in Missouri also are refusing to cross USWA picket lines.

The IAM's master agreement covers nearly 3,000 workers and will expire Apr. 1., Poulin reported.

Early steel talks

In a related development, the USWA said five of the six major steel producers have agreed to an early bargaining schedule in an effort to reach agreement on steel contracts by the end of March. The current contracts covering 222,000 steelworkers will expire July 31.

Armco Inc. and Inland Steel Co. set target settlement dates of Mar. 25 and Mar. 31, supporting the union's "steel crisis action agreement" and pledging to seek government aid for the battered steel industry and its workers.

LTV Corp. previously agreed to the early bargaining program, with company and union negotiators setting a settlement deadline of Mar. 15. Bethlehem Steel and National Steel agreed to a Mar. 31 deadline.

The early bargaining agreements call for a joint union-industry effort to promote legislation to help the steel industry, develop public awareness campaigns and designate a national "support American industry day." The campaign will highlight the serious problems facing American industry and the steel industry and steelworkers in particular.

U.S. Steel Corp., the nation's largest steel manufacturer, has not responded to the union's proposal for early negotiations. Nearly 51,000 USWA members are covered by the U.S. Steel agreement.

Labor periodicals face another big postage rate hike

Union publications will be hit with another steep hike in postage rates effective Mar. 9 because of additional increases the Postal Service board of governors voted and changes it made in the "in-county" rate structure.

The rate increases resulting from the changed "in-county" restrictions are in addition to those outlined by the postal board earlier in February.

James M. Cesnik, secretary-treasurer of the International Labor Communications Association, said many union publications—especially those of local unions and state and local central bodies—may see their rates more than double, on top of an earlier increase that went into effect Jan. 1.

Citing recent congressional action, the Postal Service eliminated the second-class "in-county" discount for publications with total circulation of more than 10,000 and which mail more than half of their total circulation outside their home county.

But Cesnik pointed out that Congress intended to exempt nonprofit publications from the new restriction, targeting only commercial and for-profit journals. The Postal Service, however, claims that Congress did not exempt nonprofit publications from its action.

For publications that cannot meet the new in-county criteria, the second-class rate will rise from 4.3 cents per copy to the regular nonprofit rate of 8.2 or 8.7 cents per copy.

Under the postal board's "preferred rate" schedule, union publications sent by third-class mail would face an 18-percent rate increase, while those sent by second-class mail would see a 7-percent rate increase, if Gramm-Rudman budget provisions remain in force.

Without the forced Gramm-Rudman reductions, third-class rates for union publications will rise 11 percent and second-class rates will go up by 4 percent.

Missouri AFL-CIO raises per capita payments 10 cents

Jefferson City, Mo.—The Missouri AFL-CIO executive board unanimously approved an emergency increase of 10 cents in monthly per capita payments beginning Mar. 1 to improve programs.

The new monthly per capita rate will be 40 cents. State Federation President Daniel J. McVey said in a letter to affiliated locals that the increase is needed "to reach more of our members on matters of importance."

OSHA cancer drug guide falls short

Unions whose members work in hospitals and clinics welcomed the Occupational Safety & Health Administration's release of guidelines on the handling of cancer-fighting drugs, but called for the agency to follow up with a strong standard.

The guidelines are aimed at alerting health care workers to the dangers of antineoplastic drugs that are often can cause cancer themselves. The drugs are used in treating cancer patients and are highly toxic to humans.

Many of the drugs have been linked to reproductive impairment, organ and chromosome aberrations, birth defects and serious skin disease, according to OSHA.

Jordan Barab, safety director for the State, County & Municipal Employees, said the guidelines look "good on paper, but it's not a standard." He expressed concern that the guidelines would not be implemented by hospitals and added there was not much of an incentive for hospitals to act.

Barab pointed out that public employees are only covered under state OSHA plans, and said the union will try to get state agencies to enforce the guidelines under general duty regulations.

Laura Job, safety director for the Hospital & Health Care Employees, said the guidelines were "long overdue." She called the guidelines "very comprehensive," but said the union would have preferred an effective standard.

She said the guidelines were weak on the use of personal protective equipment, and expressed concern that "there will be a lot of subtle pressure on people not to wear personal protective equipment."

Job said the union will distribute the guidelines to its district leaders and to union safety committees.

Bill Borwegen, safety director for the Service Employees, while commending OSHA for finally taking some action said the agency is not fulfilling its mandate to protect workers. "It is a regulatory agency," he stressed. "By issuing guidelines, it is weaseling out of its mandate."

Lengthy delay

He stressed that OSHA took the same route by issuing guidelines on hepatitis B. Borwegen noted that now some hospital workers have to pay $100 for the series of three shots needed to protect them from the hepatitis B virus.

Borwegen questioned why OSHA took a year to issue the guidelines and noted the Office of Management & Budget's involvement in the process added to the delay.

OSHA recommended the use of a laboratory hood, education and training of workers to reduce possible worker exposures. The guidelines cover drug handling, waste disposal, spills, medical surveillance, storage and transportation.

About 30 of these high-powered medications are available commercially and administered to an estimated 200,000 to 400,000 patients annually. Thus, several thousand health care workers could be directly exposed to a variety of risks, OSHA said.

Little research has been done on the long-term risks at the levels of exposure encountered by unprotected health care workers, said OSHA Acting Administrator Patrick R. Tyson. "These drugs have been associated with human cancers at high levels of exposure and have caused cancer and birth defeats in many animal species," he said.

Tyson noted that a survey of 21 U.S. cancer centers showed only 10 used the necessary "biological safety cabinets" or safety hoods.

In another survey, nine of 10 tumor clinics did not use ventilation hoods for preparation of the drugs and gloves were used routinely in only three clinics. Air monitoring showed "significant air levels of the two drugs in most common use in these clinics," the guidelines said.

Maritime Trades President Frank Drozak leads call for revival of U.S. merchant marine.

Cargo commitment needed

Maritime unions ask new course

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Dept. called for a joint effort by government, management and labor to revive the U.S. merchant marine as "a commercial entity and an essential component of our national security."

In a statement adopted at its winter meeting here, the MTD executive board reaffirmed its support for "a strong, militarily useful U.S.-built, operated and crewed merchant fleet supported by an adequate pool of trained labor, funding and government support."

The MTD board termed the current state of the maritime industry "deplorable" and blamed it on bad planning and neglect that it said has continued through several administrations. The statement cited the elimination of construction subsidies, the cutback of the operating subsidy program, and the permission of buyouts as factors that have harmed the competitive position of U.S.-flag shipping in recent years.

"Our world position has been further undercut by opposition to the Law of the Sea treaty, resistance to negotiating bilateral agreements with our trading partners, and attacks on our cargo preference laws," the board's statement said.

It stressed that cargo is the key factor in the use of American vessels and in creating the demand for new ships. Yet, the MTD noted, "we lack a positive national commitment to putting more cargoes on U.S.-built, U.S.-flag vessels."

The board concluded its statement with a "call to action" to all those with an interest in a healthy merchant marine—government agencies, Congress, ship operators, shipbuilders, representatives of associated industries and maritime labor—"to join together for the purpose of formulating a program and strategy incorporating a comprehensive national maritime policy for the revitalization of the U.S. merchant fleet."

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, in an address to the MTD board, noted that President Reagan's budget message targets the remaining federal maritime programs for further cuts, proposing to terminate the ship construction loan program and repeal the cargo preference compromise won by the maritime unions just last year.

"I don't need to tell you what these budget proposals mean to this country in terms of jobs, of individual and corporate earnings and taxes, of sealift capability and transportation independence," Kirkland said.

Cuts unnecessary

The Administration's claim that these cuts—and others demanded in health, housing, welfare, education and government service—are necessary to manage the federal budget deficit "does not hold water," he charged.

"The way to bring down the deficit is to reverse the process the Administration used to push it up," Kirkland declared. He said Congress could start by reversing Reagan's "giant tax giveaway" of 1981 and then establishing a trade policy guided by fairness, reason and the national interest of the American people."

The Reagan Administration's policies also came under sharp fire from House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill. He told the MTD board that the five straight years of record budget deficits that have occurred under President Reagan "are the direct result of the failed promise of supply-side economics, which predicted that lower tax rates would produce higher tax revenues."

Opposite effect

Just the opposite has been the case, O'Neill pointed out, with revenues declining as a percentage of gross national product while the Administration was increasing spending dramatically for "the biggest peacetime military buildup in history."

Other members of Congress addressing the MTD board included Representatives Norman F. Lent (R-N.Y.), David E. Bonior (D-Mich.), Bob Carr (D-Mich.) and Thomas J. Manton (D-N.Y.).

The statement on national maritime policy was the centerpiece of a series of statements adopted by the MTD board. Specific issues confronting the maritime industry and its unions were addressed in statements that:

- Endorsed legislation to establish a federal build-and-charter program to construct militarily useful merchant vessels for charter or lease to commercial operators.
- Backed a measure to require that structures used in the offshore production of oil and gas be built in the United States and that at least half the materials used be of domestic origin.
- Urged Congress to establish a port-development program that will enable large, deep-draft vessels to call at U.S. ports and thus enhance the competitiveness of American exports such as oil and gas while ensuring fair application of costs.
- Supported measures to assure a fair share of the carriage of Japanese auto imports to the United States aboard U.S.-flag ships.
- Called for legislation to deal with critical problems facing the U.S. deepsea fishing industry as a result of the increasing importation of foreign fish products, the predatory practices of other fishing nations, and the soaring cost of insurance for American fishing vessels.

Washington State approves landmark pay equity accord

Olympia, Wash.—The Washington state legislature gave its approval to a landmark pay equity agreement that provides wage increases for nearly 35,000 state government workers.

The settlement now awaits final action by the U.S. District Court at a "fairness" hearing scheduled for early April.

The pay equity agreement, reached between the State, County & Municipal Employees and a state-appointed negotiating team last Dec. 31, provides for $106.5 million in pay increases over a six-year period for state workers in predominantly female jobs.

Workers are scheduled to receive raises totaling $46.5 million over a 15-month period beginning April 1. An additional $10 million in pay equity raises will be awarded yearly through 1992. Over the six-year period, Washington state will spend some $482 million to end past sex-based wage discrimination.

AFSCME and state negotiators are meeting to resolve technical questions and to agree on an acceptable index for evaluating the jobs.

AFSCME supports a method that would employ the 150 "benchmark" jobs index currently used by the state to set all job classifications and salaries, while the governor's office prefers to rely on available data and individual job evaluations that already have been completed. But both sides believe that either method will result in fair evaluations and wage increases.

AFSCME filed suit against Washington state in 1981, citing a government study that found workers in predominantly male jobs were paid 20 percent more than workers in female-dominated jobs.

Court ruling

In 1983, U.S. District Court Judge Jack E. Tanner in Tacoma found the state guilty of discrimination under the federal Civil Rights Act and ordered salary increases and back pay for 15,000 workers, mostly women.

That ruling was overturned by the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals last September. AFSCME has appealed the decision.

At AFSCME's national headquarters, President Gerald W. McEntee applauded the Washington state legislature and the governor for "their willingness to bargain this issue with AFSCME rather than resort to a lengthy legal battle."

Carlough gains post on trade secretariat

Geneva—Sheet Metal Workers President Edward J. Carlough is the first North American to be elected to the management committee of the International Federation of Building & Wood Workers, a trade secretariat for construction unions around the globe.

In an address to the federation's 350 convention delegates, Carlough emphasized the worldwide nature of the many problems facing workers. He sponsored a resolution endorsing the efforts of the building trades to reduce the hazards of working with asbestos.

Carlough and Bricklayers President John T. Joyce were elected to the federation's executive committee.

1985 record raises grade of Congress

Members of Congress generally improved their grades this year in terms of support for labor's legislative program.

The scores are based on the AFL-CIO's annual Report Card on Congress, which shows how House and Senate members voted on key issues tabulated by the Dept. of Legislation. The 1985 report was an insert in last week's AFL-CIO News.

In both the House and Senate, Democrats were in accord with labor's position on 80 percent of the key votes during the 1985, the first session of the 99th Congress.

The previous year, during the second session of the 98th Congress, House Democrats had voted with labor on only 74 percent of key votes and Senate Democrats only 75 percent.

The Republican record on labor-designated issues improved in the Senate from 19 percent in 1984 to 24 percent last year. In the House, the support level stayed almost the same—22 percent in 1984 and 21 percent last year.

Regional breakdown

On a regional basis, members of Congress from the 12 eastern states had the best voting record on labor's program. In the House, the Democratic support rose from 81 percent to 91 percent last year and the Republican support percentage rose from 38 to 44. In the Senate, the Democratic score rose from 85 to 91 and Republican support grew from 31 to 45.

As has been the pattern, the 13 southern states registered the lowest levels of support for labor's agenda in the House and Senate among both parties.

Southern Democrats backed labor on 58 percent of House votes and 69 percent of Senate votes, up from 1984's 56 and 62 percent. Among the region's Republicans, support in the House slipped from 17 to 12 percent but increased in the Senate from 7 to 13 percent.

Western Democrats were slightly more in tune with labor's views than midwestern Democrats in both years, but midwestern Republicans had better labor support records than western Republicans.

Operating Engineers win raises for 2,500

New York—Operating Engineers negotiated a three-year agreement with the owners of 350 office buildings providing wage increases and benefit improvements for 2,500 engineers and mechanics.

IUOE Local 94-94A-94B voted to accept the new contract with the Realty Advisory Board by a vote of 1,161 to 197.

The new contract calls for weekly wage increases in each of the three contract years for engineers and helpers, raising minimum weekly wages for engineers to $622 and helpers to $490.80.

Chief engineers, mechanics and other union members will receive pay increases of six percent for 1986 and five percent each in 1987 and 1988.

Save the children

The Children's Defense Fund charged that President Reagan's budget would slash $16 million a day from programs set up to help poor children and their families.

The group urged Congress to reject proposed cuts in children's programs and instead to reform tax, minimum wage and welfare laws to help working poor families.

Some 13 million American children now live in poverty, 42 percent of them with family incomes of less than half the poverty level, the report charged. Meanwhile poor, working families have seen their federal tax rates increase 200 to 500 percent since 1979.

The Reagan budget, sent to Congress earlier this month, calls for steep cuts in child nutrition, Medicaid, Medicare and other health programs to meet Gramm-Rudman budget restrictions.

But CDF President Marian Edelman said the Administration rates itself "not by how many hungry infants can be fed, but by how many federal nutrition dollars can be held back as the waiting list of hungry babies grows."

Edelman criticized the Administration's tax and military spending policies and pointed out that "unless these misguided budget priorities are reversed, by 1990 every American will be spending 21 percent less on poor children and 58 percent more on the military than we did in 1980."

EDITORIALS

Interlocking Policy

THERE IS a degree of overlap in the various economic policy statements adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its midwinter meeting, and it is both inevitable and desirable.

It would be folly to consider the budget deficit without consideration of the tax policies that contributed to its growth—or of tax policies that could bring it closer in balance.

Unemployment affects young people seeking to enter the labor force and older workers forced into an unwanted early retirement. It affects families and the need for food stamps. It clearly affects tax revenues and budget outlays for social programs. Obviously, the budget deficit narrows when people looking for work find jobs.

There is no possible way to separate the massive and growing trade deficit from the nation's other economic problems, nor is their cause to do so.

It is the single most troublesome economic problem of our era.

AS GOVERNMENT studies have shown, the price of U.S. trade deficits has been the wipeout of good-paying manufacturing jobs and continued high unemployment. The mythical "free trade" so dear to the Reagan ideologues has pushed up the federal debt and tilted the nation further toward a low-wage service economy.

To carry the linkage of labor concerns still further, as the Executive Council statement on trade notes, "substandard wages and working conditions imposed on foreign workers and exploitative policies and practices of multinational corporations" have also been a factor in the displacement of American goods from our home market. Indeed, no man is an island.

Nor can the economic issues that concern the trade union movement be separated from labor's political role.

Are the men and women we elect to the House and Senate responsive to these problems and the other concerns of American workers and their unions?

The voting record in the last issue of the AFL-CIO News goes a long way to answering that question. While some members of Congress might prefer to be all things to all constituents, the legislative process does require them to stand up and be counted, and properly so.

The AFL-CIO's "report card" shows where they stood on the issues.

Early in this century, Samuel Gompers called on union members to reward their friends and defeat their enemies at the polls.

It's still good advice, and we ignore it at our peril.

Lesson of History

THE PROCEDURE adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council to minimize wasteful and often self-defeating rivalry among unions in organizing campaigns is a natural outgrowth of a process that proved its value when the AFL and CIO were still separate labor federations.

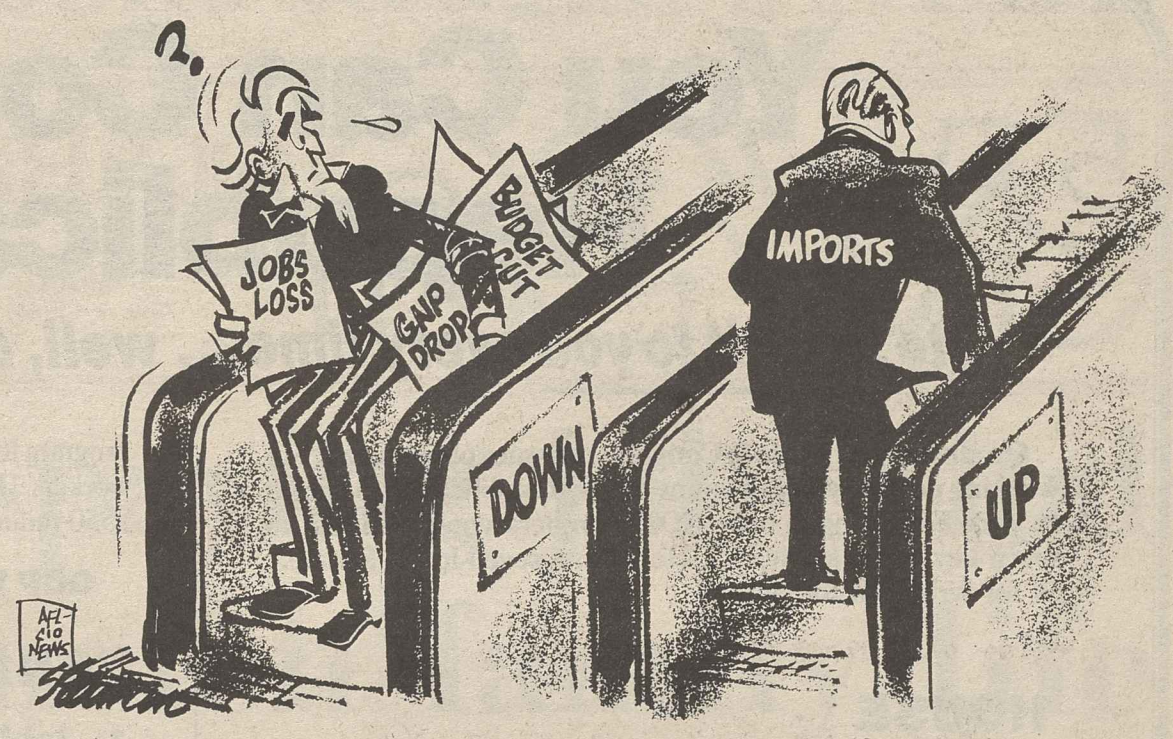
As students of labor history and those of a certain age will recall, there was a period when labor's organizing resources were increasingly tied up in raiding established bargaining units and in defending against such raids.

A voluntary no-raid agreement overcame a big obstacle to merger. No-raid principles were written into the AFL-CIO Constitution and subsequently strengthened through the Article XX process for resolving disputes.

The new procedure for determining organizing responsibility is a natural outgrowth of that process.

In a period of rapid change in the workforce, it is a healthy sign that unions are more vigorously pursuing organizing opportunities. The new procedure is intended to make these efforts more effective.

The commitment is undiminished. The council appropriately noted Lane Kirkland's reminder at the last AFL-CIO convention that "we have a hell of a lot more people to organize—and we do mean to organize them."



Paging Mr. Grace

Corporate tax loopholes provide wrong incentives

By David Wilhelm

J. Peter Grace, the head of W.R. Grace & Co., has made quite a name for himself in recent years as the self-appointed leader of a national crusade against government waste.

But there is one form of government waste about which Mr. Grace—and many other corporate leaders—are strangely silent.

That's the waste associated with corporate tax loopholes.

Back in 1981, big-business lobbyists promised us that, if corporate taxes were cut, an investment boom would result that would reinvigorate our basic industries, boost worker productivity, improve our competitive position in international markets and most important, lead to more jobs.

President Reagan and the Congress listened to the lobbyists and changed the tax laws to provide huge new and expanded corporate tax "incentives." Since then, the annual costs of all corporate loopholes tripled—to $120 billion this year.

After four years, it's time to ask the big question: Have the loopholes worked? Have the companies that are the biggest winners under the current tax code—companies that pay little or no tax—used their new cash in the ways their lobbyists promised?

Loophole bonanza

Citizens for Tax Justice just completed a survey of profits, taxes, employment, and investment for 259 of the nation's largest and most profitable corporations between 1981 and 1984. It found that the principal beneficiaries of 1981's loophole bonanza used their tax savings in nearly every way except the way they had promised.

W.R. Grace, which paid federal income taxes amounting to a mere 0.2 percent of its $803 million in profits between 1981 and 1984, cut investment by 43 percent, and reduced employment by 12 percent.

Boeing, which actually received a net refund of $285 million on more than $2 billion in profits during the same four years, slashed investment 38 percent and cut jobs 18 percent.

All in all, the survey included 44 companies that paid absolutely no federal income tax over this four year period. Taken together, these no-tax companies cut both investment and workers by 4 percent and 6 percent respectively.

Where did the tax-shelter money go? At least one major corporate tax avoider put its tax savings to work. General Electric, which paid zero tax on more than $9 billion in profits during these four years, recently purchased RCA by forking over $6 billion in cash. As Business Week observed in reporting on this deal: "This sort of tax activity clearly undermines business' case for special tax treatment."

Dividends boosted

Besides merger activity of this sort, the 44 no-tax companies were boosting dividends by 22 percent and increasing the pay of their chief executive officers by 54 percent.

Imagine how those companies feel that can't play the tax system game the way the no-tax companies do.

For instance, VF Corp., the maker of Lee Jeans, paid a tax rate of 44.7 percent, the highest in the survey. Yet VF increased both investment and jobs. Whirlpool, not far behind with a 42.4 percent tax rate, did the same.

In fact, 43 companies in the survey paid 33 percent or more of their profits in federal income taxes between 1981 and 1984. Taken together, these high-tax companies boosted investment by 21 percent and added 4 percent to their workforce.

One thing is clear: after four years of skyrocketing loopholes, America's basic industries—the supposed beneficiaries of the "incentive" explosion—are still in pretty bad shape.

It's time to face up to the evidence. The loopholes don't work. Tax fairness and economic common sense would both be advanced by returning the corporate tax-avoiders back to the tax rolls.

Wilhelm is executive director of the Citizens for Tax Justice, a labor-backed coalition of union, church and public interest organizations.

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Lane Kirkland, *President*
Thomas R. Donahue, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Executive Council

Thomas W. Gleason, Albert Shanker, Angelo Fosco, Alvin E. Heaps, John DeConcini, John J. Sweeney, Barbara Hutchinson, Gerald W. McEntee, Patrick J. Campbell, Lynn R. Williams, Robert A. Georgine, Frederick O'Neal, Sol C. Chaikin, Charles H. Pillard, William W. Winpisinger, Wayne E. Glenn, Frank Drozak, Richard I. Kilroy, William H. Bywater, Owen Bieber, Morton Bahr, Milan Stone, Murray H. Finley, Edward T. Hanley, Kenneth T. Blaylock, William H. Wynn, Joyce D. Miller, James E. Hatfield, Vincent R. Sombrotto, Marvin J. Boede, John T. Joyce, Larry Dugan Jr., Gene Upshaw

You Can Count on Republicans

(to stick it to you every time... well, darn near every time)

On almost every vote in Congress on issues of importance to working people, you can count on the Republicans...to stick it to you. Following is how GOP members voted in 1985 on seven key issues in the U.S. House and seven in the Senate. W for wrong, R for right.

HOUSE

1. Plant closing—Proposal merely would have required firms planning to padlock plants and abandon their workers and communities to (1) give adequate notice to employees and (2) meet with union representatives to explore for possible alternatives to closing doors. Overwhelming GOP opposition killed bill 208-203 on November 2.

GOP Vote: 159W 15R 90%W

2. Tax fairness—In 1984, nearly 90,000 companies paid no federal income taxes. Democrats proposed a minimum tax on corporations so all would pay at least something. Proposal was beaten 283-142 on May 23.

GOP Vote: 177W 1R 99%W

3. Jobs for youth—Republicans almost torpedoed bill modeled after highly successful Depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps to put jobless youths to work on needed conservation projects. But jobs-for-youth bill passed 193-191 on July 11.

GOP Vote: 148W 18R 89%W

4. Union rights—House right-wingers tried to curb union lobbying and registration, political education and get-out-the-vote programs among members. Plan defeated 233-186 on July 30.

GOP Vote: 160W 16R 90%W

5. Pay discrimination—Proposal simply to make a study of wage and job classification discrimination in the federal work force based on sex, race or national origin passed 259-162 over solid GOP resistance on July 30.

GOP Vote: 139W 37R 80%W

6. Job safety—For years foot-dragging OSHA failed to issue a minimal sanitation standard for drinkable water and for adequate wash-up and toilet facilities for field workers. Democrats proposed to make sanitation standards a condition of farmer eligibility for federal agriculture aid. Defeated 227-199 on October 8.

GOP Vote: 168W 10R 90%W

7. Food for the poor—Since President Reagan took office, Republicans slashed $7 billion from the food stamp program for the needy, which also helps feed the families of jobless workers. House Republicans proposed to cut program by a further $550 million. Defeated 238-171 October 7.

GOP Vote: 153R 23R 87%W

SENATE

1. Jobless benefits—Republicans killed a proposal, offered by one of their own, to extend supplemental unemployment benefits program for six months. Program's expiration cut off 400,000 workers and their families. April 3 vote was 58-34 against.

GOP Vote: 41W 5R 89%W

2. Wage protection—Senate GOP proposed, and put through, plan to weaken long-standing Davis-Bacon law protections of wages and standards of workers on federally-financed construction projects. Proposal passed on 49-49 tie vote June 4.

GOP Vote: 39W 12R 76%W

3. Social Security—Democratic effort to restore cost-of-living adjustments to Social Security recipients was defeated by Senate GOP, costing beneficiaries $220 a year—51-47 on May 9.

GOP Vote: 49W 3R 98%W

4. Health care cuts—Democrats tried to restore $4.6 billion cut from basic Medicare, Medicaid health programs, but GOP votes sustained cuts in health aid to the elderly and the poor—54-44 on May 9.

GOP Vote: 51W 1R 98%W

5. Aid to education—Democrats proposed to restore funds slashed from popular Head Start program for disadvantaged children and from major education programs for handicapped and disabled. GOP votes shelved proposal 50-47 on May 9.

GOP Vote: 47W 4R 92%W

6. Public health—Superfund toxic dump clean-up proposal included payment of medical expenses to citizens victimized by dump-site toxic substances. GOP opposition defeated provision 49-45 on September 24.

GOP Vote: 40W 11R 78%W

7. Importing workers—Despite high unemployment here, Senate GOP pushed measure to import 350,000 foreign agricultural workers, threatening jobs of U.S. migrant workers. Passed 51-44 on September 17.

GOP Vote: 36W 15R 71%W

The GOP: It'll Get You... One Way or Another

On one key issue—to restrict imports that are killing the textile and apparel industries in the U.S. and have wiped out almost a million American jobs since 1980—House and Senate Republicans did somewhat better than on other issues. Senate GOP split 25 right to 28 wrong. House GOP 75 right to 100 wrong. Though measure passed both houses, the Biggest Republican of Them All—President Reagan—vetoed it. Which just shows: The GOP's going to get you...one way or another.

GOP Record: Think About it Between Now and Election Day... November 4

High court rebuffs Reagan's NLRB

Union rights restored on voting units

By David L. Perlman

If you want a voice in the union that bargains for you, join it.

That was the message from a unanimous Supreme Court in a decision that slapped down a policy reversal imposed by President Reagan's appointees to the National Labor Relations Board.

The case that reached the Supreme Court involved the Seattle-First National Bank, whose union-busting tactics and refusal to bargain with the Food & Commercial Workers earned it a place on the AFL-CIO's national boycott list.

On the same day, the Supreme Court ruled against labor's position in an unrelated case involving a state's refusal to do business with firms that repeatedly violated federal labor law. The court's conclusion in that case was that the state law conflicted with federal jurisdiction over regulation of labor-management relations.

Initial rejection

In the Seattle bank case, the NLRB initially rejected the employer's argument that the bank's obligation to bargain with the unaffiliated union that had represented its employees ended when the union members voted in 1978 to become a local of the Food & Commercial Workers.

But with a changed majority, the NLRB did a turnabout in 1982 and agreed with the employer position. It ruled that all workers in the bargaining unit, not just union members, must be allowed to vote on a change of affiliation in order for the union to retain its bargaining rights.

Up until then, as the Supreme Court noted, the NLRB had held consistently that the employer's obligation to bargain with a union was not affected by a mere change of affiliation.

The policy switch, one of the first reflecting the changed makeup of the NLRB, had broad implications for the labor movement as a whole. The UFCW promptly challenged the NLRB and won a 3-2 decision in the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. But in similar cases, two other circuit courts had sided with the NLRB. The Supreme Court agreed to settle the issue.

Rare departure

AFL-CIO Gen. Counsel Laurence Gold represented the UFCW and the union members at Seattle-First in the argument before the Supreme Court. The unanimous decision upholding the union position was written by Justice William J. Brennan Jr. In a brief note of concurrence, Chief Justice Warren E. Berger noted that the Supreme Court's action was "one of those rare departures from this court's long history of special deference" to the NLRB's decisions concerning the selection of a bargaining representative.

The court's decision was unequivocal. It dismissed the NLRB argument that a change of affiliation may affect a union's representation of workers in a bargaining unit and therefore all employees in the unit should have a voice in the matter.

Lots of decisions a union makes affect non-members, the Supreme Court reminded the NLRB. By that reasoning, nonmembers

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Fair-paying jobs vital to enrich family life

Labor Sec. William E. Brock discusses the impact of budget cuts on essential federal programs with Executive Council members in Bal Harbour, Fla.

Council raps hypocrisy of program cuts

By John M. Barry

Bal Harbour, Fla.—A broad range of federal action is needed to strengthen the American family, "including opportunities to work and earn enough for decent family life," the AFL-CIO Executive Council declared.

Acting on three resolutions referred to it by the federation's 1985 convention as "building blocks" for a comprehensive study of issues related to work and the family, the council approved a substitute resolution detailing organized labor's long-standing concern with such problems and setting forth the AFL-CIO's approach to their solution.

"There are no simple, easy, or cheap ways to meet the needs of America's families who have diverse and sometimes conflicting interests. But unions have special responsibilities and opportunities to promote and defend family-oriented programs, both public and private," the resolution stressed.

The AFL-CIO and the National Association of Manufacturers are cooperating as major participants in a national conference on Work & Family cosponsored by the Labor Dept. and the Bureau of National Affairs Inc., Apr. 14-15, in Washington.

Living standards

The resolution drawn up by the federation's Executive Council on that subject points out that efforts to strengthen the family are at the heart of organized labor's long struggle to raise wages and living standards "through collective bargaining and through legislative and political activity."

All of society has benefited, the measure notes, from union-won wage-hour and overtime laws, child-labor protections, social security, Medicare and Medicaid, equal employment opportunity, pay equity, day care and a wide range of other programs that advance the quality of family life.

But changes now under way make work

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Evolving workforce

New services forged in response to change

A year after adopting its landmark report, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," the AFL-CIO has realized substantial progress in eight key areas affecting the scope and effectiveness of the labor movement.

The federation has put in place a variety of structures to deal with such issues as organizing and collective bargaining, communicating with its members and the general public, providing new services and benefits for existing members and developing programs, benefits and services for union members, supporters and associates not covered by union contracts, mobilizing community support and strengthening its internal structure.

Three new offices have been created within the AFL-CIO to help move the labor movement toward its goal of meeting the changes occurring in the workplace and the economy:

- The office of Comprehensive Organizing Strategies & Tactics, established in the Dept. of Organization & Field Services, to help affiliates develop non-workplace strategies in their campaigns to win recognition and first contracts from recalcitrant employers.
- A membership benefits corporation, headed by Ray Denison, retiring director of the Dept. of Legislation, to develop and administer a program of consumer benefits and services for members of affiliates, such as low-cost credit cards, group life, health and other insurance, discounted legal services, an IRA and other forms of investment programs.

Eventually these benefits will extend to former members and union supporters not covered by collective bargaining agreements, as the federation's program to establish new associate and other categories of membership takes hold among affiliates.

- A new position filled by Alan Kistler, retiring organizing director, with Jack Gentry as alternate, to mediate potential organ-

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Kirkland hails labor's role in Aquino ouster of Marcos

The installation of Corazon Aquino as president of the Philippines on the abdication of Ferdinand Marcos was hailed by the AFL-CIO as "democracy's success and a moving testament to the courage of the Filipino people."

In a telegram to Mrs. Aquino, Federation President Lane Kirkland pledged American labor's full support to generate economic assistance that would "respond to their needs and strengthen their democratic institutions."

Kirkland noted the AFL-CIO's long and close working relationship with the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines and paid tribute to such labor leaders as Democrito Mendoza and Ernesto Herrera, recipient of the AFL-CIO's 1985 George Meany Human Rights Award.

He expressed pride in the role that the Filipino labor movement played in "promoting fair elections," despite efforts by Marcos and his cohorts to manipulate the ballots in a desperate, last-ditch attempt to remain in power.

The collapse of the Marcos regime came with stunning swiftness. Despite overwhelming evidence that the people had chosen Aquino and her running mate, Salvador Laurel, the Marcos-dominated National Assembly awarded the victory to the man who had ruled the Philippines with an iron hand for two decades.

But a popular uprising, in which leaders and members of the TUCP played an active role, accompanied by the defection of two of Marcos's top generals, wrote the fi-

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

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Tribute to Van Arsdale

New York's Fifth Avenue is jammed with an overflow turnout of thousands of union members during the funeral mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral for Harry Van Arsdale, president of the city's AFL-CIO, who died Feb. 16 at age 80. The mourners included AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, a contingent of federation vice presidents and Gov. Mario Cuomo. In his homily, Joseph Cardinal O'Connor said Van Arsdale was "a giant" in the American labor movement, whose efforts promoted the dignity of workers.

Administration policy scored for backsliding on civil rights

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The Reagan Administration is trying to roll back civil rights gains and weaken enforcement of anti-discrimination laws, the AFL-CIO charged.

An Executive Council statement pinned chief responsibility for the turnabout in government policy on presidential appointees "with the primary role in enforcing the civil rights laws"—Attorney Gen. Edwin Meese III and top officials of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The council accused Meese of "energetically pursuing a campaign to persuade the President to emasculate the long-standing Executive Order 11246 that puts affirmative action employment obligations on federal contractors."

The EEOC has gone Meese "one step better," the council charged, by ending the policy of seeking "goals and timetables" for minority hiring from employers who have engaged in discriminatory practices.

It noted that the EEOC's long-standing policy in this area was reversed by its chairman and general counsel without consideration by the full commission.

The effect has been "to weaken the enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and thereby to encourage violation of the law by employers who know that the EEOC does not apply serious sanctions to wrongdoers," the council charged.

Deplores delay

The AFL-CIO statement also expressed concern at the roadblocks to passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which is needed to reverse a 1984 Supreme Court decision narrowing the ban on sex discrimination by recipients of federal education funds and imperiling enforcement of other civil rights laws.

The bill was stalled in the Senate in the last Congress by right-wing strategems, the council noted. In the current Congress, it has been blocked "by the tactic of adding unrelated and controversial amendments to that simple measure to return the law to where it was."

The council reiterated the AFL-CIO's commitment "to preventing federal subsidization of discrimination and to furthering affirmative action that provides women, blacks, Hispanics and members of other minority groups equal opportunity, not just in theory but in fact."

Because of the Reagan Administration's policies, it said, the AFL-CIO is obligated "to concentrate on the job of restoring and maintaining current anti-discrimination law." When that is assured, labor and its civil rights allies will be able to focus again on the longer-range goals of making further improvements in the law, the council statement pointed out.

Federal report on smoking skirts job cancer risks

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO scored the 1985 Surgeon General's report on smoking for minimizing the risks posed by workplace toxins and stressed the need to reduce the exposures of all workers to hazardous substances.

The labor movement recognizes that smoking is a major public health problem of concern to both smokers and nonsmokers, the federation's Executive Council said.

But the Surgeon General's report on the Health Consequences of Smoking—Cancer & Chronic Lung Disease in the Workplace—may be used by employers to "shirk their responsibility to clean up the workplace and to place blame for occupational disease on workers who smoke," the council warned.

In noting "there are real issues related to smoking and the workplace that should be addressed," the council stressed its opposition to "employer discrimination against hiring of smokers and employer proposals to mandate the removal of smokers from certain jobs or to require participation in smoking cessation programs as an excuse not to meet their responsibility to clean up the workplace."

The council said that issues related to smoking on the job should be worked out by voluntary labor-management solutions that protect "the interests and rights of all workers." The solution, however, is not in legislative mandates or unilaterally imposed employer policies that forbid smoking on the job, the council added.

It urged affiliates to "continue their efforts to reduce workplace hazards and to provide voluntary assistance and education to workers who smoke, as part of ongoing comprehensive programs to improve the health of union members."

Aid step-up sought for Solidarnosc

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The continued "brutal repression" of Solidarnosc by the Jaruzelski government underscores "the urgency of expanding" American labor's assistance to the embattled Polish trade union movement, the AFL-CIO declared.

To counter the "relentless harassment and persecution" of Poland's workers, the Executive Council called on affiliates to establish "direct union-to-union relationships with their counterparts in Poland," and to make new contributions to the federation's Polish Workers Aid Fund.

"This fund must be replenished if our Polish brothers and sisters are to meet the needs imposed upon them by the government's virtual state of war against them," the council said.

At the same time, the federation encouraged state and local central bodies to "adopt" regional Solidarnosc organizations, to raise funds on their behalf and to maintain contact with them, pledging the assistance of the Dept. of International Affairs in carrying out such a program.

Climate unchanged

The AFL-CIO warned against any undue optimism that the political climate may be changing in Poland following the recent court decision to drop charges against Lech Walesa for allegedly "slandering" the government.

Polish union leaders Bogdan Borusewicz and Tadeusz Jedynak have been arrested and charged with treason for their union activities, the council pointed out. This action came on the heels of the sentencing of Bogdan Lis, Wladyslaw Prasnaiuk and Adam Michnik on charges of "working in illegal trade union structures."

"In the face of such brutal repression," the federation declared, "the free trade union movement of Poland has inspired workers everywhere with its courage and determination. Solidarnosc needs and deserves all of the moral and material support we can provide."

Mike Botelho praised for service to labor

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The death of M. Michael Botelho, for many years field services director for the State, County & Municipal Employees Council 93 in Boston, was deeply mourned by the Executive Council. He died in Brockton, Mass., Feb. 18 at age 73.

In a statement, the council pointed to Botelho's half-century of service as a "memorial to his dedication and commitment to the labor movement."

Botelho began his career in the Textile Workers as a local shop steward in Fall River, Mass., before becoming a regional director, executive board member and vice president of the union.

He served as president of the New Hampshire CIO in the late 1940s and in 1954, joined AFSCME to served as executive director of Atlanta Council 14. Botelho later was New England regional director, then field services director for Council 93.

His efforts helped Council 93 grow to more than 50,000 members in Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire, the council statement noted.

Duvalier ouster sets stage for reviving unions

Bal Harbour, Fla.—Hailing the end of the "barbaric" Duvalier regime, the AFL-CIO pledged full support for Haitian trade unionists who have begun the task of reconstructing an independent democratic labor movement.

The federation's Executive Council called on the U.S. government to make certain that Haiti's new military regime honors its pledge to "respect human rights, encourage free trade unionism, and hand over power to a democratically elected civilian government as soon as possible."

If the "people's revolution" is to succeed, the federation said, the United States government must help the Caribbean island republic "cope with the appalling economic and social conditions" that are the legacy of the Duvalier era. Such aid is vital to make certain that "the old dictatorship is not replaced by a new one."

The council called Duvalier's abdication "a historic step in the struggle of the Haitians to free themselves from a barbaric regime which not only denied its people fundamental human rights but kept them mired in the worst poverty in the Western Hemisphere."

Representatives of the AFL-CIO and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions are already in contact with Haitian trade unionists who resisted the Duvalier dictatorship, providing assistance in rebuilding a "vital Haitian trade union movement" that can strengthen the solidarity of free workers around the globe, the council pointed out.

Workforce changes spur new services

Continued from Page 1

izing conflicts and prevent "wasteful" competition among unions in signing up presently unorganized groups of workers.

Two permanent arbitrators—former AFL-CIO Vice Presidents Douglas Fraser and William Sidell—have been appointed to hear cases that Kistler is not able to resolve through voluntary agreements.

In addition, a temporary office has been established to assist nine AFL-CIO unions in their effort to organize Blue Cross/Blue Shield workers across the country.

The health insurance firm has 80 separate operating companies with about 39,000 employees eligible for union membership. About 10,000 are already organized.

Operating within the organizing department, the Blue Cross/Blue Shield program will be headed by Kevin Kistler, an assistant regional director. It will serve as a demonstration project for other multi-union organizing efforts.

Forward strides in other areas covered in the 1985 report prepared by the AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work include:

- Expanded use of the electronic media to get labor's message across, through eight training sessions conducted by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs in four states, as well as in Idaho and Oklahoma where unions face the challenge of compulsory open-shop legislation. Four more training sessions are scheduled in Louisiana and Texas.
- Inauguration of "one-on-one" programs involving scores of affiliates in the pilot states of Missouri, Georgia and Idaho. Under this system, local officers, shop stewards and other union activists trained as canvassers talk with members to get their input on community, legislative and social issues and involve them in local, state and federal legislative activities.
- Strengthening state and local central bodies and increasing their effectiveness. The AFL-CIO convention last fall voted to make a major effort over the next three years to increase the level of voluntary affiliation with central bodies.

A year ago, the committee expressed confidence that the labor movement "has the capacity to continue the never-ending process of renewal and regeneration that has enabled unions to remain the authentic voice of workers."

After one year of activity, there is strong evidence that, in the words of the report, "the labor movement can thrive amidst changing conditions."

Council's family agenda keyed to jobs

Continued from Page 1

and family issues "more vital than ever to the health of American society," the resolution asserts. It notes particularly the vast increase in the number of women in the workforce and the rapid growth in the number of single-parent families and those that require two incomes.

It charges that many who profess to be pro-family "are in fact the architects and supporters of government policies that have drastically weakened public programs that benefit children, the elderly and the unemployed."

The federation's broad recommendations for support of family life call for national full employment policies, improved unemployment compensation along with health care protection and mortgage and rental relief for the jobless, quality health care for all families, more vigorous enforcement of equal opportunity laws and promotion of pay equity, a higher minimum wage to assure more adequate income for the working poor, and reduced working hours to provide for more leisure time.

The council called on unions to continue to use the collective bargaining process, wherever possible, to pursue such family strengthening programs as day care centers jointly sponsored with employers, allowances for care in existing centers, time off when a child or dependent is sick, and flexible working hours to accomodate caring for children and other dependents.

Among other recommendations, the council urged Congress to restore funds for family support programs, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps and Medicaid, as well as funding for social services to meet the needs of abused children, the mentally ill and the elderly.

Referred resolutions

In the final days of its winter meeting here, the Executive Council also revised and approved another resolution referred to it by the convention calling for restoration of the Samuel Gompers statue and park and establishment of a memorial to A. Philip Randolph in Washington, D.C.

The council adopted statements on the strikes against the Chicago Tribune and the Hormel Co. in Austin, Minn., and on the confrontation between Eastern Airlines and unions representing its workers. Statements on other domestic matters focused on smoking and the workplace and the Reagan Administration's retreat on civil rights enforcement. On international concerns, council statements dealt with the situations in Haiti, the Philippines, South Africa and Poland and protection against terrorism. Stories detailing these actions appear elsewhere in this issue of the News.

Progress reports from standing and ad hoc committees of the council were presented by Vice Presidents Lynn Williams on job safety; Charles H. Pillard, housing; Owen Bieber, South Africa; Alvin E. Heaps, community services; John J. Sweeney, health care; Sol Chaikin, social security; Gerald W. McEntee, the federal budget and the constitutional convention campaign; William H. Wynn, restrictive legislation; William W. Winpisinger, retirees, and Wayne E. Glenn, state and local central bodies.

President Lane Kirkland announced the appointment of two new committees, in addition to one on the Randolph memorial. A committee to investigate the impact of contracting out will be chaired by Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue and includes Vice President Pillard, Sweeney, McEntee, Kenneth T. Blaylock, Marvin J. Boede, Frank Drozak, Robert A. Georgine and Vincent R. Sombrotto. Cooperation with the Harvard Trade Union Program to explore ideas for its continuation is the assignment of a committee chaired by McEntee with Sweeney, Williams and Vice President John T. Joyce as members.

Kirkland also announced that instead of regional conferences as in past years, the federation this year will use satelitte conference technology to sponsor an all-day union meeting on June 14, linking some 4,000 union members in 20 locations nationwide.

As part of the finance committee report presented by Donahue, the council approved budget allocations for the American Institute for Free Labor Development, the African-American Labor Center and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, along with grants to support groups—the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Frontlash and the National Council of Senior Citizens.

Contributions approved

Contributions were voted to the SOS Coalition to Protect Social Security, National Housing Conference, Joint Council on Economic Education, Health Security Action Council, the New Leader, Samuel Gompers papers, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, National Low-Income Housing Coalition, National Urban Coalition, National Urban League, National Council of Negro Women, Southern Regional Council, United Negro College Fund, Conference on Economic Progress, Consumer Federation of America, Fund for an Open Society, National Coalition Against Discrimination in Housing, the Space Shuttle Children's Fund, Polish Workers' Aid Fund, Blair House, the Ireland Fund, and the Full Employment Action Committee.

The next meeting of the Executive Council will be held in Washington, May 13-14.

Credit card plan approved as part of benefits package

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO has reached an agreement on a plan that will enable union members to obtain low-cost credit cards. Starting in early summer, the Bank of New York will issue the new MasterCard through unions affiliated with the federation.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland announced the agreement on the final day of the Executive Council's winter meeting here. He said the credit card plan represents another step in fulfilling recommendations of the council's Committee on the Evolution of Work to create a new form of worker benefit for union members.

"Our surveys of union members showed that one of the benefits they most wanted to see sponsored by the labor movement was a credit card that would save them money compared with the usual cards issued by banks," Kirkland said.

"We believe that this card will be the best deal of its kind for American consumers."

Unions affiliated with the federation will be able to choose either of two plans to offer their members. The new cards will call for no fee on issuance. Under one option, card holders will pay interest on their balances from the time of purchase at a rate 5 percent above the bank prime rate, or 14.5 percent at the present time. The other option provides for a slightly higher rate on unpaid balances after an initial grace period of no interest payments.

The average bank credit card now requires interest payments at rates of 19 percent or more, despite a general decline in other rates. Annual fees for the cards average $20.

The AFL-CIO credit card plan was applauded by the Bankcard Holders of America as a "bold move." Elgie Holstein, associate director of the non-profit educational organization, said it "sends a strong signal to the banking industry that working people are fed up with high credit card interest rates."

During the council meeting, Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, who is chairman of the Committee on the Evolution of Work, reported on other steps being taken to carry out its recommendations. He said the new low-cost credit card is one element of a package of benefits the commitee hopes to have ready by the next council meeting, May 13-14, in Washington. Also being developed are forms of group health and life insurance, a legal aid plan, and an investment and savings instrument.

After the package has been offered to the 13.1 million members of AFL-CIO affiliates through their unions, it will be made available to individuals who express interest in joining a new form of associate membership with unions.

The credit card agreement was reached with the Bank of New York and Affinity Group Marketing Inc. after they submitted the most favorable bid for the plan. Donald Colby, senior vice president of the bank, and David Mann, representing AGM, negotiated the final terms with AFL-CIO officials.

Seminar on corporate takeovers and on consequences for workers and their unions gave Executive Council members a chance to question this trio of experts. From left: Bruce Simon, counsel for the Air Line Pilots; Brian Freeman, an investment consultant to several unions affected by takeover battles, and Gene Keilin of Lazard Freres investment bankers.

Committee named to devise A. Philip Randolph memorial

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO Executive council approved the creation of a new committee to determine an appropriate memorial to A. Philip Randolph in Washington, D.C., and ways to fund it.

Revising a resolution referred to it by the 1985 convention, the council also provided for the AFL-CIO to dedicate funds for the repair and restoration of the Samuel Gompers memorial statue and park in the nation's capital.

The resolution notes that a city that recognizes the significant contributions of great Americans to the nation conspicuously lacks an appropriate memorial to Randolph, the late AFL-CIO vice president who founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and who with the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. led the peaceful 1963 civil rights March on Washington.

Randolph, the resolution observes, "remains a symbol to all minority and oppressed workers of the promise the labor movement holds for them in their struggle for a piece of the American dream."

In accordance with the resolution, Federation President Lane Kirkland appointed Vice President Frederick O'Neal as chairman of the committee on the Randolph memorial. Other members are Vice Presidents John J. Sweeney, Gerald W. McEntee, Owen Bieber, Alvin E. Heaps and Gene Upshaw, President Joslyn N. Williams of the Metropolitan Washington AFL-CIO, which sponsored the original convention resolution, and Bayard Rustin, chairman, and Norman Hill, president, of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Needing repairs

In pledging funds for the repair and rededication of the Gompers statue and park, the resolution notes that the statue is corroded and discolored and that its base has shifted, and that the park grounds are littered and need landscaping.

The statue memorializing the founder of the modern American labor movement was commissioned by the AFL and dedicated on Oct. 7, 1933, by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In all, the convention referred 15 resolutions to the Executive Council, which considered five at its winter meeting here. Three are covered by the substitute resolution on Work and Family (story, Page 1). The subject of the fifth—unjust discharges under the so-called employment-at-will doctrine—posed "difficult and sensitive" questions, and the council agreed to schedule a meeting to permit its members to present their views. A legal analysis of the issues involved accompanied the report of the Committee on Referred Resolutions.

Fund appeal issued for copper strikers

Pittsburgh—The Steelworkers are looking to the trade union movement for help in replenishing the Copper Strike Relief Fund, which has assisted members of 13 unions during a 32-month strike against Phelps Dodge Corp.

USWA President Lynn R. Williams said the message of determination by the strikers tells other copper companies that are now entering contract negotiations that Phelps Dodge made the wrong decision when it went in for union-busting.

Williams asked unions to consider a monthly contribution to the relief fund for the next six months to help the strikers from the various unions maintain their resolve that "we're not leaving."

South Africa's racism tied to exploitation

Bal Harbour, Fla.—American labor must mobilize all of its resources to support the black South African trade union movement's struggle against the "racist apartheid system" and the "economic exploitation" that accompanies it, the Executive Council declared.

The federation said that participation in the nationwide consumer boycott of products of the Shell Oil Co. is just one way for American trade unionists to "send a powerful message of encouragement to our South African brothers and sisters and an equally powerful message of protest to the government that oppresses them."

Labor will intensify its activities with a "Day of Solidarity with the Victims of Apartheid" on Mar. 22, with rallies in seven cities—Detroit, Houston, St. Louis, New York, Washington, San Francisco and Los Angeles—to keep public attention focused on the anti-labor attitude of the government in Pretoria.

The rallies will commemorate the 26th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, when South African police opened fire on peaceful demonstrators, killing 89 and wounding more than 300.

Meanwhile, the boycott continued to pick up steam as trade unionists, responding to the federation's plea, cut Shell credit cards in half and mailed them to AFL-CIO headquarters to protest the continuing assault on trade unionism at a Shell-owned mine at Reitspruit.

The boycott is part of a worldwide labor campaign against Royal Dutch Shell and its affiliates announced by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at the request of South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers and the Miners International Federation.

Coordinating the boycott campaign are Auto Workers President Owen Bieber and Mine Workers President Richard Trumka.

AFSCME study finds Reagan budget saddles states with 'crushing burden'

By Candice Johnson

President Reagan's proposed budget "represents a direct assault" on federal programs that benefit working and middle-income Americans and the poor, the State, County & Municipal Employees charged.

AFSCME outlined the shortcomings of the Reagan proposal in "State of the States," a 50-state analysis of the impact of domestic budget cuts on state and local governments.

The Administration's plan for balancing the budget "puts a crushing burden on the states," AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee said.

"It's a redistribution of hardship onto those who can least afford it. As a statement of a philosophy that favors the rich and powerful over average and disadvantaged citizens, its message is clear," he stressed.

The report noted that state and local governments are hit hardest by the proposed cuts, with federal grants-in-aid set to be slashed by more than $16.2 billion, or 16 percent, affecting health, education, housing, transportation and economic development programs.

No big surpluses

While Reagan and Administration officials claim that state and local governments have large budget surpluses that can be used to offset lost federal aid, "nothing could be further from the truth," the report stated.

"These federal budget cuts exceed the projected year-end surpluses in 43 states, while 14 states have had to make their own budget cuts to avert year-end deficits. What the President's budget does is shift the federal deficit onto the states," the study pointed out.

In its state-by-state review, AFSCME focused on specific programs that would face stiff reductions under the proposed Reagan budget. Student loans and grants for higher education would be cut by 16 percent, with Massachusetts, Minnesota and Wisconsin especially hard hit, while vocational and adult education programs across the country would face a staggering 47 percent slash.

Urban mass transit programs face a 28-percent reduction that would be felt especially in New York, Georgia and Pennsylvania, while highway aid would be hacked 17 percent, with the harshest impact felt in Alaska, Montana and Wyoming.

The AFSCME study discounted Administration claims that its safety net for the poor would be left intact, declaring that "the evidence is everywhere apparent that millions of people are homeless and without hope."

14 programs killed

Fourteen programs providing assistance to the poor would be eliminated outright, including legal aid, housing assistance and the work incentive program which provides funds for job training programs for welfare recipients, AFSCME noted, with child nutrition reduced 20 percent and Medicaid slated for a 7-percent cut. Overall reductions in aid to the poor would exceed $8 billion, with poor families in Michigan, California and Washington, D.C., hardest hit.

AFSCME called the Reagan budget proposal "a poor trade-off" for the American people because it seeks to undermine domestic programs rather than raise revenues or scale back defense spending.

"Across-the-board tax cuts for the wealthy and corporate loopholes" that are "the number one cause" of the massive budget deficit must be addressed, the union declared, criticizing the Reagan budget for proposing "no new revenues to close the gap."

Local governments will be forced to raise state income, sales and property taxes to make ends meet, since they are not able to enjoy the luxury of the Administration's "no taxes" stance, the report noted.

"State and local governments will be forced to raise taxes paid by ordinary working people because corporations and wealthy individuals are not paying their fair share of federal taxes," the study charged.

Failed policy

In a related development, Democratic governors charged the Reagan Administration with pursuing a policy of federal "disinvestment," where the states would be responsible for financing and operating programs once supported or subsidized by federal dollars.

In Washington for a meeting of the National Governors' Association, the Democratic governors criticized the Reagan budget for its failure "to make the critical investment in our nation's future" and blasted the Gramm-Rudman deficit measure as "a price tag for a failed Republican fiscal policy." The statement was presented during the closing session of the conference, but was not put to a vote.

A group of 45 governors met with Reagan during the conference and expressed their opposition to Administration plans to put a cap on Medicaid payments and other budget proposals.

The governors then unanimously voted to protect pregnant women and poor children from sharp reductions in health care under Medicaid that might be made by the President's budget and forced Gramm-Rudman reductions.

Alfred W. DiTolla

Stage Employees elect A.W. DiTolla to succeed Diehl

San Francisco—The executive board of the Theatrical Stage Employees elected Alfred W. DiTolla president after Walter F. Diehl retired Feb. 23. DiTolla, 59, has been assistant to the IATSE president since 1978 and has served as an international representative.

Diehl, who is 78, was elected president emeritus. He has headed the union since 1974.

The board first elected DiTolla as an interim vice president to fill a vacancy resulting from the resignation of Steve D'Inzillo. After DiTolla was elected president, the board voted to fill the open vice presidency with Nicholas Long, secretary-treasurer of Local 33 in Hollywood, Calif. James J. Riley continued as the IATSE secretary-treasurer.

DiTolla has been a member of IATSE's "mother local"—Local 1 in New York—for 41 years. He also has served as business representative of New York's Local 844.

Diehl comes out of IATSE Local 182 in Boston where he began his career as a motion picture projectionist in 1926. He served as business agent of the local from 1946 to 1953 when he became international representative. He served as assistant to the IATSE president from 1957 until he was elected to the union's top office in 1974.

DiTolla's term will expire in mid-July when the union will elect top officers at its convention in Hollywood, Fla.

SEIU's Jackie Ruff at hearings on home-based clerical work.

At-home workers lose out on paychecks, job benefits

Clerical employees who work at home on electronic equipment are subject to exploitation and wage-cheating and possible health hazards, the Service Employees testified at House hearings.

Jackie Ruff, executive director of the SEIU's District 925 and head of the union's clerical division, stressed the distinction between professionals who choose for convenience to do part of their work from home computers and low-paid clerical workers who earn less than persons doing comparable work in offices and usually don't get vacationis, sick leave or other job benefits.

A Government Operations subcommittee headed by Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) is exploring the problems of home-based clerical work—its appeal to mothers of young children and the problems of minimum wage enforcement and substandard conditions of employment.

Ruff charged that employers are using homework "to shift as many costs as possible to the employee," from benefits to work space and equipment purchase.

"Homeworkers are typically paid on a piecework basis," she noted, creating pressure to work long hours to increase income or meet quotas. Time spent in training or delays caused by equipment malfunction is normally unpaid.

"Only by working extraordinary hours can homeworkers expect to earn comparable incomes to equivalent office-based employees," Ruff testified. And full-time office workers find it harder to improve their conditions because of the availability of part-time homeworkers.

Many women work at home because of the lack of quality, affordable day care for young children, Ruff noted. But homework is "a poor solution" for inadequate day care, she stressed.

Based on the experience of homework programs, Congress should consider "an early ban on clerical homework," Ruff urged.

That will be her union's position, she said, "until we are convinced that it is possible to protect the rights and working conditions of electronic homeworkers."

Hormel dispute called tragedy of go-alone tactics

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The six-month strike by a go-it-alone local of the Food & Commercial Workers against the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. meat-packing plant in Austin, Minn., proved a tragic miscalculation that has inflicted "deep wounds" on the workers involved, their community and their union.

That was the assessment of the AFL-CIO Executive Council after UFCW President William H. Wynn reported on the background and conduct of the strike.

Despite strong disagreement with the tactics of Local P-9 in Austin, the UFCW has launched a fund to help strikers and their families, and the AFL-CIO has urged its affiliates to contribute to it.

While inviting contributions to relieve hardship, the AFL-CIO will also distribute to its affiliates and central bodies the UFCW's analysis of the strike, which traces the dispute to the refusal of the leadership of Local P-9 to act in solidarity with other UFCW locals in the Hormel chain.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told reporters covering the Executive Council meeting that the trade union movement has a responsibility to help members who are "victims of things that got out of control" despite strong disapproval of the tactics that brought it about.

"We're not happy" about such situations, he said. "But we stand ready, willing and able to provide those ambulance services when they're required . . . motivated by our concern for the members."

Kirkland and Wynn conferred with Local P-9 President James Guyette during the council meeting.

Council urges steps to control terrorism

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The United States should "proclaim and implement a clear national policy of combatting terrorism," the Executive Council urged.

Within the United States, the council said, safeguards should include baggage restrictions and passenger screening. Airline and ship crews should be trained to protect passengers and themselves against terrorists. Law enforcement agencies involved in the prevention of terrorism should be strengthened, the council declared.

The AFL-CIO statement called on the U.S. government "to press for strong international action to improve security and reduce the risk to lives and property worldwide, and to take all appropriate unilateral steps to protect U.S. citizens and their property."

It urged that "where warranted, sanctions and other appropriate retaliation should be used against states that harbor and support terrorists."

Joint aluminum bargaining planned

Bal Harbour, Fla.—For the first time, the Aluminum, Brick & Glass Workers and the Steelworkers will bargain jointly with the aluminum industry. Existing contracts for both unions with major aluminum producers expire May 31.

The unions, representing some 43,000 workers at Alcoa, Reynolds Co., Ormet Corp. and several smaller producers, will meet shortly to "find common ground" and to prepare for negotiations with aluminum companies set to begin May 12.

ABGW President Ernest LaBaff called the joint negotiation strategy "the best possible step for our members and workers in the industry" and USWA President Lynn Williams stressed that "no longer will the aluminum companies be afforded the opportunity to play one union against the other."

Williams said that "for the first time, we will be able to coordinate every detail of our negotiations and provide close coordination of the bargaining process."

Real earnings drop

Price boosts outpace workers' wage gains

America's workers continued to wage a losing battle to keep their heads above water, as real earnings dropped 1 percent in January—the fifth monthly decline in the past year.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics blamed the decline on a drop of seven-tenths of 1 percent in average weekly earnings and an increase of three-tenths of 1 percent in the consumer price index.

A modest 2.8-percent increase in wages since January 1985 was wiped out by a 3.7-percent boost in living costs, leaving real earnings nine-tenths of 1 percent below their level of a year earlier.

During the 12-month period, BLS said, real earnings in construction declined 1.4 percent while those in manufacturing dropped two-tenths of 1 percent. Declines were also registered for workers in transportation, public utilities, and wholesale and retail trades.

By contrast, workers in finance, insurance and real estate enjoyed a gain of eight-tenths of 1 percent in real earnings during the same period.

January's rise of three-tenths of 1 percent in the CPI was the smallest since last September and resulted from decelerating price increases for food and energy. Although declines in world oil prices began to trickle down to the consumer level, they were offset to some degree by an acceleration in the cost of other utilities.

Medical care costs in January increased by four-tenths of 1 percent—the smallest monthly advance since last July. But they were still 6.9 percent above the same level of a year ago, making medical expenses the fastest growing single component of the consumer price index.

In a separate report, BLS found that 22 states had higher unemployment rates during 1985 than they did the previous year, as a result of relatively sluggish economic growth during the fourth quarter. In Arizona and Wyoming, the jobless rates jumped more than 2 percent during the 12-month period, while eight other states had increases of more than 1 percent.

Double-digit rates

West Virginia, where the December unemployment rate stood at 12.4 percent, remained the state with the highest jobless level in the nation. Four other states had unemployment in the double-digit range—Louisiana, 11.5 percent; Kentucky, 10.4 percent; Alaska, 10.3 percent, and Mississippi, 10 percent.

BLS said that of the 245 metropolitan areas for which it had December data, McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, Tex., continued to have the highest unemployment rate—16.3 percent. Duluth, Minn., followed close behind with 15 percent joblessness.

The report showed that three states—Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania—accounted for one-third of last year's manufacturing job losses, while another third of the lost jobs were in oil and gas extraction in Texas.

Meanwhile, factory orders for durable goods inched up four-tenths of one percent in January—but the gain was due solely to a 45.1-percent surge in demand for military hardware. Without that huge defense buildup, the Commerce Dept. reported, orders actually would have declined a steep 2.8 percent last month.

For all of 1985, durable goods orders rose only 3.7 percent—down substantially from the 14.6-percent increase a year earlier.

A number of analysts called the January figures disturbing, saying that they underscored the continuing severe impact of foreign trade on the industrial economy.

Scout's honor

Leon M. Wickersham, former executive assistant to Graphic Communications Union President James J. Norton, received the 1,000th AFL-CIO George Meany Award for Scouting.

Wickersham was honored for his more than 20 years of volunteer work with metropolitan Washington Cub and Boy Scout units and his contributions as a member of the Boy Scouts of America National Labor Advisory Committee.

Labor's George Meany scouting award was established by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Community Services in 1974 to recognize outstanding efforts and contributions of union members to scouting activities.

Chicago Tribune put on 'unfair' list

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The Chicago Tribune has been placed on labor's list of unfair employers, and AFL-CIO affiliates have been asked to "give all possible support" to the Typographical Union and Graphic Communications Union members on strike at that daily newspaper since last July 18.

The Executive Council called on the Tribune "to engage in good-faith bargaining with the pressmen, printers and mailer members of the GCIU and ITU to bring a speedy end to this strike." In a statement, the council noted that two-and-a-half years of fruitless negotiations preceded the strike.

There are 250 members of Typographical Local 16, 425 members of Mailers Local 2 and 450 members of Pressmen Local 16 on strike.

The council statement stressed that the Tribune's management is reneging on long-standing job security commitments made to the union members in earlier contracts, is seeking to replace the negotiated pension plans with a new system that would greatly benefit the management executives at the expense of the older workers, and is hiring low-wage, part-time and trainee-level workers to replace skilled workers.

The council stressed that the Tribune will remain on labor's list of unfair employers until it engages in fruitful bargaining with the unions.

Eastern sold, negotiations in tailspin

Miami—The takeover of Eastern Airlines by Texas Air Corp. threw labor relations at the financially plagued airline into a tailspin.

Contract talks between the Transport Workers and Eastern broke off, raising the possibility of a strike by 6,000 flight attendants. In January, the company unilaterally imposed a permanent 20-percent wage cut on the TWU members and furloughed 1,100 flight attendants.

Meanwhile, there was no progress reported in negotiations with the Machinists for the carrier's 13,000 mechanics. The IAM had offered to accept wage cutbacks, but insisted on the resignation of Frank Borman, Eastern board chairman, as the price for agreement.

Earlier, the Air Line Pilots agreed to a new 28-month contract for the 4,000 Eastern pilots. The agreement calls for further pay cuts demanded by management, but also provides for the prospect of sharing a bonus of up to 5 percent of the company's 1987 profits.

Eastern's bargaining tactics were denounced by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. It assailed the "unilateral imposition of givebacks demanded by Eastern's management and the lending institutions" which had threatened to call in $2.5 billion in loans unless more wage concessions were wrung from the employees.

Additional pay cuts

The council noted that, in addition to the three unions involved in negotiations, the arbitrary pay cuts would also be imposed on 11,000 agents and skycaps being organized by the Electronic Workers.

The announcement that the nation's second largest airline was being sold to the much smaller Texas Air—for the bargain-basement price of $606 million—came only after ALPA agreed to the new contract. When it is fully consummated, the merged company will be the nation's largest commercial carrier, although Eastern will continue to operate as a separate entity.

The takeover drew sharp criticism from Charles Bryan, president of IAM District 100 and head of the union's negotiating committee. He called it a bad deal and "union-busting." At the same time, however, he offered Texas Air Chairman Frank Lorenzo the IAM's cooperation in improving Eastern's efficiency.

Lorenzo has a long history of being anti-labor. Despite union opposition, he took over Continental Airlines, putting the merged company into bankruptcy in 1983. At that time he unilaterally abrogated the contracts, laid off a substantial number of employees and sharply reduced pay.

The unions were more successful in fighting off Lorenzo's proposed takeover of Trans World Airlines last summer, making substantial concessions to allow financier Carl C. Icahn to purchase TWA.

CWA President Morton Bahr and Executive Vice President Barbara Easterling testify on worker hardships caused by the telephone system breakup.

Telephone system breakup triggers job disconnections

The breakup of "the world's best telephone system" has thrown tens of thousands of workers on the economic scrapheap and reduced service to consumers, Communications Workers President Morton Bahr told the House Telecommunications Subcommittee.

Bahr urged Congress to enact an expanded program of wage and job protections as part of any legislation to allow regional Bell operating companies to engage in manufacturing and to provide information services. The subcommittee, headed by Rep. Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.), is considering such a measure.

In the two years since the court-ordered divestiture, Bahr testified, 125,000 workers have been transferred from Bell operating companies to the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. Some 53,000 jobs have been eliminated in the process.

"These reductions in employment, in an environment of rising local telephone rates, coincide with a reduced commitment to the quality of telephone service which we enjoyed prior to divestiture and deregulation," Bahr testified.

"There are simply fewer workers to take orders, test lines, perform repairs, answer billing questions, plan facilities, install new service and do other needed work," than before deregulation, he said.

Workers who have been repeatedly transferred in the shuffle and reshuffle of jobs have become "vagabonds" of the workforce, he said.

Shifting jobs overseas

Another byproduct of deregulation—the shift away from American production—was stressed by President Charles H. Pillard of the Electrical Workers in a statement submitted to the subcommittee.

Pillard told the panel that the concerns the IBEW had expressed about the probable effects of divestiture have been amply borne out by the reality. "We see the fears that many of us had envisioned becoming nightmare realities."

The IBEW has been able to minimize hardships to members and reduce actual layoffs through the collective bargaining process, Pillard said.

But until government policies and laws discourage shifting production to other countries, there can be no real job security, he stressed.

"Even the most casual observer can see the direction AT&T is taking," Pillard suggested.

"The products of the future, cellular telephones, cordless telephones and home computers, are all being manufactured off-shore. The newest integrated circuit plant is being built in Spain." The latest blow, he said, is "the announcement that production of the residential telephone is being moved to Singapore."

For AT&T employees as for other workers, Pillard said, "no American job is secure" when "cheap labor" is readily available overseas.

Taylor appointed associate director of legislative staff

Peggy Taylor will become the AFL-CIO's associate legislative director, Federation President Lane Kirkland announced.

Taylor, 41, has been an AFL-CIO legislative representative since 1979, specializing in budget and appropriations issues.

Before coming to the AFL-CIO staff, she was a professional staff member of the House Budget Committee, dealing with Labor Dept. programs and employment issues. She previously served on the Senate Labor subcommittee, with responsibilities including occupational safety and health programs.

After her graduation from George Washington University in 1967, Taylor joined the Dept. of Labor as a management intern.

Robert M. McGlotten, the present associate director, has been named to succeed Ray Denison, who is retiring as legislative director.

Peggy Taylor

Labor Board overturned on union voting

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should vote when a union calls a strike, ratifies a contract or elects officers. But the law "allows union members to control the shape and direction of their organization," the court noted. As previous decisions have made clear, it said, "nonunion employees have no voice in the affairs of the union."

The "basic purpose" of federal labor law is to "preserve industrial peace," the court stressed. If the NLRB position were upheld, the decision noted, an employer would be able "to directly interfere" with a union's right to conduct its own affairs.

A different issue was involved in the unanimous Supreme Court decision nullifying a Wisconsin law that barred any firm that has violated the National Labor Relations Act three times within a five-year period from doing business with the state.

The AFL-CIO had filed a brief supporting the Wisconsin law while acknowledging federal preemption of the regulation of labor-management relations. Its argument was that Wisconsin was making a marketplace decision, not usurping the remedy for unfair labor practices imposed by federal law and the NLRB.

Ignoring a seller's pattern of labor law violations is not being "neutral," the federation argued. It is, in fact, rewarding a company that has flouted the law.

The Supreme Court held, however, that the state's spending decision adds a layer of punishment to that provided by federal law and thus is "tantamount" to regulation.

While the goal of enforcing the requirements of the National Labor Relations Act through purchasing decisions "may be laudable," the Supreme Court said, it nevertheless assumes for the state a role Congress reserved exclusively for the NLRB.

Major pay gains end nursing home strike

Sayreville, N.J.—A healthy dose of union solidarity throughout a long 112-day strike won sharp pay increases and other contract improvements for low-wage workers at the Oakview Nursing Home here.

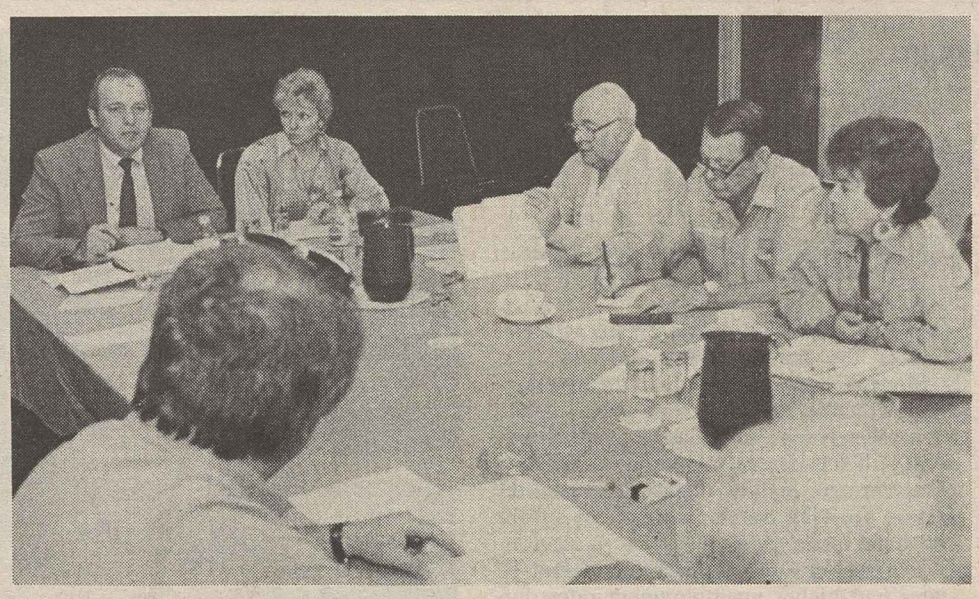
The 134 workers—primarily nurses aides, housekeepers and dietary and laundry workers—are members of Communications Workers Local 1040.

Their new three-year contract raises wages from $4.60 to $5.95 an hour, an increase of 29 percent over the life of the agreement. Starting salaries were boosted by 35 percent to reach $5.40 by 1989.

They also received an immediate $200-bonus and won an additional Christmas-time bonus of $200 beginning this year. Other contract gains include an additional holiday, improved leave and grievance procedures and a union shop.

The CWA strikers successfully turned back management's push to reduce health benefits and wipe out incentive pay.

A round-the-clock picket line and support from other CWA locals, the local AFL-CIO central body and other unions helped turn the tide against Oakview management. Union members gave cash, food, clothing and joined rallies at the home.



FAST session

Food & Allied Service Trades Dept. President Robert Harbrant and Sec.-Treas. Rhonda Hilyer meet with FAST executive board in Bal Harbour, Fla. Board members discussed ways to increase union and community support programs for troubled youth and reviewed pending tax and polygraph legislation. The board also voted to step up study of drug and genetic screening issues and reviewed health and safety concerns.

Akron's 'right-to-know' law ruled valid by federal court

Cleveland—A federal court has upheld an Akron city ordinance that requires local employers to notify workers and city health officials of toxic chemicals used in workplaces.

The U.S. District Court for Northern Ohio ruled that the city ordinance isn't preempted by either the federal job safety law or the Occupational Safety & Health Administration's federal hazard communications standard. The court held that the city may impose more stringent reporting and training requirements than the federal regulation.

The combined efforts of the Rubber Workers, Chemical Workers and the local AFL-CIO central labor council won adoption of the city law on Dec. 17, 1984.

Unions have been pressing for state and local "right-to-know" laws because the OSHA standard is weak.

Akron's safety code had been scheduled to go into effect last Dec. 17, but it was challenged by the Ohio Manufacturers Association, representing 61 firms in the city, and by Akron Selle Co., a metal-stamping plant.

Validity upheld

Federal Judge Ann Aldrich initially granted a temporary restraining order blocking the effective date of the city law. Her ruling lifts the order and the ordinance is valid in all respects.

The Akron law is aimed at protecting workers, firefighters and the public from the hazardous workplace chemicals. It requires employers to label each container of hazardous material with its chemical name, any appropriate Dept. of Transportation labels, and cancer or reproductive-hazard warnings.

Further, employers must maintain material safety data sheets which are to be made available to workers on request and train workers in the safe handling of these toxic chemicals. A list of all work areas with toxic materials, along with reports of any spills, leaks or releases of these chemicals must be reported by the employers annually to the Akron Health Dept.

The city law exempts federal, state and other local governments, as well as laboratories and firms transporting toxic materials through Akron.

Aldrich's ruling followed an earlier ruling by the 3rd Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals that the federal hazard communication rule does preempt the New Jersey state right-to-know law in the manufacturing sector. A similar Pennsylvania law was likewise held to be preempted by the federal rule for manufacturing firms.

The federal rule specifically spells out how state's may impose more stringent right-to-know regulations by getting OSHA approval. But no mention was made of municipal laws.

Aldrich rejected the arguments of the trade group's attorneys that the purpose of federal safety law is to provide "healthy work environments in a uniform way with minimum burden on interstate commerce." The judge said that "worker safety, rather than a concern about regulatory burdens created by inconsistency," motivated Congress to pass the federal job safety law.

Section 18 of the safety law "sets a federal floor on occupational health and safety . . . A municipality's freedom to also promulgate higher standards would not undercut that floor, but would support the policy of creating safer workplaces," the court decision said.

Metal Trades meet

President Paul Burnsky, left, leads discussion at Metal Trades Dept. executive board meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla. The 10-member board reviewed organizing and legislative programs and voted to cosponsor a health and safety conference for workers in the atomic energy industry with the Industrial Union Dept. The MTD has 22 affiliates including its newest member, the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers.

Kirkland hails Aquino's win in Philippines

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nal—and almost bloodless—chapter to the story.

When Gen. Fidel Ramos and troops under his command seized control of a key military base, TUCP members threw up a barricade around the installation to prevent soldiers loyal to Marcos from storming the base.

Later, when a contingent of anti-Marcos soldiers stormed and captured the government-run television station—Marcos's last remaining link to the world outside the presidential palace—unionists took to the streets to block military vehicles from approaching the broadcasting facility.

Although Marcos was sworn in for another term, he stepped down within a matter of hours, seeking sanctuary at an American military base in the Philippines, flying on the next day to Hawaii.

Aquino, who took the oath of office in a rival ceremony, was promptly installed as president setting off a massive celebration in the capital.

In his telegram to the new president of the Philippines, Kirkland pledged American labor's "warm support" in her efforts to renew democracy and reconstruct the Filipino economy.

Earlier, the Executive Council denounced the "intimidation and fraud" perpetrated by the Marcos forces in the election and assailed Marcos for his 20 years of "corruption, economic mismanagement, ineptitude and brutality."

The council also saluted the TUCP for providing 7,000 volunteers to monitor the election process and for its "unprecedented and successful nonpartisan campaign to encourage workers to exercise their franchise despite threats to their safety."

Locked out janitors get 'no-giveback' pact

Pittsburgh—Janitors locked out of their jobs for two months won a "no-giveback" settlement with the Office Building Association that preserved existing wages and benefits for the 400 workers, members of Service Employees Local 29.

The service workers had been off the job since mid-November, after refusing to accept OBA's demand for a 25-percent wage cut as well as benefit concessions. The janitors set up picket lines and were joined by building tenants and supporters throughout the city.

The new three-year agreement includes a wage freeze and preserves benefits for current workers.

New workers will start at a lower wage, but will reach current wage levels in three years.

Pitfalls in job training bill seen undercutting key goals

A well-intentioned bill to establish an independent agency to administer job education and training laws would add confusion rather than clarity to the problem it is intended to solve, the AFL-CIO testified at Senate hearings.

The legislation, sponsored by Senators Dan Quayle (R-Ind.) and Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), would establish a board of four Cabinet secretaries, three employer representatives and two labor representatives. The nine-member board would oversee administration of the Job Training & Partnership Act, the Wagner-Peyser Act which created the employment service, and the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act.

Its stated goal is to increase coordination between federal agencies and the private sector.

AFL-CIO Economist Markley Roberts said coordination with the private sector is already built into all three laws and another layer of government isn't what is needed. But he stressed that the federation's opposition to a new agency doesn't mean the AFL-CIO is satisfied with the functioning of these programs.

"We believe all jobless workers should have the opportunity for training in skills that lead directly to jobs," he said.

"There should be better job guidance, counseling and placement through the Employment Service as well as better matching of workers and jobs," he urged.

Roberts criticized the lack of income support under the Job Training Partnership Act, and its decentralized and business-dominated structure. Funding levels are inadequate, he testified.

As for vocational education, Roberts noted that state and local governments provide nine-tenths of the funding. "Additional federal funds are needed for training and retraining adults," he urged, to equip them with skills needed to keep up with rapid technological change.

Boilermakers cement unit negotiates Medusa accord

Workers at two Medusa Portland Cement Co. plants won a new agreement covering nearly 350 employees who are members of the Boilermakers.

Medusa workers in Charlevoix, Mich., and Clinchville, Ga., won an hourly wage increase of 75 cents which will go into effect on May 1, 1987, at the end of the contract period. The settlement provides for pension improvements and measures to monitor health care costs. The union also rejected a two-tier wage system.

EDITORIALS

Trashing the Constitution

COMMON SENSE suggests that even those members of Congress who committed themselves in the past to a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget would be inclined to put that bit of mischief on the back burner for now.

We do have the Gramm-Rudman balanced budget law that has compelled some haphazard cuts in government programs, the sort of mindless economy that a constitutional amendment would require. But no one seems very happy about it, and for good reason. The rigid formula of the law dictates cuts in programs virtually no one wants to cut, and President Reagan's resistance to any new taxes imposes a choice of unacceptable budget decisions.

Whatever the Supreme Court decides on the mechanism for carrying out the Gramm-Rudman requirements, the balanced budget timetable will presumably remain in the law unless Congress changes it.

That, of course, is one big difference between a law and a constitutional amendment. A law can be changed if it proves unworkable. A constitutional amendment requires a lengthy process of passage by a two-thirds majority of the House and Senate, followed by ratification by three-fourths of the states.

THE SAME safeguards that prevent hasty changes in the nation's basic framework also prevent easy correction of mistakes.

Some of the Senate sponsors of the balanced budget amendment have tried to distinguish themselves from the right-wing screwballs who started the drive to rewrite the Constitution by pointing to the escape hatches they left in the proposal.

We are supposed to be reassured that in times when a balanced budget is clearly the wrong medicine, a mere three-fifths of the House and Senate can waive the constitutional requirement. If you can't get a 60 percent majority, there is the option of declaring war on some hapless country. The balanced budget requirement would also be waived by a declaration of war.

In effect, proponents of the amendment want to give veto power over important economic decisions to a congressional minority—in addition to the veto power a president already has over legislation.

While there are differences between two versions the Senate will consider, both are seriously flawed.

The letter the AFL-CIO sent to senators urging them to vote against any form of balanced budget amendment detailed the labor movement's objections to the specific provisions. But it also appealed to the Senate not to demean the Constitution by using it as a vehicle for a political statement on the economy.

It reminded senators that "in drafting a Constitution, the nation's founders authored a framework for an enduring government and not a statute book that could become outdated by shifting economic and political trends."

The greatest threat to that framework would be for Congress to impose "unworkable constitutional restraints which are unnecessary for the governance of our society."

That's another way of saying that "if it ain't broke, don't fix it."

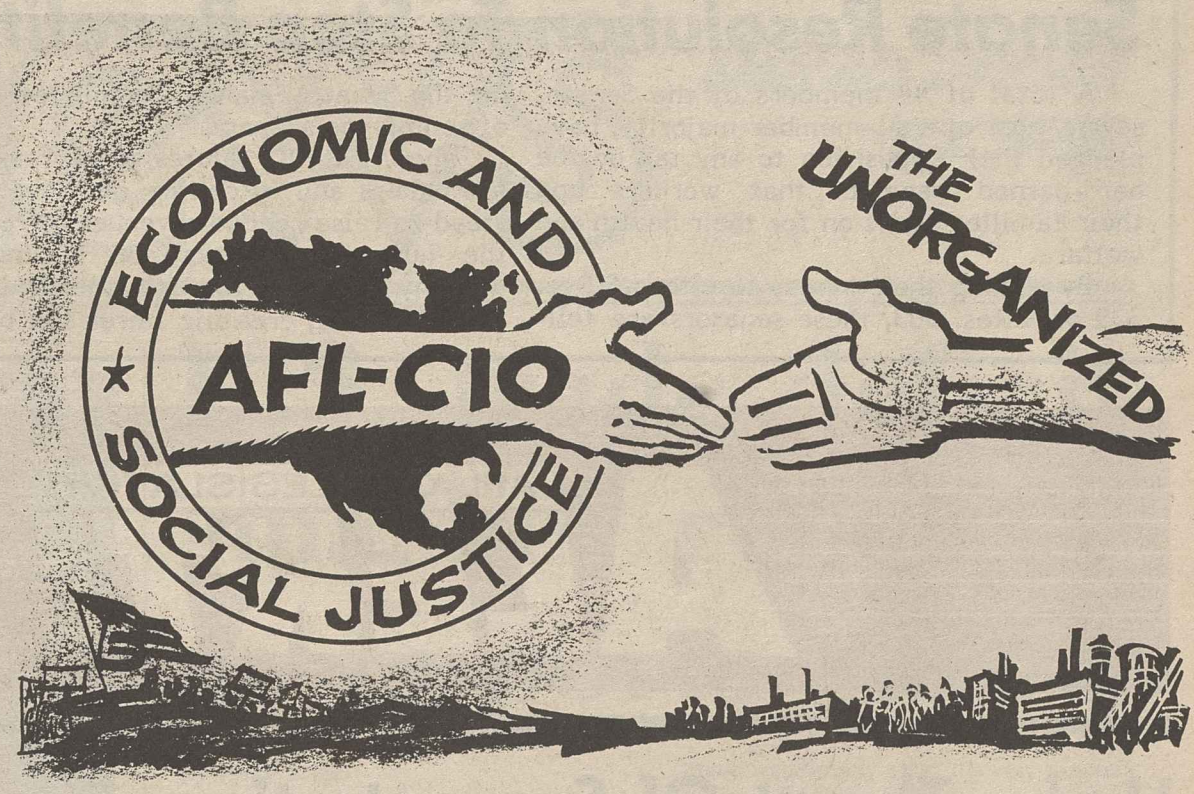
His Union Hands

TO THE thousands of mourners who crowded into St. Patrick's Cathedral for the funeral service for Harry Van Arsdale Jr., who headed the New York City AFL-CIO for nearly 30 years, John Cardinal O'Connor had this to say:

"Few people have contributed more and not many have contributed so much as Harry Van Arsdale in trying to promote the dignity of the worker.

"God will look at the work of his hands, his laborer's hands, his union hands, and say it was good."

To which, we can all say Amen.



Washington Window

Workers bear full brunt of telephone divestiture

By Press Associates Inc.

The equation of pawns on a chess board is one of the favorite metaphors of working people for a good reason—that is how players in the corporate game treat workers.

The name of the latest board game in the communications industry is divestiture, and, as usual, the corporate rules in the game have little regard for workers' careers, lives or families.

While the profits of AT&T and its spinoff companies have steadily grown since divestiture, telephone industry workers have suffered layoffs, downgrades, pay cuts, multiple moves and transfers.

At oversight hearings of the House Telecommunications Subcommittee, the Communications Workers provided these examples:

- Steve Conrad, a former storekeeper for AT&T Information Systems (ATTIS) in Newport News, Va., lost his job after 12 years' service. He transferred to Norfolk, but was downgraded as a service representative and transferred to Richmond, where he has no seniority and is again at risk.
- Cheryl Hoffer, a single parent, was forced to move from West Virginia to the Virginia Beach, Va., area as a customer clerk for ATTIS. When the company announced that office would close at the end of February, Hoffer asked, "What does the company expect me to do—rent a Winnebago and keep transporting my family wherever they want?"
- John Sanders, a cable repair technician for 14 years with Southern Bell, was transferred from West Palm Beach, Fla., to Gainesville. After moving his wife and children there, he was transferred 70 miles away to Jacksonville. They couldn't afford to sell their house, so Sanders lived in a tent in a fishing camp for four months and visited his family on weekends.
- When Jolene Free, an ATTIS clerk in Pasadena, Calif., was laid off, officials in AT&T's New Jersey headquarters refused to keep her on the payroll for two more days to complete 30 years of service which would have qualified her for her full pension.
- Richard Riggs was an Ohio Bell employee who became a systems technician for ATTIS in Dayton, Ohio following divestiture. After 16 years' service, he was laid off then offered a job 75 miles away in Columbus, which he couldn't take because of hardship. Meanwhile, the company transferred six people with less seniority into Dayton from other states.

One of the most frustrating aspects of AT&T's behavior toward its employees since divestiture is that the company lured workers away from the Bell operating companies with promises of good jobs and job security—promises the company is now making to potential new employees.

Replacements recruited

When 16-year AT&T employee Charles Eckelt was laid off and decided to return to school at the University of Tulsa, he discovered a five-page AT&T ad in the student catalogue listing jobs within all divisions of the company.

Eckelt also found out that the company was conducting job interviews and recruiting students on campuses throughout Oklahoma, offering entry level college graduates some $10,000 less per year for his former job.

"Why is AT&T spending great deals of money for interviews of new inexperienced personnel when the jobs were filled with qualified and experienced, veteran personnel already?" Eckelt asked. "Why is AT&T saying it has to lay off people from within to survive and yet is hiring from the outside?"

The union will address those questions in upcoming contract talks with AT&T, but CWA President Morton Bahr also urged Congress to ease workers' suffering caused by the restructuring of the industry through expanded Labor Dept. retraining programs, stronger employee protection measures and job security provisions.

He also urged preferential hiring and transfer rights for displaced Bell system workers at Bell operating companies' profitable new nonregulated and nonunion subsidiaries, which have been financed largely through consumer rate increases for local phone service.

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Senate Resolution To Stop Benefits Tax Off To Fast Start

A total of 44 members of the Senate, seven short of a 51-member majority, have pledged their opposition to any tax on the hard-earned benefits that workers and their families count on for their health and welfare.

By signing their names to either S.Res. 339 or S.Res. 303, these senators are telling the Senate Finance Committee: "hands off employee supports!"

The AFL-CIO salutes these responsible lawmakers and is calling on Congress instead to raise needed revenues by repealing the huge tax breaks for business and wealthy enacted through the President's 1981 Tax Act; creating fairer tax brackets and imposing a corporate minimum tax and other fair tax measures.

"By taking these steps," the federation said in its Executive Council statement of February 18, "The Congress could raise $41.5 billion in the first year after enactment and more than $200 billion over the first five years."

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE

ALERT!

Under Threat Of Sequestration, Senate To Begin Mark-Up Of Fiscal 1987 Budget

The Senate begins mark-up this week on its version of the fiscal 1987 budget and if President Reagan has his way, it will contain huge cuts in domestic programs and an 8 percent increase in defense spending over inflation. Meanwhile, hanging over the entire process is the threat of sequestration under Gramm-Rudman, should Congress and the White House fail to trim the deficit to pre-set limits.

The President has declared he will not sign legislation to raise taxes, but responsible leaders from both parties say it is essential to have some kind of revenue-raising measure. In FY 1987 the Treasury is still loosing $150 billion in revenues because of the unfair 1981 tax cut.

To help keep this defense build-up going, Mr. Reagan is planning a kind of national yard sale to unload on the private sector such items as the Bonneville Dam, the naval petroleum reserves, Amtrak, and other federal holdings. He also plans to save money by eliminating such worthwhile programs as trade adjustment assistance, urban development action grants, general revenue sharing, economic development assistance, the Small Business Administration, low-income housing construction, subsidies for the U.S. merchant marine, the Legal Services Corporation and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

There is little doubt that the Senate version will contain substantial program cuts. However, a move is expected on the part of Senators Pete Domenici (R-NM) and Lawton Chiles (D-FL) to buck the President and deal with the imminent need to raise new revenues in the Senate budget resolution. The question is whether these revenues will be used to prevent some of the over $30 billion in cuts pushed by the White House, or to fund the defense increase.

House action is expected to occur later in March, and the leadership has indicated a need for the President to move first on taxes. They are hoping that the pressure of impending sequestration will force him to change his mind and consider revenue measures.

It is important that you write your Senators and Representatives now to reject the President's deep cuts in domestic programs and recover revenues lost in 1981 to wealthy individuals and corporations.

EEOC Nominee Has Strange Ideas On Discrimination

The President's recent nomination of Jeff Zuckerman to be general counsel at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is drawing fire from Congress and other concerned groups. The former anti-trust attorney has been serving as chief of staff to EEOC Chairman Clarence Thomas.

But in recent confirmation hearings before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) got some surprising responses from the Yale Law School graduate. Zuckerman declared it was alright in his opinion to lay-off older workers ahead of young because they would receive pension benefits.

"I am absolutely shocked by your testimony," Metzenbaum declared. "....How could you make such a recomendation when three federal courts of appeals have issued four separate decisions...holding it was unlawful age discrimination to treat employees differently based upon their eligibility for retirement?"

His views on these matters are critical because the General Counsel is the one who can decide which discrimination cases the government will pursue.

The EEOC's enforcement efforts have been dropping steadily since Reagan took office and in 1984, the commission began retreating from the very concept of "affirmative action" - the year Mr. Zuckerman began serving as the Commission's chief of staff. The result has been a weakening of enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and an invitation to employers to openly violate the law. A confirmation of Zuckerman would only accelerate this.

Bill Would Alert Workers To Hazardous Substances

Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) and Senator Robert Stafford (R-VT), the ranking Republican on the Senate Labor Subcommittee, have introduced S. 2050, legislation to insure that workers in danger of exposure to hazardous substances on the job receive proper notification. A companion bill in the House, H.R. 1309, was introduced last year by Rep. Joseph Gaydos (D-PA) and is awaiting action.

The legislation could save thousands of workers from an early death and would provide incentives for employers and manufacturers to reduce workplace exposure and risks. The measure is enjoying bipartisan support and has a good chance of passage this year.

In related action, H.R. 3090, a bill to establish a system of compensation for victims of occupational disease and their families is moving toward a committee mark-up. Sponsored by Rep. Pat Williams (D-MT), the bill would create a federal compensation insurance fund.

Dangerous Anti-Strike Bill Could Reach Senate Floor

A Hobbs Act bill sponsored by Senator Charles Grassley (R-IA) to institute drastic federal penalties for virtually any type of picket line disturbance, has received the green light from Majority Leader Robert Dole, (R-KS) to come before the full Senate in the next few weeks. S. 1774, introduced October 18, would bring strikers under federal criminal law. They could be subject to penalties of up to $250,000 in fines and 12 years in prison.

Attempts were made to add this kind of Hobbs Act language to other senate bills last year while in committee, but this would be the first time in a long while that a bill so damaging to workers rights has reached the floor of either the House or Senate.

Attempts have been made by its sponsors to water down certain provisions to appease unions and other concerned groups, but the bill is still a damaging attack on a very basic worker right - the freedom to strike and picket employers.

What You Can Do: Write your two senators, a simple post card will do. Tell them you don't want the federal government involved in policing picket lines, and to oppose this or any other measure that weakens worker picket-line rights under the law. Address your cards to: Senator _____, United States Senate, Washington, DC 20510.

Is There A Legislative Action Committee In Your Area?

Write us today for a free packet showing how to start a Legislative Action Committee in your area! Send requests to AFL-CIO Legislative Department, Room 309, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

AFL-CIO news

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MARCH 8, 1986

MEMO FROM COPE
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14,000 apply for 270 jobs

Unemployed Buffalo steelworker James McInnis Jr. is among thousands of persons applying for just 270 jobs at a new General Electric Co. plant to open later this year in the Buffalo area. For two days, nearly 14,000 job seekers filled out forms at the packed Buffalo Memorial Auditorium, hoping to nail down work refurbishing subway cars at GE. Heavy layoffs in January pushed the Buffalo area unemployment rate to 8.5 percent. James Pautler, executive director of Erie County Partnership, which aided in the hiring effort, said that surprisingly, the applicants were older than expected, showing there is a "real need for retraining and skill development."

U.S. trade deficit smashes records as imports surge

By Gene Zack

The U.S. trade deficit worsened dramatically in January, reaching an all-time monthly high of $16.5 billion—33 percent above the monthly average of $12.4 billion recorded in 1985.

If the excess of imports over exports continues at that pace, the AFL-CIO warned, the nation would rack up a nearly $200-billion trade deficit this year, far outstripping 1985's record of $148.5 billion.

"All of the Administration's brave talk about how the declining value of the dollar will solve the problem rings hollow in the face of the continued surge of job-destroying imports," Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald said.

President Reagan and his advisers are "out of touch with reality," Oswald asserted, "and their failure to deal forthrightly with the trade issue spells nothing but continued bad news for American workers and key industries."

Government studies indicate that as many as 25,000 American jobs are wiped out for each $1 billion in sales that U.S. producers lose to imports, he pointed out. "On this basis, January's $16.5-billion trade deficit could knock as many as 400,000 more workers off payrolls in this country."

Oswald reiterated labor's call for Congress to "get moving on long-delayed legislation that effectively addresses this mushrooming problem before we are overwhelmed by economic disaster."

Mixed outlook

Meanwhile, White House spokesman Larry Speakes and Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige continued to voice optimism, contending that the picture would improve in the second half of this year. But many government and private economists disagreed, insisting it might take as long as 18 months before the decline in the value of the dollar is translated into any trade gains.

The only cautionary note from within the Administration came from Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter, who conceded that the nation was clearly losing ground to Japan and the newly industrialized countries of East Asia.

If the import surge and the loss of U.S. export markets continues unabated, Yeutter warned in his annual report to Congress, it "could significantly affect the very structure of American industry."

During January, the Commerce Dept. reported, imports totaled $33.5 billion—11.3 percent greater than the $30.1 billion average monthly deficit recorded during 1985. By contrast, the nation's exports totaled a mere $17 billion, down 4.5 percent from last year's monthly average of $17.8 billion.

Not even the sharp decline in world oil prices, in the wake of the collapse of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries' cartel, was enough to stem the tide of red ink on the trade ledger, as the nation hiked oil imports to 6.2 million barrels a day—a million more barrels than 1985's daily average of 5.2 million.

Imports of specialty steel surged to a record level in January, up 150 percent from the same month a year ago, bringing strong protests from the domestic industry that

Continued on Page 2

Unions protest brushoff of formaldehyde danger

By Arlee C. Green

Unions, whose members are daily exposed to formaldehyde, were joined by health professionals in strongly disagreeing with the conclusions of a study jointly conducted by the federal National Cancer Institute and the formaldehyde industry which found "little evidence" that exposure to the chemical causes cancer.

Union safety directors challenged the summary and NCI's propriety in cosponsoring the study with the Formaldehyde Institute, an industry trade group that includes formaldehyde producers Monsanto Chemical Co. and E.I. DuPont de Nemours & Co. Inc.

Higher cancer rate

Even so, the study of 26,561 employees at 10 formaldehyde plants found an incidence of lung cancer 32 percent higher than among the general public.

In general, rates of mouth and respiratory cancers were lower than expected, NCI said. But certain "subsites" of these two areas were higher, especially for nasal and oral cancers.

Only 3 percent of the workers in the industry-NCI study had exposures greater than 2 parts formaldehyde per million parts air—far below the current federal exposure limit of 3 ppm.

Formaldehyde is used widely in the wood products, permanent press fabrics, plastics and rubber industries.

Dr. Frank Mirer, safety director for the Auto Workers, said the study shows that workers exposed to formaldehyde at even legally permissible levels suffer increased lung cancers and cancers of the upper respiratory tract.

"This is exactly what the UAW feared five years ago" when it petitioned the Occupational Safety & Health Administration for a standard and later sued when the agency refused to act, Mirer said.

The UAW disagrees with the decision of the "NCI-Dupont-Monsanto authors of the study to deny the link between increased cancer rates which they observed and exposure to formaldehyde," he said. "The study found a one-third increase in lung

Continued on Page 4

Steelworkers win key settlements in 16-day can strike

Chicago—Resisting management demands for concessions, the Steelworkers reached agreement on new three-year contracts to end a 16-day strike against four major can producers.

USWA Vice President Leon Lynch, chairman of the union's container industry negotiations, said the settlement maintained the principle of coordinated bargaining which management resisted.

Some 13,600 USWA members struck 75 plants in 20 states Feb. 16 after negotiations broke down over the refusal of the four companies—Continental Inc., American Can Co., National Can Corp. and Crown Cork & Seal Co.—to bargain on an industry-wide basis.

A lead contract with National Can was ratified by an overwhelming majority of the local union presidents and district directors representing USWA members at the struck plants. Other companies quickly fell into line a few hours later.

Continued on Page 3

Labor's program

Gains made in state legislatures

Organized labor scored impressive gains in its ongoing fight to protect workers against toxic substances in the workplace, as eight state legislatures enacted "right-to-know" statutes during 1985.

The successful passage of laws giving workers access to hazardous substance information came in Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri, Montana, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Vermont.

It was the highlight of a legislative year marked by progress in such widely diverse areas as:

- Across-the-board minimum wage increases in Arkansas, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Montana, Oregon and Vermont, plus selective increases in the minimum in the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

As a result, Alaska, Connecticut, the District of Columbia and Maine now have minimums exceeding the $3.35-an-hour federal rate, while 20 states equal the federal standard. Montana will reach that level on Oct. 1 and North Carolina will match any increase in the federal rate up to $3.60 an hour, if the national law is changed before July 1, 1987.

- Ten states raised weekly unemployment insurance benefit levels, reflecting a concern on the part of state legislatures about the continuing chronic level of unemployment and its impact on workers left jobless through no fault of their own.

At the same time, four states—Louisiana, Oklahoma, Maine and West Virginia—froze benefits at their present levels, even though rising living costs diminish the purchasing power of such benefits.

- Virtually all states made modest increases, averaging $10, in workers' compensation benefits, which now range from a low of $155 in Georgia to a high of $1,114 in Alaska.
- With imports continuing to erode the nation's industrial economy, four states—Connecticut, Maryland, New Jersey and Washington—enacted measures to aid workers and communities facing mass layoffs or plant closings, while a number of other legislatures took strong action to provide job training and retraining programs to help workers find new jobs in a changing economy.
- Anti-union forces in Colorado, Idaho and New Hampshire pushed through measures to repeal prevailing wage statutes. A repeal bill passed the Louisiana legislature but was vetoed by the governor. On the other side of the coin, the Iowa legislature enacted a prevailing wage law, only to have it vetoed. Currently, 34 states have such laws in effect.
- In the only other display of anti-unionism, the Idaho legislature adopted a compulsory open-shop law, invoking an al-

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3/8/86

'85 contracts bring gains in public sector

Nearly 1.5 million state and local government employees won new contracts in 1985 that yielded wage increases averaging 4.6 percent in the first year and 5.4 percent annually over the life of their collective bargaining agreements, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

Of those covered by the contracts, BLS said, 63 percent were employed by local governments and the remaining 37 percent by state governments. Workers in general government and administration units accounted for 39 percent of the total, 31 percent were in education and the remainder were in transportation and protective services.

On the average, state government workers won 4.4-percent wage improvements in the first year of their contracts, and 4.9 percent a year over the life of their agreements.

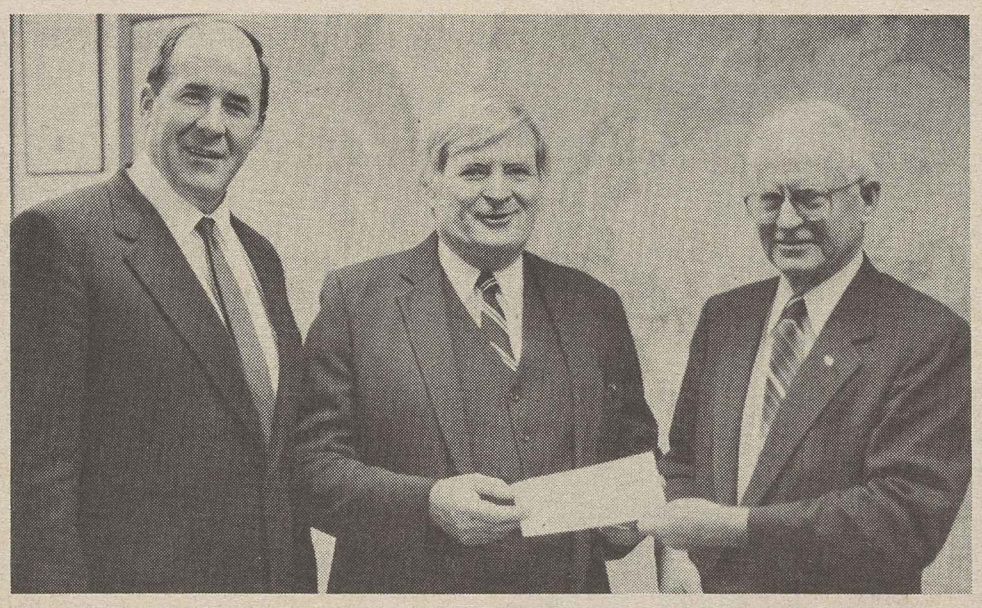
Wage increases

For employees of local governments, first-year increases averaged 4.4 percent with an average 5.7-percent gain annually over the term covered by their contracts.

BLS said almost one-fourth of local government workers received no pay hikes during the first contract year, while the wages of only 4 percent of state employees were frozen in the first year.

About 835,000 state and local government workers under major agreements will be involved in bargaining during the first half of 1986, BLS reported. This includes 377,000 public employees covered by contracts that were reopened or expired in 1985 but have not yet been renegotiated or ratified. Almost two-thirds of these workers are employed by local governments, primarily in education.

More than half a million state and local government employees are scheduled to receive deferred wage increases averaging 4.3 percent during the first half of 1986 under the terms of existing contracts, and another 18,000 are scheduled for cost-of-living reviews in the same period.



Mexican earthquake relief

AFL-CIO Region VII Director Humphrey Donahue, center, presents a $12,000-check from the federation's Mexican Earthquake Relief Fund to CARE President Wallace J. Campbell, right, and CARE Executive Director Dr. Philip Johnston to help rehabilitate victims of last year's Mexican disaster. Donahue is a member of CARE's board of directors. Earlier the AFL-CIO fund contributed $20,000 to CARE and has thus far provided $166,143 to organizations participating in the relief efforts.

HRDI programs score high on record of job placements

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute is working with state central bodies, unions and state governments on reemployment programs serving more than 3,700 dislocated workers in 14 locations, HRDI President Alan Kistler reported.

Kistler told HRDI's board of trustees that many of these programs are achieving job placement rates close to their goals.

Despite jobless rates exceeding 11 percent in Louisiana and East Texas, he noted, the HRDI program in Beaumont, Tex., has placed nearly 80 percent of its participants at an average starting rate of $8.20 an hour, and the Louisiana project has put over 50 percent in jobs averaging $9.30 an hour.

Kistler stressed the strong labor presence in all HRDI-operated programs. The staff is selected in cooperation with state and local labor bodies, he said, often from the trade union movement.

For the first time in recent years, Kistler told the trustees, HRDI has successfully maintained its funding level from the Labor Dept., enabling it to continue its services without staff cutbacks.

HRDI Executive Director Michael G. McMillan briefed the trustees on new program activities, including:

- A retraining and reemployment program in cooperation with the Auto Workers for 1,000 workers on permanent layoff from the American Motors plant in Kenosha, Wis.
- Programs for displaced Steelworkers underway in the Houston area and being put in place in Ohio.
- Services to help disabled workers return to the workforce, provided in cooperation with local unions in the St. Louis area, and an expanded job search program for 1,163 disabled workers in the Houston area.
- Reemployment projects for dislocated workers to be started shortly in New Orleans and Lake Charles, La.

Commenting on the report, Steelworkers President Lynn Williams praised HRDI's "enormously supportive help" to the USWA in assisting workers whose jobs have been wiped out by major layoffs or plant closings. Williams also described agreements that the USWA signed with the steel companies to involve them in doing more for dislocated workers.

Trustees elected Presidents Owen Bieber of the UAW, Juel D. Drake of the Iron Workers and Larry L. Dugan Jr. of the Operating Engineers to the HRDI board. They replace retired Presidents John H. Lyons of the Iron Workers, J.C. Turner of the Operating Engineers and Glenn Watts of the Communications Workers, whose service to HRDI was commended in a resolution.

Incumbent officers were all renamed. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland continues as chairman, Kistler as HRDI president and AFL-CIO Controller William T. Collins as HRDI secretary-treasurer.

Asbestos time bomb ticking in boiler rooms of schools

The Service Employees asked Congress to require the Environmental Protection Agency to set strict standards for removal of asbestos hazards from schools and other public buildings to defuse a "time bomb" that threatens the health and lives of tens of thousands of workers.

SEIU President John J. Sweeney, whose union includes some 100,000 school custodial and maintenance workers, testified at House hearings that unsafe and incomplete asbestos removal operations under EPA's lax guidelines may have caused more cancer from deadly asbestos particles than it prevented.

Besides seeking legislation, the SEIU is pressing a court suit to force EPA to establish effective performance standards for asbestos abatement and cleanup.

A statement by the Teachers welcomed introduction of the legislation and urged its enactment. AFT President Albert Shanker said it would finally give the nation "a law with teeth in it to rid our public schools of asbestos."

Hazards ignored

In 1984, Congress authorized federal grants and loans to help school districts remove asbestos hazards and put EPA in charge of the program. But Sweeney said EPA documents obtained by the SEIU through its court suit revealed that three-fourths of asbestos cleanup projects are improperly performed. Boiler rooms, where asbestos-covered pipes are common and where a large portion of SEIU school employees work, have often been ignored, he testified.

One EPA technical report termed neglect of boiler room hazards "a time bomb awaiting," Sweeney told a House Energy & Commerce subcommittee headed by Rep. James J. Florio (D-N.J.).

For Bob Robards and his fellow school custodians in Newton, Mass., the "time bomb" may have already exploded.

Robards, president of SEIU Local 454, has been a school custodian for 31 years. He told the subcommittee that before the union alerted him to asbestos hazards, he had routinely swept up flaked asbestos "as it fell from ceilings and broke off pipes in boiler rooms." He recalled "assisting in building renovations where we shoveled asbestos pipe lagging into barrels."

With union prodding, the school system set up a special building maintenance team to deal with asbestos problems. But, Robards testified, the team has no special training or equipment.

For one member of his local, Robards said, remedial action is already too late.

"At first the doctors told him he had emphysema. It was many years later that the correct diagnosis was made—asbestosis. The workers' compensation hearing was lengthy. Before he got a cent, he died," Robards testified.

Sweeney testified that EPA officials had told the SEIU that the stricter regulation the union is seeking wouldn't meet "cost-benefit" standards.

Eastern agrees to restore pay for attendants

Miami—Some 7,200 flight attendants, represented by the Transport Workers, will get $11.5 million in back pay from Eastern Airlines if they ratify a proposed 33-month contract with the air carrier.

Additionally, more than 1,000 flight attendants furloughed by Eastern last month in the midst of negotiations will be recalled Apr. 1 pending ratification.

The back pay represents an out-of-court settlement of a lawsuit the union filed last year to recover $33 million in back wages. Eastern will also have to pay $250,000 for TWU's legal costs.

Eastern's unionized employees, represented by the TWU, Air Line Pilots and Machinists, agreed in late 1983 to accept a one-year pay reduction of 18 percent to keep the company afloat.

In February 1985, the company unilaterally extended the pay slash and its unions sued. ALPA and IAM settled with the company, while the TWU case went to court last month.

U.S. District Court Judge Eugene Spellman urged the two sides to reach a settlement. If the flight attendants accept the proposed contract, they will receive lump-sum checks for back pay. If they vote against against ratification, Judge Spellman will issue a decision in the case.

TWU Local 553 President Robert Callahan described the settlement as "the best possible agreement given the absolute insanity of the last year, and especially the last two weeks."

Eastern is under mounting pressure from a consortium of banks to call in $2.5-billion in debt unless the airline squeezed new concessions from its employees.

TWU had earlier settled with the carrier, only to find out Eastern never signed the agreement. Instead, the airline announced it had been acquired by the anti-union Texas Air Corp. This forced TWU back to the bargaining table.

The proposed contract will drop attendants' wages another 2 percent and establishes lower entry pay for new hires.

The proposed settlement provides bonuses for flight attendants if Eastern turns a profit during the contract period.

U.S. trade deficit smashes records

Continued from Page 1

European nations were flooding the domestic market in anticipation of "voluntary restraint" agreements scheduled to take effect this month.

Clothing and textile imports totaled nearly $2.4 billion in January, 11.6 percent above the $2.1-billion level of the previous month, while shoe imports hit $572.1 million, a 7.4-percent rise over the December level of $532 million.

Leading the surge during the month were $4.6 billion in new passenger cars and automobile and tractor parts, $1.6 billion in telecommunications equipment, $1.5 billion in electrical machinery and $1.2 billion in office machines and data processing equipment.

Imports from Japan outpaced exports last month by $5.5 billion, accounting for roughly one-third of the deficit. During the month, the nation recorded a deficit of $3 billion with Western Europe, $1.7 billion with Canada, $1.2 billion with Taiwan, and $1.8 billion with OPEC.

HRDI trustees and staff review labor's employment and training achievements.

Construction trades hail Supreme Court ruling on multifirm pension plans

A unanimous Supreme Court upheld a provision of the pension insurance law that the trade union movement supported as necessary to prevent multiemployer plans from being thrown into insolvency by withdrawal of a participating company.

At issue was the constitutionality of a 1980 amendment to the Employee Retirement Income Security Act that made each participating employer in a pension fund responsible for a share of the fund's future obligations.

The decision by Justice Byron R. White rejected a challenge to the law's mechanism for discouraging firms from abandoning pension plans and dumping liabilities on the government insurance program.

The outcome was welcomed by Building & Construction Trades Dept. President Robert A. Georgine, who heads the National Coordinating Committee for Multiemployer Plans. The committee, which represents some 140 plans established through collective bargaining, filed a Supreme Court brief supporting the validity of the law.

Protects benefits

A pension plan's trustees had charged that the penalty imposed for withdrawal from a multiemployer plan violated the constitutional ban on "taking private property for public use without just compensation."

Denying that argument, the Supreme Court noted that the government "has taken nothing for its own use" and "the purpose of imposing withdrawal liability was to ensure that employees would receive the benefits promised them."

The government's Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. also hailed the decision as "a major victory for union workers." It noted that most multiemployer plans are adequately funded to pay promised benefits and the withdrawal penalties were imposed to discourage participants in underfunded plans from pulling out and saddling the insurance program with billions of dollars of pension claims.

In an unrelated case, the Supreme Court applied to the public sector standards for partial reimbursement of fees collected under agency-shop requirements comparable to those set in the private sector.

Agency shop

The case stemmed from a contract requirement that nonmembers in a bargaining unit represented by the Chicago local of the Teachers pay a fee equal to 95 percent of union dues. The agency shop provision was clearly valid on the basis of prior Supreme Court decisions. But the court ruled that in this case the union had not established a satisfactory system for identifying expenses involving bargaining and contract administration costs, that could be assessed against agency shop dues.

The unanimous decision by Justice John Paul Stevens held that a union collecting an agency shop fee must provide "an adequate explanation of the basis for the fee, a reasonably prompt opportunity to challenge the amount of the fee before an impartial administrator, and an escrow for the amounts reasonably in dispute while such charges are pending."

The agency shop agreement was based on an Illinois law authorizing school boards and teacher unions to negotiate a requirement that nonmembers contribute their "proportionate share" of the costs of collective bargaining and contract administration. The union had calculated that only 4.6 percent of its expenditures were unrelated to those purposes.

Top state federation officers at the George Meany Labor Studies Center include James Murry, Montana AFL-CIO; John Schmitt, Wisconsin AFL-CIO; Betty Tianti, Connecticut AFL-CIO, and Jim Kerns, Idaho AFL-CIO.

Role of state feds explored at Meany Center seminars

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue joined 45 State AFL-CIO officers in give-and-take sessions on the changing labor movement during a week-long conference at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies.

This is the third year the state body officers have met to discuss labor's programs and their role in carrying them out.

Kirkland outlined the federation's newly adopted procedures to reduce organizing conflicts between unions and discussed the membership benefits program that will enable affiliates to offer benefits beyond those traditionally gained through collective bargaining.

New programs

He said the new organizing procedure, which resembles the federation's disputes settlement plan for existing bargaining units, will give "each union a chance to step into the ring in an organizing situation" while avoiding "mutual assassination."

Kirkland noted that from its earliest days, the labor movement has provided services to workers through burial societies, unemployment funds and credit unions "to build the unity and strength" of an effective labor movement. He predicted that both the organizing plan and the benefits package would help "every union member and all of our organizations."

On increasing union affiliation with the state and local central bodies, Kirkland outlined the federation's three-tier program to bring the state and local AFL-CIOs to maximum strength.

State federation presidents representing the AFL-CIO's eight regions have met to discuss ways to increase affiliation while a separate group of officers from affiliated unions is developing a campaign to encourage their locals to join the federation's central bodies. The entire effort is coordinated by Paperworkers President Wayne Glenn, who chairs the Executive Council's committee on affiliations.

"We know that all of our talk about solidarity and local participation won't be more than talk as long as the affiliation rate of our state and local central bodies hangs at 50 to 55 percent," Kirkland stressed, vowing to keep the affiliation issue "on the front burner."

In his session with the state body officers, Donahue said the recent "Changing Situation" report and other work of the Executive Council's Committee on the Evolution of Work provided a key opportunity for the labor movement to take a serious look at itself and address its problems. "It struck a responsive chord," he said. "It enabled people to talk about problems and face the problems that exist for all of us."

The report excited people and raised their enthusiasm for advancing traditional trade union goals in innovative ways, Donahue said. While the goal of the labor movement remains to help workers organize for their benefit "on the job, in the legislatures and in the political world," the report urges trade unionists to evaluate the changing workplace and develop new ways of meeting workers' needs, he said.

USWA reaches settlement with major can companies

Continued from Page 1

Lynch hailed the union's bargaining success, declaring:

"We preserved coordinated bargaining in the metal container industry and achieved no-concession settlements with each of the can companies that give workers a fair share of the profits."

The agreement maintains wage and salary rates for current workers and calls for an immediate $400 bonus, with additional bonuses of $300 in the second and third years.

The USWA also won an increase in the pension formula of $3 a month for each year of service, annual addition of cost-of-living pay adjustments to base wages, and preservation of a 13-week extended vacation plan that the can company negotiators sought to eliminate.

The contract also calls for a new health care cost containment program without the workers having to carry the burden of such additional costs as deductibles or co-payments, plus an innovative mail order drug program.

Other provisions include creation of employee involvement teams and the establishment of a voluntary product promotion program, to be financed through payroll deductions.

Meanwhile, 1,850 USWA members remain on strike at a dozen plants of Continental Can of Canada, considered the most profitable of the five can makers, as union bargainers seek a settlement based on the U.S. industry agreement.

"We're still miles apart" on reaching a settlement, Lynch said. Canadian workers walked out Feb. 20.

Labor Dept. funds union programs in safety training

A dozen labor organizations will share $1.1 million in federal grant money awarded by the Labor Dept. for job safety and health training programs.

The awards, made under the Occupational Safety & Health Administration's "New Directions" program, are going to organizations that were originally selected for the program in 1984. The aim of the grants is to "provide short-term support enabling private sector organizations to provide long-term solutions to the nation's workplace safety and health problems," said Labor Sec. William E. Brock. The new grant funding begins Apr. 1.

By the end of the decade, these organizations will be permanent, self-sufficient resource centers serving employers and employees, Brock said. The grants run up to five years, with the organization assuming a greater share of the costs each year.

The grant recipients are: Grain Millers, $150,000; California Building & Construction Trades Council, $80,000; Florida AFL-CIO United Labor Agency, $150,000; Glass, Pottery & Plastics Workers, $68,000; Asbestos Workers Local 22, Pasadena, Tex., $70,000; Maine AFL-CIO, $60,000; North Dakota State Building & Construction Trades Council, $60,000; Service Employees, $185,000; Texas Building & Construction Trades Council, $61,000; Rubber Workers Local 307, Topeka, Kan., $76,000; Washington Building & Construction Trades Council, Hyattsville, Md., $100,000 and West Central Illinois Building & Construction Trades Council, Peoria, $50,000.

Key economic indicators turn down

The index of leading economic indicators fell six-tenths of 1 percent in January, the first drop in nine months, the Commerce Dept. reported.

The decline in the government's main gauge of future economic activity resulted from a decrease of one-half of 1 percent in orders for plant and equipment, a slight drop in the average workweek, and an increase in the number of people filing new claims for unemployment compensation.

Some business analysts blamed the drop in factory orders on continued uncertainty about the possible effects of pending tax legislation on new investments.

But other economists had a different view, contending that industry doesn't add production facilities when it is operating at only 80 percent of capacity.

Although falling world oil prices do not figure directly in the indicators, some analysts expressed the belief that their continued decline would have a positive impact in the months ahead. Lower fuel prices, they said, would reduce consumer and business bills, allowing them to spend more on other items and thus boost economic activity.

The January decline followed on the heels of a 1.5-percent rise in the indicators for December—an artificial spurt caused by an unusually heavy volume of orders for commercial aircraft.

In other economic developments:

- The Labor Dept. revised its productivity data to show a larger decline in the business sector and a somewhat smaller drop in productivity in manufacturing during the last quarter of 1985.

Price increases

The government said productivity fell 3.1 percent in the business sector and declined 1 percent in manufacturing—the first such drop in manufacturing productivity in a year and the largest drop in four years.

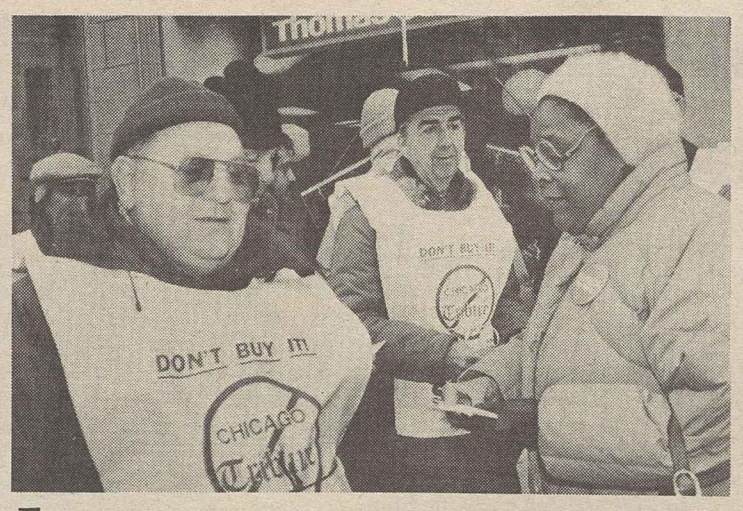
Although hourly compensation in manufacturing increased at a 3.4-percent annual rate during the fourth quarter, BLS said, it was more than offset by increases in the consumer price index. The result was that workers ended up with earnings nine-tenths of 1 percent below those of the previous quarter.

- New construction contracts awarded in January plunged 14 percent from the previous month because of sharp reductions in nonresidential building and public works. Home building rose a modest nine-tenths of 1 percent during the month.

According to F. W. Dodge Co., a forecasting unit of McGraw-Hill Inc., January's industrial and public works contracts fell to $195.9 billion from December's $227.9 billion to drive its construction index to a two-year low.

- U.S. car sales tumbled 25.6 percent during late February as carmakers ended their bargain-basement financing incentives. Thus far this year, car sales have averaged 26,727—down dramatically from the average of 35,900 a day for the same period in 1985.

The importers' share of the domestic market dropped from 28.4 percent in January to 26 percent last month. But the decline was attributed solely to the inability of foreign producers to meet demand.



Sticking to principles

Two labor-backed Democratic candidates for Congress passed up the opportunity for a Chicago Tribune endorsement by refusing to cross picket lines of three printing trades unions for interviews with Tribune editors. Shawn Collins is running in the Joliet-area 4th District to challenge a Republican incumbent. He chats with his father, a retired union printer, and other Tribune pickets. In photo at right, incumbent Cardiss Collins passes out breakfast tickets on the picket line. She is seeking re-election in the Illinois 7th Congressional District. The unions have been on strike since July and the Tribune was added to labor's boycott list last month.

Campbell pact covers farms in two states

Toledo, Ohio—The Farm Labor Organizing Committee has signed a tripartite agreement with Campbell Soup Co. and tomato and cucumber growers in Ohio and Michigan, ending an eight-year dispute with the growers.

FLOC, at a convention last August, voted unanimously to affiliate with the United Farm Workers. That merger has not yet been completed.

An independent commission, set up nine months ago by the National Council of Churches, mediated the settlement covering 16 tomato farms with 150 workers in northwest Ohio. That contract runs until Jan. 31, 1989.

This agreement features union recognition, grievance procedure, wage increases, dues checkoff, and joint committees to study the pesticide program, housing conditions, day care, and improvements in health care and safety programs.

The 1986 wage rate for machine harvesters will be $4.50 an hour, increasing to $4.60 in 1987. The rate for hand pickers will be negotiated by FLOC and growers.

A second FLOC contract covers 400 workers at a dozen cucumber farms in Michigan and runs from Mar. 15 until Dec. 31, 1989. Those growers sell their products to Vlasic Foods Inc., a subsidiary of Campbell.

The Vlasic contract contains similar key provisions. The cucumber pickers will continue to receive a base pay rate equal to 50 percent of the gross value of their crop. A bonus provision will add a payment ranging from 2 percent to 6 percent of the picker's 50-percent share. That range will increase by 1 percent in each of the following three years.

The terms of both agreements will be reviewed annually with the assistance of the commission which includes Chairman John T. Dunlop, a past Secretary of Labor, former Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser and Msgr. George G. Higgins of Catholic University of America.

Questions raised on safety record of OSHA nominee

The AFL-CIO said that while it will not oppose President Reagan's nomination of John Pendergrass to head the Occupational Safety & Health Administration, it has reservations about whether he can measure up to the task of protecting workers on the job based on his past record.

Bert Seidman, director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, said, "There are a lot of problems at OSHA and we're very skeptical that this is the man to bring about a turnaround."

Pendergrass, 60, was an associate director of 3M's medical department for industrial hygiene and toxicology before heading a 3M unit that markets training videos and slide films on handling toxic materials.

There has been pressure on the Labor Dept. to find another administrator for OSHA, as the top post has been vacant since last July when Robert Rowland resigned. Acting Administrator Patrick R. Tyson has headed OSHA in the interim.

Rowland succeeded Reagan's first safety agency head, Thorne B. Auchter. Labor generally disapproved of the decisions and relative inaction of the agency under both Auchter's and Rowland's leadership.

BASF conglomerate linked to chemical hazard coverup

The Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers charged the BASF conglomerate with an "apparent coverup" of unsafe and "out of control" safety violations at its chemical manufacturing facilities in Geismar, La.

The union joined with the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. in releasing a comprehensive study showing a pattern of chemical releases at the BASF AG installation, where 370 OCAW members were locked out in June 1984 and where complex operations are now being handled by "inadequately trained contract workers."

BASF A.G. Corp. is on labor's boycott list.

The OCAW report was prepared for submission to the House Criminal Justice subcommittee, which is holding hearings on a bill to impose criminal sanctions on companies that knowingly hide or misrepresent information on toxic hazards that could endanger their employees or the surrounding community.

Subcommittee Chairman John Conyers (D-Mich.), who attended a press conference at which the report was made public, said that "any company—especially one in the high-risk chemical manufacturing business—has an absolute duty to make sure that safety is its number one priority."

The study showed that, with the temporary workforce, BASF has experienced the release of fumes into the atmosphere at a rate of more than one a week—four times as often as when trained crews were running the plant.

At least five times last year, the union charged, toxic chemical releases traveled beyond the plant boundaries, and in May 1985 alone, the company's own reports of "selected incidents" listed three releases of phosgene gas, five chlorine accidents, one ethylene oxide release, one toluene diisocyanate release and one hydrochloric acid accident.

Dangerous similarities

According to Dr. A. Karim Ahmed, a scientist with the Natural Resources Defense Council, chemicals in use at the Louisiana plant are virtually identical to those produced in Bhopal, India, where more than 2,000 people lost their lives following a chemical accident.

The quantity of the chemicals used at Geismar is "so enormous and potentially volatile that anything less than meticulous adherence to training and safety procedures is an unacceptable risk," Ahmed declared.

IUD President Howard D. Samuel charged the West German-based company with engaging in a pattern of trying to rid itself of a unionized workforce as it acquires American production facilities. He said that IG Chemie, the German chemical workers union, has pledged to work with the OCAW to pressure the corporation to change its labor and safety practices in the United States.

The 1985 AFL-CIO convention denounced BASF's union-busting activities and the Executive Council sanctioned a nationwide boycott against the company's products. BASF makes video and audio tapes, computer discs, vitamins and anti-freeze ingredients.

Olof Palme mourned as freedom's advocate

The AFL-CIO mourned the death of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, who was assassinated Feb. 28 while walking home from a movie with his wife.

Federation President Lane Kirkland expressed American labor's sorrow in a telegram to Stig Malm, president of the Swedish Labor Organization.

Kirkland said Palme's "articulate devotion to trade union rights, to social democracy and to peace earned him global recognition. The world has lost a statesman of deep convictions and unshakeable integrity."

Palme delivered the first Jerry Wurf Memorial Lecture, honoring the late president of the State, County & Municipal Employees, in April 1984 at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Unions assail industry role in formaldehyde risk study

Continued from Page 1

cancer among workers with longtime exposures. This size increase is a major health problem."

He noted that the industry group picked the plants to be studied, set the methodology, reviewed the data to be released and coauthored the final report.

Although the study is expected to have an impact on OSHA's consideration of a more stringent standard for formaldehyde, Mirer said the UAW will continue to press OSHA for a strong rule and will present a "full scientific review of the study" at OSHA hearings now set for this May.

Eric Frumin, safety director of the Clothing & Textile Workers, called the study's findings "serious," and said ACTWU plans to request more information from the "NCI-DuPont-Monsanto group" in order to fully evaluate the group's findings. Further, the union will continue its ongoing investigations into the level of formaldehyde exposure in the textile and apparel industries, he said.

Dr. Philip J. Landrigan, director of occupational medicine at Mount Sinai Medical Center in New York, said the study found "statistically significant" levels of increased lung cancer risks. "It bothers me greatly that Aaron Blair (NCI's epidemiologist heading the study) should dismiss a positive result."

Landrigan, formerly a division director for the National Institute for Occupational Safety & Health, also questioned further why NCI would tie itself to an industry group in order to conduct an occupational health study.

"I don't know what NCI's motive was, nor the Formaldehyde Institute's goal," Landrigan said. "But I think that would be an appropriate cross-examination question at a congressional hearing. This whole sorry episode shows NCI should not be doing occupational studies."

Cutting a deal

NIOSH has legal status to require companies to hand over industrial records while NCI doesn't, Landrigan pointed out. "NIOSH could have done it better," he said. "It doesn't have to make deals like this with industry."

Shortly before the public release of the study, American Cyanamid Co. in Wayne, N.J., which participated in the study, notified the Environmental Protection Agency that it had reviewed the data relating to one of its plants in the study and found a "statistically significant increase in the number of deaths" caused by cancers affecting the nose and pharynx.

Marvin A. Friedman, director of the company's toxicology department, said the study data showed cancers of this type at the plant occurred at a rate nine times higher than in the general population. The length of employment for the workers who had died ranged from three months to 20 years.

Friedman said the company, however, agreed with the findings of the NCI study and said the plant's cancer deaths "cannot be related to a single chemical, group of chemicals, or even process."

CORRECTION

The Government Employees's telephone number listed in the Feb. 15 issue of the AFL-CIO News was incorrect. AFGE's main telephone number is 202/737-8700.

Public Employees meet

Top officers of the AFL-CIO's Public Employee Dept. welcome President James La Sala of the Amalgamated Transit Union, PED's newest affiliate, to the department's executive council meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla. PED Council members reviewed the impact of Gramm-Rudman budget restrictions on state and local governments and spoke with Sen. James Sasser (D-Tenn.) and Rep. William D. Ford (D-Mich.). From left, John Leyden, federal/postal executive director, Al Bilik, state/local executive director, Gerald W. McEntee, PED and State, County & Municipal Employees president and La Sala.

Minimum pay rise asked to bolster buying power

The buying power of the federal minimum wage is at its lowest point in more than 30 years and an increase is long overdue, the National Council on Employment Policy said.

The council, a private nonprofit research group, urged an immediate rise in the wage floor to repair the damage done by inflation. Further increases will be needed to reach and maintain a minimum wage level of 50 percent of the national average the council pointed out.

"By any measure, the minimum wage now provides less protection than it has in many years," the council reported.

Inflation has eroded 26 percent of the value of the minimum wage since it reached its present level of $3.35 an hour in 1981, the policy statement noted. It cited a Bureau of Labor Statistics estimate that some 8 million workers had earnings at or below the federal minimum in 1984. Another 6 million were just barely above the minimum.

The research group's analysis noted that the pattern of the 1950s and 1960s was to set the wage floor at about half of the average private-sector wage. Through the 1970s, a person employed fulltime at the minimum wage earned enough to keep a family of three above the poverty level.

Real value dropping

Now, the study showed, the wage floor has dropped below 40 percent of the average wage for the first time since 1949. A minimum wage of $4.34 an hour would be needed to restore the pay floor to the 50 percent level and a wage of $4.28 an hour would be needed for a family of three to keep from falling below the poverty threshold.

"Raising the minimum wage would be a direct way to help the working poor without raising the federal deficit," the employment policy council suggested.

It termed the minimum wage law "a statement by society that certain work conditions are unacceptable" and it rejected the arguments raised by opponents that increasing the minimum wage adds significantly to unemployment and inflation.

Unemployment remained relatively low during the period when the wage floor was rising the most, the report noted, and joblessness rose to double-digit levels when the minimum wage was unchanged. Since most workers earn more than the minimum wage, increases have had little impact on inflation, the council said.

While 30 percent of persons working for the minimum wage are teenagers, nearly half are over 25. About three-fourths of minimum wage workers are in service or retail jobs, and women make up more than 62 percent of the bottom-wage workers.

In 1984, the study noted, almost 2.1 million persons who worked fulltime throughout the year were below the poverty level.

"The current minimum wage is becoming increasingly obsolete," the council said. It noted that three states and the District of Columbia already have minimums higher than the federal law.

Indexing urged

It urged indexing to keep the minimum wage in line with rises in the national average, called for an expansion of coverage to end exclusions in existing law, and asked more vigorous enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

"Weak enforcement has been a continuing problem," the report noted, "and has been exacerbated by personnel cutbacks of 15 percent and a less sympathetic Administration."

McEntee details high cost of contracting-out schemes

Contracting-out of government work to the private sector leads to higher costs, poorer services, corruption and loss of public control, the State, County & Municipal Employees warned.

With the Reagan Administration pushing "privatization" at the federal level, and with state and local governments turning over to the private sector more and more work historically performed by public employees, AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee called for better management of public service as an alternative to the "selling off of government."

In an article published in Privatization Review—a magazine that promotes the concept of using private, profit-making companies to perform government services—McEntee insisted that such a move would lead to a revival of the "spoils system" of the early part of the 20th Century.

Competent management, not contracting-out, is the answer to any problems government may encounter in delivering services to the public, the AFSCME president said.

Any state or local governmental agency with skilled managers should be able to effect the necessary economies "without the added problems that contracting-out brings," he wrote.

Rather than saving money, McEntee said, privatization often leads to higher costs because of "low-balling"—the practice of getting a contract with an unrealistically low bid and then incurring cost overruns that push up the price.

When that happens, he pointed out, government has become so dependent on the private firm "that it cannot change contractors or take back the service."

In addition, he noted, governmental units tend to overlook such "hidden" costs as contract preparation, administration, monitoring and the use of public facilities and materials in figuring the so-called cost-effectiveness of contracting-out.

Services to the public often suffer under privatization, McEntee explained, because contractors "cut corners" by hiring inexperienced personnel at low wages, ignore contract requirements and fail to provide proper supervision—all in the pursuit of minimizing costs and maximizing profits.

The article cautioned that contracting-out is "all too often associated with bribery, kickbacks and collusive bidding," and frequently become "a tool of political patronage." McEntee pointed to the "ongoing paving and electrical contracting scandals" as evidence that these practices exist.

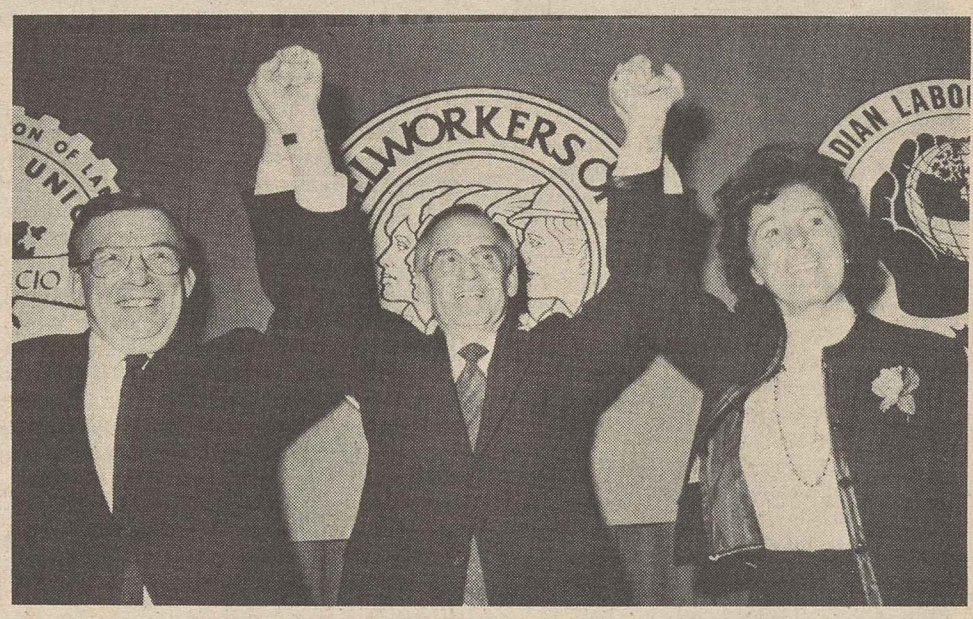
Passing the buck

Turning governmental services over to the private sector, McEntee cautioned, results in less accountability to the public, because when citizens complain about a contracted service, government often has little recourse but to complain in turn to the contractor.

"At a time when many citizens feel that government is too removed from the people it serves, contracting-out pushes the level of accountability and responsiveness one more giant step away," he declared.

McEntee listed these examples to demonstrate how costly the privatization experience has been for many governments:

- Arizona hired McAuto Systems Group Inc. to administer its health care cost containment system in 1982. From the beginning, it was plagued with cost overruns, charges of corruption and failures to deliver on contract terms. A year and a half later, the state had to resume control of the program and in the process "was forced to assume numerous expenses" in order to put the health care system back on its feet.
- Dissatisfaction with private vendors providing printing and custodial services led New York City's Human Resources Administration to cancel their contracts and hire new employees to do the work. It expects to save $575,000 a year from the shift.
- In late 1983, Phoenix awarded a five-year, $9.8 million contract to Serv-All to haul trash from more than 50,000 homes. Almost immediately, garbage began piling up and Serv-All, in an effort to solve its financial difficulties, started selling off the refuse equipment given to it by the city. The firm was fined $30,000 for failing to collect trash on time and was cited for operating unsafe vehicles. Within two years, the contract had to be terminated.



USWA installs

Steelworkers President Lynn Williams shares a handclasp with AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Shirley Carr, executive vice president of the Canadian Labor Congress during USWA installation of officers in Toronto. Newly sworn officers include Secretary Ed Ball, Treasurer Jim McGeehan, Vice Presidents Leon Lynch and George Becker, Canadian Director Gerald Docquier and 25 district directors in the United States.

Kirkland stresses benefits of farmer-worker alliance

Spokane, Wash.—Workers and farmers have been victimized by the Reagan Administration's economic policies, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said here in a call to continue the historic farmer-worker alliance to assure that all Americans receive "a fair return for their labors."

Kirkland reminded delegates to the annual convention of the National Farmers Union of their common stand with the labor movement on such issues as jobs, housing, health and child nutrition. The two organizations must continue to work together, he said, to make certain that Congress does not follow Reagan's lead in stripping the federal budget "of every function except defense."

The challenge, Kirkland asserted, is to make certain that, as Congress "provides for the common defense, the American people are not stripped of everything worth defending."

Although the Reagan tax cuts of 1981 "unleashed a flurry of economic activity," the benefits did not accrue to either workers or farmers, he pointed out.

'Non-existent' jobs

Of the nation's 8 million jobless workers, more than 5 million are not receiving unemployment benefits. Another 5 million are working parttime because full-time jobs can't be found and an additional million have "given up searching for jobs that don't exist," Kirkland declared.

At the same time, he said, those still fortunate enough to be working find their standard of living steadily eroding, with middle-class families suffering a 10 percent drop in real family income.

"If the supposed recovery has failed to reach the American worker," he continued, "it is also beyond the grasp of the American family farmer."

Nearly 400,000 family farms have been "plowed under in the past five years," Kirkland reminded the delegates, and one-third of those that are left are in serious trouble.

"Those farmers who have managed to scrape by are, like the American worker, receiving less for their labor," he asserted. "Prices have dropped for five years in a row, while the value of farm assets has plunged more than $80 billion during the same period."

The sounds of economic activity, he said, are "the sounds of banks foreclosing and plant gates slamming shut."

Soaring trade deficit

Meanwhile, the trade crisis has devastated both workers and farmers, Kirkland told the convention. The trade deficit has soared to a record of nearly $150 billion "and the one formerly bright ray of hope in the trade picture—our agricultural trade surplus—has been halved."

The drop in agricultural exports not only hurts farmers, he pointed out. It also "afflicts the factory worker who makes tractors, the transportation worker who hauls the produce, the dock worker who loads it on ships manned by deep-sea sailors bound for foreign markets."

Kirkland accused Reagan of ignoring the fact that all segments of society share a common misery, charging the President with engaging in "a strategy of division" that pits farmers against workers and consumers against those who produce goods.

Through the mechanism of the federal budget, he declared, Reagan "intends to make the worker and the farmer fight over whose ox is gored, over whose programs will be cut, and while we fight over the table scraps, his friends and allies will gorge themselves on the banquet."

Tip is it

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. will receive the AFL-CIO's 1986 Murray-Green-Meany award, Federation President Lane Kirkland announced.

The award, a memorial to former federation leaders Philip Murray, William Green and George Meany, was established by the AFL-CIO in 1956 to honor outstanding contributions and service to working men and women. It will be presented at the federation's national conference on community services in June.

The award consists of a medal and $5,000.

"Tip" O'Neill, who announced he will retire from Congress this year, has served in the House of Representatives for 34 years. He was elected Speaker in 1976.

AFGE challenges drug-testing plan

The Government Employees will challenge any attempt to impose widespread drug testing of federal employees, AFGE President Kenneth T. Blaylock said.

Blaylock questioned the constitutionality of a proposal that government agencies test job applicants and present employees for evidence of drug use. The recommendation came from the President's Commission on Organized Crime, which said private employers should consider such a drug testing program and suggested that federal contracts be denied to companies that don't have drug testing.

"Federal employees don't leave their constitutional rights at the door when they sign on," Blaylock said.

Attorney Gen. Edwin Meese III said he had concerns over the cost of testing. But he didn't consider testing a violation of Fourth Amendment protection against unlawful search and seizure "because it's something the employee consents to as a condition of employment."

Conventions

The Marine Engineers will hold their 1985 convention in Scottsdale, Ariz., Mar. 17-19.

The North Carolina AFL-CIO will convene in Raleigh Sept. 2-5.

Labor scores gains in legislatures

Continued from Page 1

leged "emergency" as its rationale for putting the measure into immediate effect even though a "right-to-work" initiative will be on the ballot this November.

• A number of states tackled the issue of comparable worth. The legislatures in Washington and Wisconsin appropriated funds to insure pay equity, while Wyoming, New Jersey and Utah took steps to study present pay scales and make recommendations on how to overcome past discrimination against women and minorities.

Labor's legislative efforts at the state level also produced results in such other areas as polygraph testing, public employee collective bargaining, regulation of the use of video display terminals, wage payment and collection laws, mandatory retirement and protection of handicapped persons.

In the critical right-to-know area, the new laws enacted in six of the eight states gave communities the same access to information on toxic substances as they did to workers. The exceptions were Alabama and Louisiana.

At the same time, Maine, Oregon and West Virginia, where right-to-know laws were already on the statute books, enlarged their scope to provide community access to toxic substance information. And Hawaii ordered an all-out campaign to make workers aware that such a law is already on the statute books in that state.

The AFL-CIO said the gains made in providing workplace safeguards for those handling toxic materials and for people living in the vicinity of chemical installations was a victory for the alliance of labor, environmental and public interest groups long involved in this issue.

A total of 36 states now have some form of right-to-know legislation on the statute books, Federation health and safety expert Margaret Seminario said.

In addition to working for passage of similar laws in the 14 remaining states, she said, labor will continue to fight for tough federal standards that will minimize the risks which workers and communities now face because of the failure of the chemical industry to control these hazardous substances.

Here is a state-by-state rundown of significant actions, based on data compiled by the Labor Dept. and the Bureau of National Affairs:

Alabama—Approved checkoff of union dues if at least 5 percent of state employees request such deductions. Modified age 70 retirement provision to permit continued employment of teachers on a year-to-year basis. Established mine health and safety training program.

Alaska—Established Office of Equal Employment Opportunity to ensure affirmative action compliance.

Arizona—Raised maximum weekly unemployment insurance benefit from $115 to $125 immediately, with an additional $10-a-week increase in July. Extended anti-discrimination protections to the physically handicapped.

Arkansas—Raised the minimum wage from $3.05 to $3.15 an hour. Set the maximum weekly unemployment insurance benefit at 66-2/3 percent of the average weekly wage and provided a shared-work benefit to make up the difference in pay for workers who go on a short work schedule to avert layoffs.

California—Exempted townships coverage under the prevailing wage law. Provided for licensing and inspecting farm labor camps with safeguards against evictions of tenants who complain about substandard conditions. Established a method to supply equipment to facilitate employment of the handicapped. Required certification of contractors doing asbestos-related work. Required manufacturers, importers and distributors of hazardous substances to label containers in accordance with federal law.

Colorado—Extended unemployment compensation to businesses employing at least one worker. Exempted are agricultural, domestic and nonprofit organizations. Provided workers' compensation coverage for most state and municipal employees.

Connecticut—Required employers to pay the cost of medical rehabilitation services for injured workers. Authorized a study of municipal collective bargaining to include binding arbitration, composition of bargaining units, impasse procedures and the right to strike. Required employers of 100 or more who close or relocate their plants to continue group health insurance for affected workers and dependents for up to 120 days, instead of 90 days as before. Established a statewide program to help displaced homemakers find employment.

Delaware—Boosted the maximum weekly jobless benefit from $163 to $195, with a further increase to $205 effective July 1. Established workshop employment program for the severely disabled. Adopted a Police Bill of Rights covering administrative investigations and the insertion of adverse material in their personnel files.

District of Columbia—Raised the minimum wage in manufacturing, printing, publishing and wholesale trade from $3.50 to $3.95 an hour. Prohibited discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth or related medical conditions.

Florida—Increased the maximum weekly unemployment benefit from $150 to $175. Extended farm labor registration law to contractors with one or more farm workers, instead of 10 or more as before.

Georgia—Raised weekly jobless benefit from $125 to $135, with a further increase to $145 effective July 1. Prohibited polygraph examiners from inquiring about union, political, religious, racial or sexual attitudes. Authorized study of teenage and youth unemployment.

Hawaii—Urged private employers to adopt the principle of comparable worth. Prohibited use of lie detector tests as a condition of employment or continued employment. Ordered a study of the feasibility of allowing working parents to take up to six months' unpaid leave for parenting purposes.

Idaho—Repealed public works eight-hour-day law and raised the ceiling on work in surface mines and smelters to 10 hours a day at straight-time wages.

Illinois—Raised the minimum wage from $3 to $3.35 an hour, with the rate for those under 18 going to $2.85. Permitted counties and municipalities which have home rule to exempt themselves from the state prevailing wage law. Established program to provide job placement and referral services to the disabled. Established a Labor-Management Cooperation Committee to deal with economic problems facing the state. Encouraged an early start on collective bargaining by school districts to minimize the possibility of teachers' strikes.

Indiana—Raised the maximum unemployment insurance benefit from $141 to $151, with a further rise to $161 on July 6. Established a statewide information system to provide employment opportunities, job training and related services to the unemployed.

Iowa—Adopted vocational training for the mentally retarded and those with developmental disabilities. Ordered a study of collective bargaining procedures for elementary and secondary school teachers. Enacted a job training program for those seeking employment in small businesses.

Kansas—Raised the maximum weekly jobless benefit from $175 to $190.

Louisiana—Adopted a shared-work program for unemployment compensation but changed the formula for calculating all benefits, resulting in a shorter eligibility period. Amended the law on undocumented workers to prevent prosecution of employers who have been furnished specified documents by all of their alien workers. Expanded coverage of the age discrimination law and extended anti-bias protection to those with mental disorders. Established program geared to economic self-sufficiency for women.

Maine—Under provisions of previously enacted law, the minimum wage rose to $3.55 on Jan. 1 of this year and will go to $3.65 in January 1987. Extended equal employment opportunity program to physically or mentally handicapped. Authorized training and support services for workers displaced as the result of increased foreign imports.

Maryland—Required deductions of social security or railroad retirement benefits from unemployment compensation payments. Extended wage-hour coverage to employees of legitimate theaters. Approved withholding of union dues for government employees. Ordered voluntary guidelines for employers planning to close or relocate plants or make major reductions in force, including appropriate advance notice, continuation of employee benefits and on-site registration for unemployment insurance claims and readjustment assistance.

Massachusetts—Increased the minimum wage to $3.55, effective next July 1. Amended impasse procedure provisions for private and public sector labor disputes to protect confidentiality of information received by a mediator.

Michigan—Extended the Youth Corps Act until Sept. 30, to continue to provide summer employment and work training for youth.

Minnesota—Established a program to streamline and coordinate the state's employment, training and income maintenance programs. Set a priority for recruiting and placing economically disadvantaged, chronically unemployed, minorities and women in apprenticeship programs.

Mississippi—Increased the penalties for misrepresentation in filing unemployment insurance claims, as well as the fines for employers who fraudulently attempt to prevent or reduce benefit payments. Increased minimum salary scales for teachers. Made strikes by all public employees unlawful.

Missouri—Established a program to promote and increase women's economic and employment opportunities.

Montana—Boosted the minimum wage from $2.75 to $3.05 an hour, with a further increase to $3.35 scheduled for Oct. 1. Removed mandatory retirement age regulations for firefighters and law enforcement officers.

Nebraska—Raised the weekly jobless benefit from $120 to $126. Amended the law governing collective bargaining rights for most public employees to exclude supervisors—except firefighters and police officers—from joining the same bargaining unit as nonsupervisory employees.

Nevada—Put strict limits on the number of pickets permitted in a labor dispute and restricted the area in which they can conduct picketing. Required unions to publish and distribute proposed contract proposals before members vote on ratification. Authorized local labor organizations to withdraw from health, pension and welfare plans of their international unions unless the programs are administed in Nevada. Amended the wage-hour law to bar employers from requiring employees to work without wages during a "break-in" period. Repealed law giving veterans reemployment rights.

New Hampshire—The maximum weekly unemployment compensation benefit was raised from $141 to $150. The law permitting a youth rate of 75 percent of the applicable minimum wage was amended to apply to persons age 16 or under, instead of 17 or under as before. A committee was established to recommend changes in state labor relations laws.

New Jersey—Mandatory retirement because of age was prohibited in virtually all public and private sector employment. Licensing was required for all employers engaged in the application, enclosure, removal or encapsulation of asbestos. A joint labor-management-government commission was created to encourage the growth or retention of jobs and to retrain displaced workers and the chronically unemployed.

New Mexico—Regulated use of video display terminals by state employees, establishing standards for noise levels, lighting, air quality, chairs and footrests, and scheduled breaks.

New York—Established a shared-work program of up to 20 weeks' of jobless benefits, to remain in effect until Jan. 1, 1989. Directed a re-examination of the state's eight minimum wage orders, with particular attention on the feasibility of providing benefits for part-time employees and a review of the youth rate provisions. Authorized reciprocal agreements with other states for collecting unpaid wages.

North Carolina—Repealed a 1984 law calling for a pay equity study for state employees. Adopted new handicapped persons' protection act to prevent discrimination in hiring, promotion, discharge or compensation. Enacted an employment and training program.

North Dakota—Guaranteed public employees the right to join unions and engage in political activities on their own time without fear of reprisal or discipline.

Ohio—Ordered that involuntarily terminated employees be given the option to continue health insurance policies, at group rates, for six months and required employers to make employees aware of this provision at the time they're terminated.

Oklahoma—Provided two years' disbarment for contractors violating the prevailing wage law. Put a proposed constitutional amendment on the November ballot to permit employment of women and girls in underground mines. Amended existing law to require arbitration procedures—rather than mediation or fact-finding—to resolve labor disputes involving police or firefighters.

Oregon—The minimum wage went up from $3.10 to $3.35 and the law was amended to specifically cover public sector employees. The temporary program of additional unemployment compensation benefits, set to expire June 29, 1985, was extended to June 27, 1987. A wage security fund was established to guarantee up to $2,000 in pay for each worker whose employer has ceased doing business and does not have sufficient assets to pay the claim. Reciprocal agreements with other states were authorized to enforce farm labor regulatory statutes, and farm workers were guaranteed convenient toilets, handwashing facilities and clean drinking water.

Rhode Island—The weekly allowance for dependents under the unemployment insurance program was raised from $5 to $20 each, up to a limit of five dependents. Salaried employees receiving $200 or more a week are no longer exempt from the overtime provisions of the law unless employed in a bonafide executive, administrative or professional capacity.

South Carolina—Enacted tough new licensing and regulatory standards for employment agencies and consultants.

South Dakota—Repealed the law regulating mine safety on the contention the area was preempted by federal law.

Tennessee—Made it unlawful to knowingly employ or refer for employment an illegal alien. Repealed statutory provisions setting mine safety standards.

Texas—Prohibited retail employers from forcing employees to work seven consecutive days without a day off. Called for detailed reporting on providing equal employment opportunity to the handicapped. Intensified job training programs.

Utah—Ordered studies of overtime pay standards for public employees, a pay equity plan for state workers, payroll withholding for child support payments, a displaced homemaker program and the state's "right-to-work" law. Authorized the Occupational Safety & Health Division of the Industrial Commission to investigate worker injury and illness complaints and to seek a search warrant if an employer refuses to permit an inspection. Established a mechanism to coordinate job training programs with private employers.

Vermont—Raised the minimum wage from $3.35 to $3.45 an hour effective July 1, 1986, with further increases to $3.55 on July 1, 1987 and $3.65 on July 1, 1988. Prohibited employers or employment agencies from requiring polygraph tests, and protecting workers from discharge or discrimination for failing to submit to such tests.

Virginia—The maximum weekly unemployment compensation payment was increased from $150 to $159. Amendments to existing mine safety law call for additional precautions in the movement of mining equipment, the allowable speed of belts used to transport workers, and specify additional numbers of entries for longwall mines.

Washington—Established procedures to investigate alleged violations of the prevailing wage law. Authorized flexitime work schedules for state workers. Adopted rules for affirmative action in appointments, promotions, transfers, recruitment, training and career development of state employees. Exempted manufacturers and distributors of controlled substances from the state ban on the use of socalled lie detectors.

West Virginia—Effective July 1, 1988, the maximum jobless benefit will be pegged at 66-2/3 percent of the state average weekly wage, instead of the present 70 percent. Created new Commerce Dept. to study the feasibility of establishing enterprise zones as a spur to economic development.

Wisconsin—A program of temporary financial aid was established for counties and cities hit by plant closings, indefinite layoffs or farm sales resulting in a precipitous increase in joblessness.

Wyoming—Prohibited employment discrimination against qualified handicapped persons.

EDITORIALS

Society's Agenda

Olof Palme, the prime minister of Sweden whose assassination shocked the world, spoke about trade union concerns at Harvard University on Apr. 3, 1984. The occasion was the first Jerry Wurf Memorial Lecture, honoring the late president of the State, County & Municipal Employees. Some of the things he said:

THE FIGHT against unemployment must remain the prime goal of economic policy. All societies have vast unfilled needs. Unemployment is a terrible waste.

Unemployment undermines the fabric of society on which democracy has to be built. Work—having a job—is an essential part of people's social being. If we deny young people the right to be full members of society, they may choose to place themselves outside of society.

There is no greater gulf than the gulf between those who have work and those who do not.

* * *

It is my conviction that labor unions, by strengthening the voice of the common people, play a vital role in strengthening democracy.

It is interesting to note that dictators—from the right or from the left—first crush unions and jail union leaders. This in itself is proof of their importance in a democracy.

We can today witness this process in Chile and in Poland. It is not surprising that right-wing dictators dislike organized labor. But the emergence of Solidarity in Poland has a deeper significance. It means that communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe have been unable to come to reasonable terms with the wishes of ordinary people. In this situation, the people turn to the unions as a democratic instrument for shaping their future.

LET ME TURN now to the welfare society and the role of the public sector.

An efficient and stable welfare state must be based on universal social programs, such as health insurance, pensions and child-support allowances, that are directed to all citizens. Universal programs would help eliminate the "poverty trap" in which the poor are discouraged from increasing their earnings since to do so decreases their benefits.

The public sector and the work of public servants can be described in many different ways: the teachers who do their best to educate our children, the home-care workers who help our senior citizens with housework in their homes, the personnel of our medical services who take care of the sick.

One of the finest aspects of our welfare society is the prenatal and postnatal care given to mothers and babies. All mothers and their children without distinction enjoy free treatment at these clinics. Sweden has the lowest infant mortality rate in the world.

Many countries are, of course, struggling with large budget deficits and economic imbalances. But the government I lead has refused to resort to a one-sided cutback that hits people's welfare and leads to increased unemployment. The problem is not primarily that the public sector is too large, but that the industrial sector is too small. Therefore, we are concentrating our efforts on promoting industrial expansion.

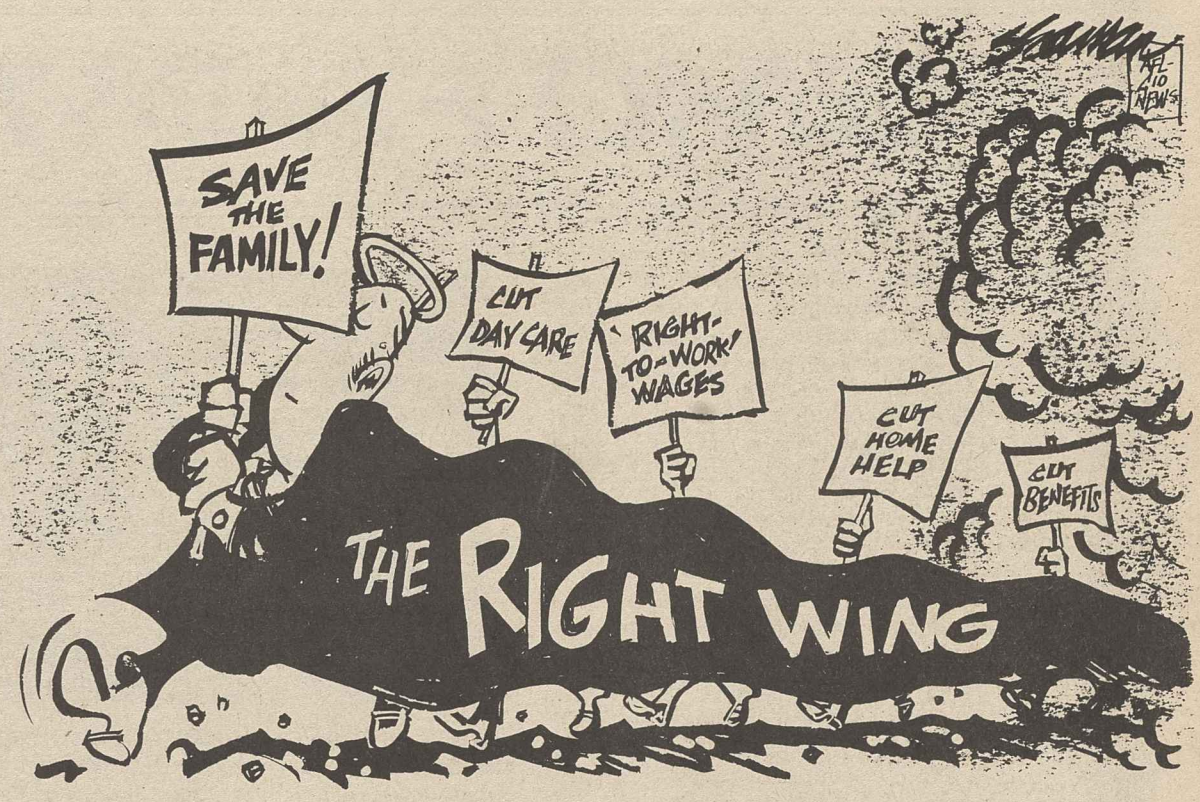
Cause and Effect

THERE IS, of course, a connection between the top Page One story in this issue of the AFL-CIO News and the photo alongside it.

The news story reports that the nation's trade deficit continued its steep climb and in the process shattered a record set just a month previously. Regrettably, there aren't many papers around the country that consider this front-page news.

The photo shows some of the 14,000 persons who lined up in Buffalo, N.Y., to apply for 270 jobs expected to open up later this year. Many of them were thrown out of work by layoffs in the import-battered steel industry.

Unless Congress and the Reagan Administration wake up to the linkage, there will be many more such stories and many more such pictures.



Washington Window

Superfund barricaded as toxic dumps fester

By Press Associates Inc.

If there is a single piece of legislation that may indicate what can be expected from Congress in this election year, it is the Superfund reauthorization.

Despite its bipartisan popularity, Congress let the federal toxic waste cleanup program expire last Sept. 30. Consequently, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Lee M. Thomas has warned that the EPA must soon begin shutting down the program unless Congress acts quickly.

Most puzzling in the congressional deadlock on Superfund is that there is no question that the program is sorely needed. It was established in 1980 in response to toxic dumping disasters like Love Canal.

Since Superfund was created, EPA has put 850 toxic waste sites on its priority cleanup list, and estimates that some 2,000 out of 20,000 sites may eventually qualify for Superfund money. Other estimates range much higher, to a possible 10,000 priority sites, with a $100-billion-plus cleanup tab.

A five-year progress report on Superfund by the National Campaign Against Toxic Hazards further shows the scope of the problem. National Campaign, a coalition of 300 labor, environmental, public health and citizen groups, found that:

- EPA completed cleanup at only six sites in the last five years.
- Long-term cleanup has yet to begin at 90 percent of the 850 sites on the priority list. Cleanup has begun at fewer than five percent of the 2,000 sites EPA estimates will require priority cleanup.
- Neither initial studies nor short-term emergency measures have been started at 25 percent of the priority sites.
- Half the priority sites have seen neither long-term cleanup or short-term emergency measures. While some short-term measures have resulted in progress toward long-term cleanup, most involve actions, such as fencing off sites or providing alternative water supplies, which do nothing to address primary contamination problems.

Cleanup of an average toxic waste site costs about $6 million if there is no groundwater contamination, and about $12 million where groundwater contamination has occurred. EPA estimated that toxic chemicals from at least 75 percent of the priority list sites have contaminated groundwater.

Rules, timetables needed

Clearly, the program needs much more than the $1.5 billion it has had to work with over the last five years. Labor and environmental groups maintain that the program needs stringent cleanup standards and timetables because of EPA's lackluster record and inadequate worker protection rules and training.

Both the Senate and House Superfund bills would provide more than the $5 billion requested by the Reagan Administration, with the Senate bill authorizing $7.5 billion over the next five years, and the House bill providing $10 billion.

However, the Senate bill would raise the money to fund the program from a value-added tax on all manufacturing industries, as the oil and chemical industries advocated. The House bill would increase the current feedstock tax levied on the oil and chemical industries, which have been identified as the major sources of toxic dumping.

While House and Senate conferees attempt to reconcile their differences, millions of Americans continue to be exposed to chemical wastes which cause cancer, reproductive problems and other diseases.

That is why congressional delay on Superfund makes little sense. But if Congress is paralyzed to inaction on a program which is so popular, what can the nation expect on issues which do not enjoy Superfund's bipartisan support?

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MEMO FROM COPE

CELEBRITY TIME AGAIN in politics, as singer-civil rights activist Harry Belafonte rebuffs efforts to draft him into campaign for Democratic Senate nomination in New York State to oppose incumbent Alfonse D'Amato (R). Only Democrat in field so far is former Nader Raider Mark Green, who ran unsuccessfully for U.S. House in 1984. Other news about show biz people in politics: "Dirty Harry" Clint Eastwood announces he'll run for mayor of Carmel, Calif. (rumors that he'll waste anyone brash enough to contest him are unfounded). Fred Grandy of TV's "Love Boat" abandoned ship a while back to challenge Democratic Rep. Berkley Bedell in Iowa's 6th District, now finds himself on smooth seas as Bedell withdraws from race for reasons of health. And Fess Parker, who trudged across the TV screens as Davey Crockett for years, is still mentioned as possible candidate for GOP Senate nomination in California. It's a crowded field already, with nine persons announcing for nomination to oppose incumbent Sen. Alan Cranston.

'REALIGNMENT' ON HOLD, and then some, as recent national polls show voter allegiance drifting back in favor of Democrats. Latest Gallup Poll gives Dems 40-33 edge over GOP in voter party support, up from 37-35 margin of a year ago. Other major polls similar: CBS/NY Times 37-29; Harris Poll 41-30; Yankelovich 44-31.

DESPERATE BAY STATE Republicans run want ads to attract credible candidates to run for state legislative seats. Unable to draft anyone, they place paid ads in trade publications for lawyers, doctors, bankers, insurance agents, teachers, real estate agents and artists. So far, 100 replies. Reason for turning to advertising: In 1984, Massachusetts GOP fielded candidates in fewer than half of state's legislative districts.

MASTER OF ONE-LINERS, President Reagan nonetheless seems to have no eye for irony. He goes to Missouri to make big pitch for GOP Senate candidates.

Odds 'n Ends

and to promote his program-slashing budget proposals. Speaks at jazzy new hotel that's part of major urban restoration project in St. Louis. Project was seeded with $10 million from Urban Development Action Grant, one of many programs whose elimination is called for in Reagan budget.

IF MONEY TALKS politically, GOP Senate candidates will make a whole lot of noise this year. The 18 running for re-election among them had amassed $22.6 million in contributions as of January 1. That's an average of $1.3 million per. Biggest pile goes to Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (N.Y.), $4.2 million, followed by Sens. Bob Packwood (Ore.) $3.5 million and Arlen Specter (Pa.) $2.2 million. Top fund-raiser so far among Democrats: Sen. Alan Cranston (Calif.), $1.9 million. Smallest bundle of any incumbent was Warren Rudman's, $22,000. New Hampshire Republican had expected to step down, decided to run again after passage of his co-owned Gramm-Rudman-Hollings mandated balanced budget proposal.

RERUN OF CLOSEST RACE in 1984 elections looms in Indiana this year. Republican Rick McIntyre announces he'll make second try at 8th District seat held by Democrat Frank McCloskey. After counts, recounts, re-recounts and so on, following November 1984 balloting, it was more than six months before special House committee certified McCloskey winner by just four votes out of more than 233,000 cast. It was among narrowest House victories in history.

RECORD NUMBER OF WOMEN set sights on statewide races this year. Seventeen women have announced or are expected to run for governor. They're clustered in 12 of 36 states with gubernatorial contests scheduled and four of them—two from each party—are in Nebraska. Seven women are running for U.S. Senate, two of these in Maryland for the seat being vacated by Sen. Charles Mathias (R). They are Rep. Barbara Mikulski (D) and Linda Chavez (R) who resigned as President Reagan's public liaison director to run.

AVERAGE TAXPAYER one-fifth of total contribution to Internal Revenue Service just to pay interest on Reagan's record-breaking budget deficits. Payment for those filing returns averages $3,537, and $699.23 goes to debt interest. Cumulative federal debt in 1980, year before Reagan took office with promises to balance budget by 1983, was $715 billion. Now stands at $1.7 trillion, increase of 137.7 percent. Annual interest payment on debt was $52.5 billion in 1980, will be $148 billion this year. If effect, average taxpayer works one and a half weeks just to pay interest on Reagan debt.

BOB AND REED SHOW hits the mails as gimmick for National Right to Work For Less Committee fund-raiser. Reed Larson, for-less committee president, receives strong letter of support from Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (Kansas) for Larson's efforts to promote Hobbs Act amendment to slap strikers with federal felony charges in any picket line incidents. Larson promptly distributes Dole letter with pitch for funds for the open shop committee. This is typical you-scratch-my-back-I'll-scratch-yours relationship between rightist groups and the officials they support and who in turn support them. Imagine fuss that would be raised if COPE sent out a fund-raising appeal accompanied by letter from a friendly office-holder. All hell would break loose.

LOOKING FOR EXCITEMENT? Well, try to hold on until June 1 when U.S. Senate sessions will be televised on cable, at least for a trial period. Fast and furious action of "world's greatest deliberative body," featuring Jesse (The Refrigerator) Helms vs. all comers makes NFL games look like pat-a-cake. Not recommended for heart patients.

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEE produces slick new film for its candidates and for state and local Republican organizations. It's called "Building a Stronger America," and gives notion that way to do this is through party realignment. If only everyone were a Republican, it implies, what a stronger America we'd have. Film urges GOP troops to dig in and save control of U.S. Senate, also makes big pitch for GOP project to win whole bunch of state legislatures by end of 1990 elections and therefore occupy catbird seat when it comes to redistricting and reapportionment after 1990 Census.

Thank You, Rep. Collins

Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.) not only *wouldn't* cross a picket line recently. She *joined* it and walked with it.

She had been invited by the editorial board of the Chicago Tribune to a candidates' interview session on which the paper would base its endorsements.

Workers at the Tribune have been on strike for months. Collins refused to cross their line. She chose to march with the strikers rather than meet with the editors.

The COPE-endorsed Collins is challenged in a tough primary battle by Alderman Danny Davis for the 7th Congressional District seat.

Though there's been no eye-witness account, it's assumed Davis walked on through. *He* got the Tribune endorsement.

Ah, the Benefits Of 'Free Trade'

Interested in all the benefits of trade under present international arrangements usually referred to by President Reagan as "free trade?" Here they are over the five-year period of this Republican administration (based on U.S. Commerce Department figures):

* 453,000 jobs *wiped out* in primary metals
* 251,000 jobs *wiped out* in fabricated metals
* 344,000 jobs *wiped out* in industrial machine manufacture
* 356,000 jobs *wiped out* in the electrical and electronic equipment industries
* nearly one million jobs *wiped out* in textiles and apparel
* 235,000 jobs *wiped out* in shoes/leather
* 85,000 jobs *wiped out* in transportation equipment
* Scores of thousands of other American jobs *wiped out* in lumber, agriculture, food processing, papers, chemicals, oil.

One major proposal to restrict job-killing imports—trying to hold the market penetration of foreign-made textile and apparel to 61 percent of the total—passed both the U.S. House and Senate.

"Free Trade" Reagan vetoed it.

Dem Chances Look Best Where GOP Vote Records Are Worst

From an even dozen states, Democrats have their best opportunities next November of picking up the four-seat net gain necessary to take control of the U.S. Senate.

In four of these—Arizona, Maryland, Nevada, North Carolina—Republican incumbents are stepping down. Arizona would be a long-shot for Democrats, the other three states real possibles.

Among the eight GOP incumbents asking voters to return them for another six years are some of the most ultra-conservative in the Senate, and some of those office-holders who have been both beneficiaries and hard-core patrons of right-wing political committees and their issues.

The eight are Sens. Jeremiah Denton (Ala.), Paula Hawkins (Fla.), Mack Mattingly (Ga.), Steve Symms (Idaho), Don Nickles (Okla.), James Abdnor (S. Dak.), Slade Gorton (Wash.) and Robert Kasten (Wis.)

The official AFL-CIO 1985 voting record carried in the February 15 *AFL-CIO News* demonstrates the importance of unseating as many from this cluster as possible. In aggregate, their career records add up to 618 "wrong" votes on key issues, 108 "right." As a group: 85 percent "wrong," with individual records running from highs of 98 percent "wrong" of Symms and Nickles to a low of 68 for Hawkins.

Each of the eight is a first-termer. Senators who make it to a second term have a way of hanging around for a third, and often a fourth. So, 1986 provides the first, and best, opportunity to deny them further service.

The Senate is controlled presently by Republicans, 53-47. A four-seat gain for Democrats would turn that into a 51-49 Democratic edge. It also would reduce dramatically the impact and influence in the Senate of right-wingers and their ideology—from both within and outside of that body.

That's worth shooting for.

Following are the cumulative individual AFL-CIO records of the eight GOP incumbents.

Name/State	Right	Wrong	% Wrong
Denton (Ala.)	9	81	90
Hawkins (Fla.)	28	59	68
Mattingly (Ga.)	7	85	92
Symms (Idaho)	2	84	98
Nickles (Okla.)	2	90	98
Abdnor (S.D.)	23	71	76
Gorton (Wash.)	19	74	80
Kasten (Wis.)	18	74	80
Aggregate	108	618	85

Does G-R-H Axe Fall on *Your* Children?

The axe of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings automatic-budget-cut-and-watch-the-people-helping-programs-bleed-law is already hacking away.

Among the early victims: 91,000 present and potential college students who need federal loans to stay in, or begin to attend, a university.

Are *your* children included? Will they be?

Before the axe fell last week, a student from a family of four with two employed parents and an income of $28,400 could have qualified for a federal loan.

For youngsters requiring such loans as of next fall, the income eligibility figure will be lowered to $23,900.

Oh, the 91,000 hit adversely by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings will be on top of 200,000 already scragged this year by earlier Reagan Administration cut in college loan programs.

Surge in jobless rate sharpest of Reagan era

February's steep six-tenths of 1 percent jump in the unemployment rate was the sharpest monthly increase since Ronald Reagan took office more than five years ago.

This rise in joblessness—the largest one-month jump since the middle of the 1980 recession—pushed unemployment back to the February-July 1985 level, when it was stuck at 7.3 percent.

The Administration attempted to play down the significance of the six-tenths of 1 percent jump in the jobless rate. The White House claimed that the picture was "much better than the numbers alone would project," insisting that the nation continues to enjoy a "strong, growing economy."

But the figures appeared to catch the government by surprise, with the Labor Dept. terming the addition of 700,000 to the ranks of the unemployed "an unusual increase."

The AFL-CIO charged that the deterioration of the labor market was further evidence of the Reagan Administration's refusal to come to grips with the unemployment problem.

"The jump to 7.3 percent may be news to statisticians," AFL-CIO economist Rudy Oswald said, but "it's not news to the 15.1 million Americans who are unemployed, too discouraged to look for work or forced to work part-time because full-time work is not available."

The figures disprove White House claims that the nation is recovering from the depths of the Reagan Recession, Oswald asserted, pointing out that joblessness in the 7-percent range is "normally associated with recessions."

A month ago, when the official jobless rate reportedly dipped to 6.7 percent, congressional critics challenged the way the Bureau of Labor Statistics made seasonal adjustments to arrive at that figure.

"Clearly, unemployment never was down to 6.7 percent" in January, Oswald declared, as he charged the Administration with displaying "no national will to make progress" in dealing with the situation.

For nearly two years, the federation pointed out, unemployment has been at or above the 7-percent mark—a level higher than that of any year prior to the 1980s except for the 1975 recession and its immediate aftermath.

Overall, more than 8.5 million Americans were reported without jobs. Of that number, nearly 6 million weren't drawing unemployment compensation either because stringent qualifications deny them access to benefit rolls or because they have exhausted jobless insurance coverage without finding work.

The figures were grim for virtually every category in the labor force:

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AFL-CIO news

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

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House votes 'lie detector' curb

Protesting postal prices

Susan Dunlop, assistant to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, urges Postal Rate Commission to block Administration attempts to end subsidies for nonprofit mailers. Testifying with her were Edwin M. Schmidt, left, director of the federation's Dept. of Reproduction & Mailing, and James M. Cesnik, editor of the Guild Reporter and secretary-treasurer of the International Labor Communications Association. (Story, Page 3.)

Bill bars employer testing of workers, job applicants

By David L. Perlman

The House voted 236-176 for a labor-backed bill to bar most private firms from using polygraph devices—so-called lie detectors—to question their employees or persons seeking jobs.

The bill, a major legislative goal of the AFL-CIO, now goes to the Senate where hearings have been scheduled for April.

Its sponsors agreed to a number of exceptions to hold together a majority for the bill. But the most damaging amendment—a substitute bill backed by employer groups and the polygraph testing industry—was beaten by a 241-173 margin. It would merely have required states to license and regulate polygraph operators in accordance with guidelines to be set by the Labor Dept.

Enactment of polygraph curbs has been a long crusade of the Food & Commercial Workers and other unions in the retail field where employers were the first to use polygraphs on a large scale. But testimony at House hearings indicated that polygraph use—and abuse—has spread to nearly every segment of the workforce.

The employer use of polygraphs "has reached shocking levels," AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert McGlotten wrote House members before the vote. He cited estimates that at least 50,000 Americans are wrongfully denied employment each year because of the "inherent inaccuracies" of the devices.

While 22 states limit or ban polygraph testing in employment, McGlotten noted that many employers evade the restrictions by using testing facilities available in other states.

Equally persuasive in labor's campaign to bar polygraph use in employment has been evidence that the "electric chair" hookup of instruments to measure blood pressure, sweating and other signs of fear is often designed to intimidate workers and job applicants. Congressional hearings turned up numerous examples of questioning that sought to determine union sympathies and ask for extremely personal details of sex relations.

Growing use cited

The committee report making the case for the legislation estimated that some 2 million lie detector tests are administered each year in the private sector—triple the number of 10 years ago.

It cited studies showing that the most honest persons are most likely to "fail" polygraph tests and noted that "employers who display respect for their employees' rights and do not administer lie detector tests have a lower theft rate than those who do administer the tests."

Ironically, the report noted, while corporate management thefts are more costly than employee pilferage, almost always it is hourly-paid employees who are subjected to testing and not management.

The bill has bipartisan sponsorship in both the House and Senate, cutting across ideological as well as party lines. Rep. Pat

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Kentucky action derails budget 'con-con' threat

Frankfort, Ky.—Labor's grassroots campaign turned the tide in the Kentucky legislature and led to the defeat of a resolution that would have brought the nation perilously close to a constitutional convention.

The repercussions were quickly felt in Washington, where the Senate was debating a perennial proposal for a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget. The prod to Congress to enshrine such a dubious economic ideology as part of the Constitution has been the fear that petitions from 34 states would require the convening of a constitutional convention, with all the risks of an uncharted course.

Thirty-two states have petitioned for such a convention since 1975, but only two in the past six years as awareness of the constitutional risk grew. A few months ago, it seemed probable that Kentucky would become the 33rd.

Thanks to an an aroused trade union movement and some influential allies, that didn't happen. The state House of Representatives deleted the call for a constitutional convention and passed instead a non-lethal resolution merely endorsing a balanced budget amendment.

With the immediate threat of a constitutional convention eased, Senate sponsors of the balanced budget amendment found they couldn't yet count the two-thirds majority needed to pass a constitutional amendment.

It was a different story four years ago, when the Senate voted 69-31 for a balanced budget amendment and it took an emergency national campaign by labor and its coalition allies to stop the measure in the House. The AFL-CIO Executive Coun-

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Labor rallies slated to send message against apartheid

The AFL-CIO is rallying union members and supporters to demonstrate against South African apartheid on Mar. 22 in seven major cities.

Labor's "Day of Solidarity with the Victims of Apartheid" will commemorate the 26th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, when South African police fired into a crowd of peaceful demonstrators protesting that country's "pass laws" which restrict the rights and movements of blacks. Eighty-nine persons were killed and more than 300 were wounded.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said the Mar. 22 demonstrations and the federation's continuing boycott of Shell Oil Co. products are tangible ways for American trade unionists "to send a powerful message of encouragement to our South African brothers and sisters and an equally powerful message of protest to the government that oppresses them."

The rallies are intended to keep public attention focused on South Africa's repressive and anti-labor policies. The Shell boycott is part of a worldwide labor campaign against the Royal Dutch/Shell Oil Co. and its affiliates instituted by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at the request of two South African miners unions. The boycott is against Shell products, not individual merchants selling those products.

The schedule for the Mar. 22 rallies:

- Washington, D.C., 14th St. and Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., noon. Speakers include AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue.
- Detroit, Electrical Workers Local 58 Hall, 1358 Ebbott St., 10 a.m. Among the speakers: Auto Workers President Owen Bieber and Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch.

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'No' to tax on benefits

A majority of the Senate has now cosponsored the labor-urged resolution opposing the taxation of job-related benefits.

Labor's grassroots lobbying campaign, including postcards and letters from union members to their senators, brought the number of cosponsors to 52, with the possibility of several additional signatures.

A similar resolution was sponsored by a majority of House members last year. It was credited with influencing the Ways & Means Committee to reject proposals to tax workers on the value of health insurance or other employer-provided benefits in the bill that passed the House last December.

The Senate drive for sponsors reached its target as the Finance Committee prepared to start marking up a tax bill for consideration by the full Senate. A bipartisan drive for signatures was launched initially by Senators John Heinz (R-Pa.) and Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.). A companion measure was circulated by Senate Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.) and George Mitchell (D-Me.)

Mediation proves effective in solving internal disputes

Bal Harbour, Fla.—Mediation continues to prove its effectiveness as a means of settling disputes between affiliates under Article XX of the AFL-CIO Constitution, Sec.-Treas. Thomas E. Donahue said.

Reporting to the Executive Council on the operations of the Article XX Internal Disputes Plan, Donahue said 2,386 cases have been filed since the plan's inception in 1962. Settlement was achieved through mediation and discussions between the organizations in 1,355 cases, or 56.8 percent. In 1985 alone, 19 cases—45 percent of those processed during the year—were settled at the mediation level.

Since February 1982, all cases have been handled by a permanent mediator, John N. Gentry. In cases not settled through mediation, hearings are conducted and determinations made by the impartial umpires, D. Quinn Mills and Howard Lesnick. There have been 1,017 such determinations since 1962.

Forty-two new cases were filed in 1985 and nine remained pending at the mediation level at the end of the year. Umpires' determinations found violations in 13 cases and no violations in nine cases.

At the appeals stage, 10 cases were pending at the start of the year and 12 new appeals were entered. Council subcommittees sustained the umpires' determinations in 10 cases. One appeal was withdrawn and two were referred to the Executive Council Appeals Committee.

The Appeals Committee set aside or modified two determinations with one case remaining pending.

Non-compliance cases

Fifteen non-compliance complaints were pending at the start of the year and five others were filed during the period. Compliance was achieved in two cases, noncompliance was found in one case, eight remained pending and nine were inactive.

Three affiliates remain listed as in noncompliance and subject to Article XX sanctions: the International Typographical Union, the National Association of Broadcast Employees & Technicians and the National Union of Hospital & Health Care Employees.

In other actions, the Executive Council approved extensions of jurisdictional protection for the State, County & Municipal Employees in 16 units. Thirteen of the extensions are to February 1987, including nine units in Michigan, two in New Jersey, and one each in Washington and Connecticut. Extensions were also granted for units in Millinocket, Maine, until May 1986, in Lawrence, Mass., until June 1986, and in Buffalo until July 1986.

ICFTU protests Nicaragua arrests

Brussels—The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions filed a strong protest with the International Labor Organization in Geneva over the arrest of 16 trade unionists by the Nicaraguan state security police.

The trade unionists, all members of the ICFTU-affiliated Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), were taken from their homes in Posoltega in pre-dawn arrests last month and held incommunicado in Chinandega prison, unable to communicate with families, friends or attorneys.

A report on the arrests was made by Luis Anderson, secretary-treasurer of the Inter-American Organization of Workers (ORIT), the western hemisphere arm of the ICFTU.

Anderson, who visited Nicaragua shortly after the arrests, made the report in his capacity as executive director of the Inter-American Commission on Human and Trade Union Rights, which is funded by the National Endowment for Democracy.

According to the report, the unionists who were arrested were charged with homicide, assault and stealing livestock.

However, family members and townspeople of Posoltega insisted that no such crimes had occurred in that area, and said police had threatened them with imprisonment if their husbands and sons did not end their involvement in the CUS.

Family members also reported that police had entered their homes dressed in civilian clothes, had helped themselves to personal articles and raided the families' meager food supplies.

Anderson's report concluded that the charges against the trade unionists "are mere inventions of the Sandinista government."

The Inter-American Committee for Human & Trade Union Rights has provided $1,000 to help support the families of the imprisoned Nicaraguan trade unionists and to provide legal services for their defense.

Week-long conference

State leaders explore changing labor scene

By Candice Johnson

State AFL-CIO presidents devoted their third annual meeting at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies to a week-long review of new AFL-CIO initiatives and a series of animated discussions of "changing attitudes" throughout the labor movement.

Much of the conference dealt with the question of increasing union affiliation with the state federations. But the top state body officers also reviewed labor's plans for carrying out its legislative and political agenda and explored ways to improve communications with union members and the public.

AFL-CIO Organizing Director Charles McDonald outlined the federation's new organizing initiatives, including the associate membership program and the corporate campaign strategy. He called the associates program "a way to build bridges" to workers who are not yet union members and cited the findings of a recent Harris poll that indicated some 28 million workers who are not union members would join a union and that more than 100,000 workers each year vote for a union in representation elections where the union does not win.

McDonald pointed out that unions are training nonmembers as well as members "to better their working conditions, to represent themselves in the workplace" and the associates program offers "one way to reach these people." Certain questions, such as dues and associates' voting rights, will be resolved by individual unions, he said, and the federation will establish an appropriate per capita rate for associates.

A number of unions already offer some type of associate membership program, McDonald pointed out. These include a professional educators group affiliated with the Teachers in Texas, the 12,000-member "9 to 5" organization for office workers associated with the Service Employees, and a campaign by the Electrical Workers in Massachusetts, where nonunion electricians become eligible for benefits and union training.

The state officers discussed their role in the associate program, particularly in the AFL-CIO's plans to make available a credit card and benefit package to union members and associates.

Ray Denison, the former AFL-CIO legislative director who heads the new benefit corporation, said the benefit package will be offered only through affiliated unions. The first credit cards would most likely be distributed in July. A number of unions have set their associates programs in motion, including the Service Employees, Steelworkers, State, County & Municipal Employees, Operating Engineers, Communications Workers, Machinists and Bricklayers.

R-T-W battles

Other discussions centered on current "right-to-work" battles in Idaho, where a referendum will be held later this year on a R-T-W law passed by the state legislature, and Oklahoma, where "work" forces are pressing for a special election to repeal that state's union security provisions.

Kevin Kistler, who is coordinating the AFL-CIO's Blue Cross/Blue Shield organizing effort, outlined the "first wave" of the nine-union campaign to sign up claims processors and other workers at plans across the country. Kistler noted the companies' earlier resistance to organizing efforts and said the coordinated drive would try to win a guarantee of "management neutrality" as the first step of the campaign.

The opening effort will target about 20 Blue Cross/Blue Shield plans, primarily in the East and Midwest. Unions participating in the coordinated campaign are the Auto Workers; Communications Workers; Electronic Workers; Food & Commercial Workers; Office & Professional Employees; Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union; Service Employees; State, County & Municipal Employees, and the Steelworkers.

The federation's program to achieve full affiliation of union locals with their state central bodies was given extensive review. The AFL-CIO convention last October approved measures "to aggressively promote voluntary affiliations," and a committee of representatives from 56 affiliated unions has been meeting to work on the problem.

Information needs

James Kennedy, executive assistant to AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, told the state body officers that the federation needs "constant and up-to-date information on the status of affiliations" in each state so that the Executive Council can make an accurate assessment of the effectiveness of the voluntary program.

While some state AFL-CIO officers remain unconvinced that the federation's plan will produce significant gains, they welcomed the commitment to the "extraordinary effort" necessary to make the voluntary program work.

The voluntary program includes a national newsletter that will highlight the affiliation campaign and its progress in various states.

Conference participants joined in question and answer sessions with AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Donahue at two evening sessions during the week. Other sessions covered Gramm-Rudman budget requirements, tax and trade issues, civil rights, public relations, health and safety, international affairs, education and community services, and programs of the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

Albert Albertoni dies, retired IAFF officer

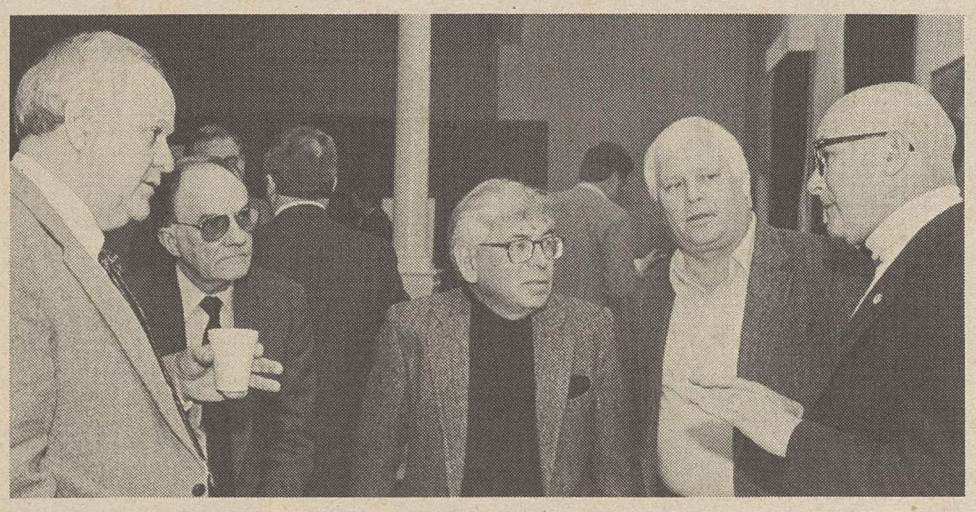
Walnut Creek, Calif.—Albert E. Albertoni, secretary-treasurer-emeritus of the Fire Fighters, died of a heart attack at his home here Mar. 5. He was 77.

Albertoni, a Navy veteran of World War II, served two terms as the union's secretary-treasurer from 1964 through 1968.

He began his career with the Oakland Fire Dept. in 1929 and rose to the rank of captain in 1950. He was a member of IAFF Local 55 in Oakland and president of the Federated Firefighters of California.

In 1961, then California Gov. Pat Brown nominated Albertoni as state fire marshall, but when the confirmation hearing erupted in controversy over his past union membership, Albertoni asked that his name be withdrawn from consideration.

He is survived by his wife, Kathryne.



State and regional AFL-CIO officials in discussion include, from left, James Freeman, Region I; Tom Knight, Mississippi; Sam Fishman, Michigan; Daniel McVey, Missouri; Bill Becker, Arkansas.

Retiring AFL-CIO Organizing Director Alan Kistler, left, reminisces with Region III Director Walter Waddy; Becky Mitchell, Ohio COPE Director; Julius Uehlein, Pennsylvania; Robert Gibson, Illinois.

Union journals threatened by postage rise

The current limited postal subsidy for nonprofit mailers should be continued, because elimination of the subsidy as proposed by the Reagan Administration could be "devastating," the AFL-CIO and the International Labor Communications Association testified.

Susan Dunlop, assistant to the AFL-CIO president and a past ILCA secretary-treasurer, told the Postal Rate Commission that nonprofit mailers, including the labor press, have already absorbed the "largest percentage increases of any class of mailers since passage of the Postal Reorganization Act" in 1970.

She quoted from a 1976 article by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) that Congress intended in the Postal Reorganization Act that whenever "there is a plain danger to the communications needs of the public, it is the good of the people which is supposed to be served." The impact of higher rates on the nonprofit press could be "devastating," she warned.

Dunlop pointed out that the labor press produces more than 200-million pieces of mail a year, most of it sent at second-class nonprofit rates and the remainder at third-class nonprofit rates.

Subsidies for nonprofit publications were set up by Congress, with the amount of the subsidy to be phased downward over a 16-year period.

As an example of the impact of increasing postal rates, Dunlop noted that an eight-page tabloid newspaper in 1970 could be mailed at an effective rate of two-tenths of one cent. With the rate increase that went into effect on Mar. 9, the postage for that paper with a circulation of 60,000 today would be 9.1 cents per copy.

Rate doubles in year

"Eliminating the remaining subsidy for second-class nonprofit rates would push it up to 12 cents a copy, nearly double the rate it was paying in March 1985—just a year ago," she warned.

The labor press provides those it serves with information and details they can get nowhere else, Dunlop told the commission. "It is information vital to their being as fully informed as possible on events and occurances that affect their immediate and future lives as individuals and citizens and, particularly, as workers and union members."

She reminded the commission that federal labor law mandates that unions provide certain kinds of information to their memberships. "The labor press historically fulfills these functions and more. To do so, it depends almost exclusively on the postal system and its nonprofit second- and third-class rate structure for distribution of its publications."

Testifying with Dunlop were Edwin M. Schmidt, director of the federation's Dept. of Reproduction & Mailing, and ILCA Sec.-Treas. James M. Cesnik, editor of the Guild Reporter, the Newspaper Guild's publication.

ILCA members will tell the postal commissioners at seven regional hearing of the impact the recent rate increases have had on their publications. The hearings are in Atlanta and Denver, Mar. 18; Los Angeles, Mar. 24; Dallas, Mar. 25; New York, Mar. 27; Chicago and Minneapolis, Apr. 2.

TWA pickets lead the way

Members of the Association of Flight Attendants log time on TWA picket line at Washington's National Airport to show support for striking attendants, members of the unaffiliated Independent Federation of Flight Attendants. AFL-CIO union members helped staff picket lines and strike headquarters in major cities. The 6,000 TWA attendants have been on strike since Mar. 7, resisting excessive wage cuts and changes in working conditions. Here, AFA United vicechair Sam Firebaugh offers encouragement to IFFA member Wendy McBane.

Kentucky derails balanced budget convention threat

Continued from Page 1

cil committee set up at that time under Vice President Gerald W. McEntee has kept up its watchdog role.

With the outcome uncertain, the Senate Republican leadership put off a vote on the constitutional amendment until Mar. 25, with indications that President Reagan would be brought into the lobbying effort. But party lines were divided on the issue, with Republican Daniel J. Evans (Wash.) joining Democrats Alan Cranston (Calif.) and Howard M. Metzenbaum (Ohio) as principal opponents. The pro-amendment allies were Senators Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) and Paul Simon (D-Ill.).

The bludgeon impact of the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law has apparently given some senators second thoughts about rewriting the Constitution to put the federal budget into a still tighter—and permanent—straitjacket. An AFL-CIO letter to senators at the start of the debate stressed the need for budget flexibility in dealing with changing economic conditions and warned that the amendment would be "counterproductive" in any recession.

Since there is no time limit to reach the 34 states needed to convene a constitutional convention, the Kentucky action is a breathing spell rather than a reprieve. But it almost depletes the list of states that proponents of a balanced budget amendment had listed as the most likely prospects.

There was a lot of credit to share. Kentucky AFL-CIO Executive Sec.-Treas. Ronald R. Cyrus, himself a member of the legislature, cited the important help given by House Speaker Donald J. Blandford and Majority Leader Gregory D. Stumbo.

State COPE Director Ray Crider coordinated his lobbying network with the efforts of AFL-CIO Field Rep. Charles Heady, who was assigned full time to the campaign. An alumnus of the Kentucky legislature, Rep. Carl C. Perkins (D), helped swing votes among his former colleagues.

Unemployment rate increase sharpest yet for Reagan era

Continued from Page 1

- For adult males, joblessness went up from 5.7 percent in January to 6.2 percent in February.
- For adult women, the rate climbed from 6.1 percent to 6.7 percent in the one-month period.
- For white workers, the February rate of 6.4 percent was seven-tenths of 1 percent higher than January's 5.7 percent.
- For blacks, joblessness rose from 14.4 percent in January to 14.8 percent in February.
- For Hispanics, there was a sharp 2.2 percent surge in unemployment—from 10.1 percent to 12.3 percent during the month.
- For teenagers, the rate went up from January's 18.4 percent to 19 percent last month.
- Black teens fared only marginally better, as their jobless rate dropped from 41.9 percent the previous month to a still devastating 39.1 percent in February.

Not even part-time workers were spared the impact of the latest downturn in employment, as their jobless rate shot up a full percentage point—to 9.4 percent.

Wide impact

In industry after industry, there was a marked deterioration in employment opportunities. Joblessness rose 3.4 percent in agriculture to stand at 14.3 percent; construction unemployment went up three-tenths of 1 percent to 13.2 percent, and manufacturing unemployment stood at 7.2 percent, an increase of two-tenths of 1 percent.

By contrast, employment in most of the service sector rose in February. There were gains in retail and wholesale trade, finance, insurance and real estate. But these gains were not enough to offset the loss in other industries.

The overall workweek fell by two-tenths of an hour. The drop was even more dramatic for factory workers, who suffered a three-tenths of an hour decline.

Two-thirds of the increased unemployment was concentrated in three states—California, where joblessness, primarily in agriculture, rose 2.4 percent to a 7.2-percent February level; Texas, where the decline in the oil industry sent the unemployment rate to 8.4 percent, an increase of 2 percent; and Illinois, where the erosion of manufacturing jobs under the continued impact of imports swelled the state's unemployment rolls by 1.8 percent to a level of 9.5 percent last month.

Growing unemployment

Other states recording higher jobless rates during the one-month period included Michigan, up four-tenths of 1 percent to 8.9 percent; New York, up five-tenths of 1 percent to a 6.8-percent level; Florida, up four-tenths of 1 percent to 5.7 percent; and Massachusetts, where unemployment climbed to 3.7 percent—an increase of seven-tenths of 1 percent.

Underscoring the pervasiveness of the jobless crisis, BLS reported that nearly 1.3 million workers—14 percent of all those without jobs—have been on the unemployment rolls for more than 26 weeks, while another 1.1 million have endured forced joblessness for periods between 15 and 26 weeks.

Nor does the picture look bright for the future, the government said, pointing out that the majority of the newest additions to the ranks of the unemployed are workers who do not expect to be recalled to work.

House votes to curb polygraph tests

Continued from Page 1

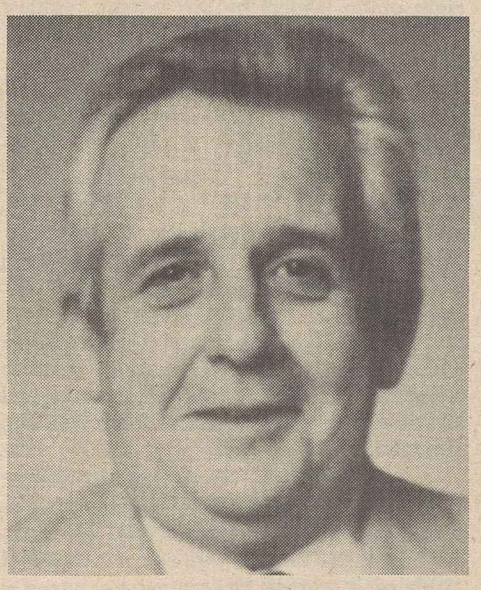
Williams (D-Mont.) was the principal House sponsor. But his cosponsors included both conservative Republican Jack Kemp (N.Y.) and moderate Republican James M. Jeffords (Vt.). The companion bill in the Senate is cosponsored by Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah).

The substitute that would have gutted the bill also had bipartisan sponsorship, by Reps. George Darden (D-Ga.) and C.W. Young (R-Fla.). But the vote largely followed party lines. The labor-opposed substitute was backed by 43 Democrats and 130 Republicans. It was beaten by 197 Democrats and 44 Republicans.

But the attempt to weaken the bill did not stop with the defeat of the substitute. Some amendments were accepted by the sponsors with the pragmatic goal of holding together a majority for the bill. But one of the broadest loopholes proposed to weaken the bill—to exempt all employees of any form of financial institution—was beaten back on a 216-194 vote.

As passed by the House, the legislation bars employers covered by the bill from requiring, requesting or suggesting that an employee or job applicant take a lie detector test or penalizing anyone who refuses.

The exceptions in the bill that came out of the House Education & Labor Committee were for private-sector contractors performing counterintelligence work for federal agencies or involved in investigations of drug thefts. The House also added exemptions for private security agencies and some employees of day-care centers, nursing homes and utilities.



James P. Nolan

NABET board names Nolan to succeed Lynch

Honolulu—The executive council of the Broadcast Employees & Technicians named International Vice President James P. Nolan as president to succeed Edward Lynch, who resigned effective Mar. 1.

James Harvey, a member of NABET's executive council and a regional vice president of the union, will fill out the remainder of Nolan's term as vice president.

The new officers will serve until NABET's quadrennial convention in October.

Lynch, 65, has headed NABET since 1971. He previously served as the union's regional director in Buffalo. He coordinated the union's contracts with the American and National Broadcasting companies and has been an executive board member of the AFL-CIO Dept. for Professional Employees for the past 15 years.

Nolan, 57, began his broadcasting career in 1958 as an electronics maintenance engineer. In 1967 he helped found Local 16, New York, and served as its first president. He joined NABET's executive council in 1970 and was elected vice president in 1978.

Harvey, 59, joined the union staff as a regional director in New York in 1956. He served as international vice president from 1962 to 1975, and was elected a regional vice president last year.

Forum to air problems of work, family

The AFL-CIO will be a major participant in a two-day forum on work and family life, to be held Apr. 14-15 in Washington. The federation will join government and business representatives for the conference, "Work and Family: Seeking a New Balance," which will examine concerns of today's working parents.

The conference is cosponsored by the Bureau of Labor-Management Relations and the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Dept. of Labor and the Bureau of National Affairs, a private research group that compiles labor and economic information. Industry will be represented by the National Association of Manufacturers.

Organized labor's longstanding commitment to improving family life was expressed at the recent Executive Council meeting. The council noted in a resolution that strengthening the family is "at the heart of the labor movement's long struggle to raise wages and living standards, to democratize education, leisure and health care, to broaden individual opportunity and secure dignity in old age."

The council pointed to changes now underway "that make work and family issues more vital than ever" and urged affiliated unions to pursue programs through collective bargaining and other means that help meet the needs of working parents.

Changing workplace

Organizers of the work and family conference point to dramatic changes in the workplace and the rapidly increasing number of working mothers as evidence of the great need for programs that address parents' concerns, such as flexible work schedules and employee assistance programs.

With the "conventional picture of a male breadwinner with a female homemaker caring for the children disappearing," workers' family and job concerns "are intertwined as never before," rapidly becoming "a perplexing national problem," the conference call pointed out.

The work and family forum will explore the changing workplace and will feature panel discussions on job-sharing and other alternative work patterns in small business, public and private sector jobs, as well as a review of the expected costs and benefits to employers and workers of these types of programs.

Other discussions will cover the role of collective bargaining in winning child care, maternity and paternity leaves and other benefits for working parents.

Labor participants

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue will address participants during the first-day session. Other labor speakers on the agenda are Federation Vice Presidents John Sweeney, Service Employees; Joyce Miller, Clothing & Textile Workers, who heads the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Barbara Hutchinson, Government Employees; Actors' Equity President Colleen Dewhurst; Office and Professional Employees President John Kelly, and former Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser.

Participants also will view a new BNA documentary, "Work and Family: Walking the Tightrope" that examines innovative programs in place at a number of public and private facilities.

Other organizations contributing to the conference program include the American Association of University Women, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the National Alliance of Business, and the National Commission for Working Women.

AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald at labor rights and trade forum, with ILGWU's Evelyn Dubrow and Steelworkers' Jack Sheehan.

Trade sanctions demanded for labor rights violations

Nations that deny trade union freedoms shouldn't be given preferred access to U.S. markets, participants in a Capitol Hill human rights forum urged.

The all-day program, sponsored by unions, human rights groups and concerned members of Congress, was a prelude to the planned introduction of legislation that would make violation of internationally accepted labor rights an unfair labor practice. Rep. Don Pease (D-Ohio), who with Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) was a principal congressional sponsor of the of the forum, circulated the draft of such a bill.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, the opening speaker, stressed freedom of association as both "the bedrock principle of trade unionism" and "the foundation of all other human rights."

Lowest wages sought

Its denial, he said, results in exploitation of workers—sometimes by oppressive governments, sometimes by a wealthy elite or by multinational corporations that "move their capital around the globe in search of the lowest wages."

The imbalance is not that American workers are too well paid, Kirkland said, but that "foreign workers are too poorly paid."

Kirkland noted that Congress has written into several trade-related laws standards based on International Labor Organization conventions, including freedom of association. America's trading partners must be held to these standards, he urged. "We see no reason to grant trade preferences to countries that seek to gain a competitive advantage over the United States by ruthlessly exploiting their own workers."

Auto Workers President Owen Bieber gave an example of such exploitation in the importation of Korean-built cars under a joint agreement between General Motors and the Korean conglomerate, Daewoo.

The Korean vehicles, built at about one-tenth the labor cost in the United States, will result in the loss of 20,000 U.S. jobs, Bieber said.

Korean unionists arrested

One reason for the huge wage gap, he suggested, is that a strike by workers at the Daewoo auto plant led to the arrest of eight union leaders by the Korean military dictatorship and the sentencing of six of them to two years in prison.

Former Labor Sec. Ray Marshall told the forum participants that the United States can't compete in world markets on the basis of lowering wages, and shouldn't try.

A panel that included three union representatives amplified the theme.

AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald said the time is overdue to make the ILO international labor standards as important a factor in trade decisions as dumping and export subsidies.

Evelyn Dubrow, vice president and legislative director of the Ladies' Garment Workers, urged immediate action by Congress to curtail imports based on exploitation of workers and child labor.

Steelworkers Legislative Director Jack Sheehan welcomed trade standards as a means to broaden human rights around the world. He warned against downgrading U.S. occupational safety and health standards as a means of making U.S. products more competitive in world markets. A fourth panelist, American University Prof. Howard Wachtel, expressed similar concern at pressure to reduce wage, pollution, health and safety standards to "the lowest common denominator."

Rail Clerks reach accord for 86,000

Rockville, Md.—The Railway & Airline Clerks reached a tentative four-year agreement with the nation's major railroads covering 86,000 keypunch operators, data-entry clerks and other non-operating employees, mainly in clerical positions.

The tentative settlement was unanimously approved Mar. 6 by the BRAC general chairmen who recommended that members ratify the contract proposal. The four-year settlement would run until June 30, 1988. The union's members have worked without an agreement since July 1, 1984.

BRAC President Richard I. Kilroy said the agreement will be mailed to the members for ratification early next week and balloting will be completed in early April. Details of the agreement will not be released until after the vote. The agreement climaxed a marathon 26-hour bargaining session. It wrapped up what Kilroy called, "the toughest round of negotiations" he had ever experienced. He said the resulting agreement "is the absolute best we could obtain in today's tough economic political climate."

'Hard-line attitude'

Negotiations between the two sides had been an on-and-off since mid-1984. This past January, Kilroy broke off talks with the railroads, charging that their "hard-line attitude" kept the bargaining deadlocked over management's insistence that every dollar in wage increases be matched by $2 in work-rule concessions.

The National Mediation Board, which had assisted in the bargaining since early 1985, urged the two sides to return to the table in a final effort to avoid a strike. The result was the proposed accord.

The BRAC settlement is the second to be reached with the railroads in the current bargaining round. Last October, the United Transportation Union reached a settlement covering 90,000 operating employees. It provided for a six-stage wage increase totaling 10.5 percent over four years, plus lump-sum payments of $565.

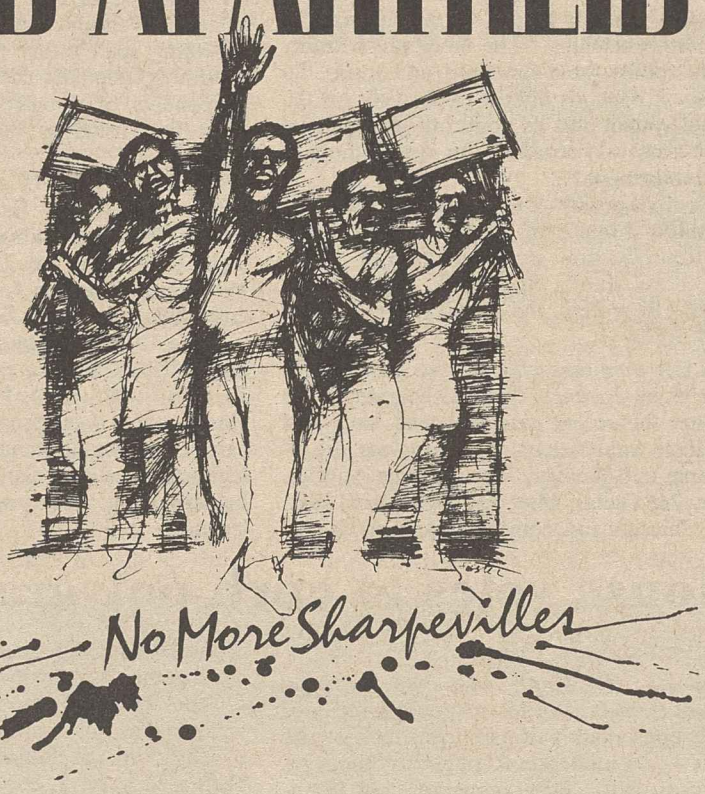
Bargaining by ten other unions with the railroads is in the mediation stage.

Anti-apartheid rallies set in 7 cities

Continued from Page 1

- Houston, Harris County AFL-CIO headquarters, 2506 Sutherland St., 10 a.m. Seafarers President Frank Drozak and State, County & Municipal Employees Sec.-Treas. William Lucy are major speakers.
- Los Angeles, L.A. Police Dept., S.W. District, 1546 W. Martin Luther King Blvd., 10 a.m. Service Employees President John Sweeney leads the speakers.
- New York, 48th St., between 1st and 2nd Aves., noon. Speakers include Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union President Alvin Heaps, Actors & Artistes President Frederick O'Neal and Norman Hill, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.
- St. Louis, UAW Local 25 Hall, 3900 Goodfellow, 1:30 p.m. Speakers include Mine Workers President Rich Trumka and Service Employees Vice President William Stodghill.
- San Francisco, Union Square, 10 a.m. Communications Workers President Morton Bahr, Food & Commercial Workers President William Wynn and Professional Athletes President Gene Upshaw are featured speakers.

END APARTHEID



AFL-CIO RALLY MARCH 22

Twenty six years ago in Sharpeville, South Africa
89 people were murdered and over 300 were injured
demonstrating for their dream of freedom.

New 'weapons' sought to create jobs

By Gene Zack

An "arsenal of economic weapons" is needed to put America back to work, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told a day-long symposium marking the 40th anniversary of the enactment of the Employment Act of 1946.

It would be difficult, Kirkland declared, to improve on the purpose of the legislation, which committed government to creating and maintaining conditions that would stimulate "useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing and seeking work, and to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

But, he added, "it would be easy to improve on the government's performance" in the four decades since passage of that historic legislation, and in the eight years that have passed since the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment & Balanced Growth Act was passed in 1978.

The original legislation defined full employment as a jobless rate no higher than 3 percent, Kirkland asserted. Since then, "economists and apologists" for both Republican and Democratic Administrations have sought to raise the threshold to 5, 6 or even 7 percent—"to change the rules because they haven't made the grade."

America is "a long way from keeping the promise of 40 years ago," he told representatives from unions, civil rights, women's, religious and social welfare agencies attending the symposium sponsored by the National Committee for Full Employment.

Kirkland noted that the promises of the act have largely gone unfulfilled since the end of the Kennedy-Johnson years. By June 1975, after Richard Nixon had resigned the presidency, "unemployment was up to 9.2 percent, and we were told to accept it because it was needed to fight inflation."

Job creation efforts

The Carter Administration was marked by passage of Humphrey-Hawkins, the negotiation of a national accord between labor and the White House that rejected higher levels of unemployment as the answer to inflation, and the start of a partnership of government, business and labor to carry out a major reindustrialization program.

That effort was "aborted by the 1980 election," and in the last six years "progress toward full employment and equal opportunity has been halted and reversed," Kirkland said, with one out of every seven working Americans victimized by total or partial unemployment.

Yet the Administration points to a current jobless rate stuck above the 7-percent recession level as "evidence that their policies are working." he observed. "They are hailing the fact that the patient didn't die as proof of their medical prowess."

High unemployment, Kirkland asserted, "is merely a tool of those who want to keep wages down and workers in their place. It is a theory that dates to McKinley's time, that nothing aids productivity more than having jobless workers on the outside of the factory gates looking in."

He said that living up to the commitment of the Employment Act requires not only the existing alliance between the organizations that make up the National Committee for Full Employment, but getting people into government who will be allies in this endeavor.

"We can begin solving that problem at the ballot box this November," he said.

Mrs. Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain civil rights leader and co-chair of the National Committee for Full Employment, called for an all-out push at the polls to "hold public officials accountable" for their failure to implement the 40-year-old law.

Political action

Political action, King said, can spur creation of a Jobs USA program—which should be as intensive as the Manhattan Project that led to development of the atomic bomb during World War II—to push the jobless rate down to acceptable levels. That rate averaged 4.5 percent in the 1950s, 4.6 percent in the 1960s and 6.2 percent in the 1970s, before shooting up to this decade's average of 8.3 percent, she pointed out.

The figures destroy the Administration's "myth of recovery," King asserted, adding that even if the nation achieves the President's optimistic prediction of a 5.5-percent jobless rate by 1991, "there will still be 2 million more unemployed than if we were to achieve the 4 percent" goal of Humphrey-Hawkins.

Expressing doubt that the 5.5-percent level will be reached, she warned that Gramm-Rudman could lead to a "severe economic downturn," citing a Chase Econometrics study that raised the specter of a 17-percent unemployment rate at the end of this decade as a result of Gramm-Rudman budget cuts.

In the current climate of budget restraint and political conservatism, Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) told the symposium, the most urgent goal is to maintain federal spending for employment and job training programs.

Hawkins, chairman of the House Labor & Education Committee and a cosponsor of the 1978 legislation, pointed out that Reagan's proposed budget for fiscal 1987 would cut the Job Corps by 45 percent from its 1980 spending level and would cut 54 percent from the summer youth program.

Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.), chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, warned that the Administration will use Gramm-Rudman to get higher defense spending at the expense of domestic programs. This is the pattern that has existed since Reagan took office, he said. In the past five years, domestic spending was cut by $38 billion while military spending shot up $150 billion.

Obey assailed the Administration's claim that it has created 10 million new jobs, accusing the White House of ignoring the fact that 3.5 million jobs were knocked out during the Reagan Recession. "Net job growth under this Administration has been significantly lower than that of any Administration" in more than three decades, he said.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland addresses symposium marking 40th anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946. At left are ACTWU President Murray Finley and Eleanor Holmes Norton, former head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Other symposium speakers included:

- Douglas Fraser, former president of the Auto Workers, who said that organized labor recognizes the inevitability of change but insists that change be "more rational, humane and civilized." This can be achieved through a "healthy, expansionist economic policy," Fraser said.

He also called for improved employment services and training coupled with advance notice of plant shutdowns and layoffs and concerted efforts to help those affected find new opportunities for productive careers.

- Howard D. Samuel, president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. and co-chair of the symposium, who assailed the Administration's failure to deal with the rising tide of imports that are destroying American industries and American jobs.

Every other government in the free world, Samuel said, "intervenes freely and effectively" on behalf of its industries to help them compete in the world market by subsidizing exports and limiting imports. Only the United States fails to follow such a policy, relying instead on what Reagan terms a "free market" philosophy.

The Administration's answer to imports is that American workers should accept less in their pay envelopes, he remarked, adding: "We can't compete—and we shouldn't be expected to compete—with the low wage levels in South Korea, Taiwan" and the other countries in the Pacific.

- Sec.-Treas. William Lucy of the State, County & Muncipal Employees, who charged that local tax revenues have been eroded by the Administration's "failed economic policies." A fully employed Steelworker "has a lot more taxable income than a minimum-wage McDonald's counter person," he declared.

Plant closings and reductions in force have presented state and local governments with increasing demands for income support, health care, emergency housing and food, Lucy said, encouraging efforts to lure industry from other areas through such techniques as tax abatements, across-the-board tax cuts and a whole range of corporate loopholes.

This "beggar-thy-neighbor" approach seriously undermines the revenue base necessary for quality services that are the real key to economic development, he declared.

- Economist Leon Keyserling, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Truman, who said that the goals of the 1946 act were carried out during the Kennedy-Johnson years, when unemployment was brought down to 2.9 percent, inflation was held to less than 1 percent a year, the economy grew by nearly 5 percent annually and the federal budget was in surplus.

The 17 years since then have been marked by a "roller-coaster economic performance of inadequate upturns, stagnations and recessions," Keyserling pointed out, with a resulting forfeiture of $21 trillion worth of gross national product.

He reminded symposium participants of President Truman's call for a "constantly expanding economy" that would "abolish poverty and remove insecurity." He called for "a great sea change in national economic policies" to achieve that goal.

Labor opposes anti-safety nominee at OSHRC

By Arlee C. Green

The AFL-CIO expressed its "strongest possible" opposition to the nomination of Robert E. Rader Jr. to the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission.

Federation safety specialist Margaret Seminario told a Senate panel that Rader has "so involved himself as an advocate" in challenging the Occupational Safety & Health Administration's right to conduct worksite inspections that "there is no possibility that he could retain an objective point of view necessary for carrying out the responsibilities" of a member of OSHRC.

Seminario's testimony was submitted to the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee which is considering President Reagan's nomination of Rader, who began serving on the commission last fall as a recess appointee.

Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), a committee member, expressed his own concern about Rader's record. "A person that has spent a considerable portion of his career trying to keep OSHA from inspecting worksites should not be a part of the review commission. If Mr. Rader had his way, he would make it impossible for OSHA inspectors to eliminate jobsite hazards, even with a warrant," he pointed out.

Rader, 41, is an attorney with the firm of McCarty, Wilson, Rader & Mash in Ennis, Tex. He has figured prominently in a number of cases aimed at limiting OSHA's authority to inspect worksites, including Marshall vs. Barlow, in which the Supreme Court held that OSHA must obtain a warrant, if an employer demands one, and show probable cause to conduct a safety inspection.

Blocking tactics

Seminario pointed out that Rader has gone one step further, advising clients "to refuse to honor OSHA inspections, even when OSHA has a warrant. Such refusal has resulted in contempt rulings and the imposition of considerable penalties against (his) clients. . . There is no way to gauge the injuries and the ill health that workers have suffered or have been exposed to as a result of Rader's advice to his clients."

Rader's commitment to thwarting OSHA extended to assuming the costs of continuing an action against OSHA even after his client had dropped the matter. In trying to get OSHA to drop $12,600 in penalties for a dozen violations by the B.B. Andersen Construction Co. of Kansas City, Rader pressed court action. Later he urged an employers' association to assist, saying further legal action was necessary "to significantly restrict OSHA in the future." The 10th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals threw out the case.

In aiding the Anderson Co., Rader sought help from then Rep. George Hansen (R-Idaho), the founder of the Stop OSHA Movement. The result was that the OSHA administrator at the time, Thorne B. Auchter, acted to drop the citations and penalties against Anderson even though the agency later testified its actions were legal and justified.

Auchter later resigned as administrator to become president of the B.B. Andersen Co. He is now a self-employed consultant in Washington.

Seminario charged in her testimony that Rader "by his actions and his writings has demonstrated that he is opposed to any government role in the safety and health of this nation's workers and has relentlessly sought to promote that point of view."

She reminded the Senate panel that cases handled by the review commission "are central to our national government program to protect the lives and the safety and health of this nation's workers."

Seminario noted that President Reagan's first two appointments to the review commission were "individuals with no experience or training in occupational safety and health." Now with the Rader nomination, she testified, "we have a nominee who is openly opposed to the stated intent and goal of Congress and who, it is clear from the record, has a personal agenda and cause in placing restrictions on OSHA."

Legal barriers

Rader has been active in erecting legal barriers to OSHA inspections since the 1970s, Seminario stressed. In articles he wrote for the Baylor Law Review, Rader suggested to employers among other things that they refuse to allow OSHA inspections and insist on search warrants based on probable cause, seek to quash such warrants or simply refuse to honor them.

Seminario asked committee members whether this is the type of person Congress had in mind when it established the federal safety act. She urged the committee to "send a clear message to the Administration—the safety and health of this nation's workers is not a partisan issue." She urged the committee to cast a unanimous vote against him.

UAW Local 2007 committee members at Ortner Freight Car Co. hail first contract—a decade in the making.

UAW local's 10-year battle pays off with contract gains

Mt. Orab, Ohio—An organizing drive that started a decade ago in Kentucky has finally produced a signed contract—in Ohio—and members of Auto Workers Local 2007 have begun to enjoy the payoff for their patience.

"We didn't have any problem at all getting workers to choose UAW back in 1976 when we were repairing used freight cars at the Ortner Freight Car Co. plant in Covington, Ky.," said Local President John Compton.

Since then, the workers have endured a "ten-and-a-half-week strike, we've transferred to Ohio, merged two UAW locals, had a turnover of half our people and seen major changes in the company ownership before being able to sign our first two-year agreement" earlier this year, Compton said.

1977 strike

Ten years ago, Ortner workers at the Covington plant repaired freight cars in open yards with no protection from the weather. After being organized, they struck the company in 1977 to get a first contract. The company offered pay boosts of 40 cents an hour and the members returned to work, hoping to get a contract.

When the company decided to shut that plant, it told its workers to go on layoff or accept jobs at lower pay at the Mt. Orab plant which was manufacturing new freight cars for the coal and defense industries. UAW Local 2143 had organized that plant, but also was unable to get an initial contract. The local was later merged into Local 2007.

"We feel like a real union now," declared Local Vice President David Nichols. "We have union security, a grievance procedure, dues checkoff, and lots of other protections provided by the written contract."

Some 400 workers build an average of five freight cars a day in two shifts at the Mt. Orab plant. Nearly half the workforce transferred from the closed Covington plant and some workers commute more than 100 miles each day.

During the 10 years it took to get a contract, the UAW persistently pressed the company to address workers' problems. The union brought charges against Ortner before the National Labor Relations Board and received a favorable judgment, only to have it later diluted by the Reagan-dominated board.

UAW Rep. Max Jeffrey said the change in company ownership helped immensely as it "did away with their adversarial bargaining stance. I found the company's new approach to be firm but fair. Our negotiating committee was solid and the contract we came up with was readily ratified."

House defies veto threat, votes six-year extension of trade adjustment aid

The House defied a veto warning and voted to renew a trade adjustment assistance program that has provided additional unemployment compensation and retraining opportunities to workers whose jobs are wiped out by imports.

Cash assistance payments to some 13,000 eligible workers were cut off shortly before last Christmas. The Labor Dept., in an interpretation being challenged in court by a group of unions, contends that authority to pay cash benefits to trade victims expired on Dec. 19.

The House-passed bill would extend trade adjustment assistance an additional six years, retroactive to the Dec. 19 date of the benefits cutoff. Workers eligible for TAA can receive an additional 26 weeks of unemployment payments after using up their state benefits—and another 26 weeks if enrolled in an approved job retraining program.

One change in the law would require persons eligible for benefits to participate in some form of job search or job club program.

The Administration's position has been that import victims should be treated the same as workers who lose their jobs for other economic reasons, and should not be given cash benefits in addition to training opportunities.

Trade adjustment assistance was one of several labor-supported provisions of a revised budget reconciliation bill that now goes back to the Senate. The House passed it by a decisive 314-86 vote—despite a warning that President Reagan's "senior advisers" will recommend a veto if the Senate accepts the House measure.

Pension insurance

Also in the bill is a relatively noncontroversial but urgently needed rise in the insurance premium for single-employer pension plans. It has been stuck at $2.60 a year for each covered worker since 1978, even though the obligations for future payments of abandoned pension plans project heavy deficits. The veto-threatened bill would raise the premium to $8.50. Multi-employer plans, which are more broadly financed, would not be affected.

Another segment of the reconciliation bill would require that rigs, platforms and vessels used in offshore oil drilling be built in the United States and that at least 50 percent of the steel and other materials used for the construction be of American origin. A rare exception would be allowed if the build-American provision could be shown to be the sole reason why a drilling operation could not be undertaken.

As a whole, the bill would reduce the projected budget deficit by $18 billion over three years, which House members of both parties saw as a compelling argument for its enactment.

The parliamentary situation was complicated by the fact that a House-Senate conference agreement that was supposed to have reconciled differences between the two versions of the reconciliation bill fell apart last December, in the closing hours of the first session of Congress.

Superfund tie-up

The deadlock then was over the extension and expansion of the Superfund program for the cleanup of toxic wastes—specifically over the source of funding for an enlarged program. The House position, also supported by the AFL-CIO, was that the cleanup should be continue to be funded largely by a tax on the pollution-causing chemical industry. The Senate wanted a broad-based manufacturing tax, similar to a value-added national sales tax.

To break the deadlock, the House leadership agreed that the Superfund bill would be handled separately, and a House-Senate conference has been convened to seek an agreement. Further, through informal discussions with their Senate counterparts, the House managers of the reconciliation bill adopted some compromises that were intended to lessen the veto threat.

One of these was on the trade adjustment provisions. The original conference agreement last December had included an expansion of the trade adjustment assistance program to cover workers who lose their jobs with parts companies and suppliers to firms that curtail operations or close down plants because of imports. That labor-supported expansion of coverage was dropped in the revised bill.

Also dropped was a provision in the earlier version for financing TAA benefits through a fee of up to 1 percent on all imports into the United States.

Although both these areas of improvement had initially been approved by the Republican-controlled Senate, the curtailment of new benefits was considered necessary to minimize the chances of a presidential veto—and to raise the chances of overriding a veto if Reagan should disapprove the bill. The House margin of passage was more than the two-thirds that would be needed to override a veto.

The next move is up to the Senate, which can accept the compromise bill the House passed and send it to the President or insist on further changes.

OSHA scored for bid to weaken rules

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration's proposal to eliminate 22 employer record-keeping requirements was denounced by labor unions as a cave-in to the budget-cutting demands of the Office of Management & Budget.

The AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. was joined by the Carpenters, Steelworkers and Operating Engineers in calling for a full agency hearing on the proposed changes, which the unions said would endanger workers' lives while failing to meet the claimed purpose of reducing paperwork for employers.

The unions charged that OSHA is proposing the changes as a way of meeting a paperwork reduction budget of 8.5 million hours set by OMB.

Twenty of the regulations would be changed so that "certification" would replace record-keeping for rules covering manlifts, hoists, derricks, cranes, mechanical power presses, welding equipment, material handling hooks, pressure tanks, fire extinguishers and underground transportation of explosives. The agency would also eliminate record-keeping requirements covering service station fuel tanks and commercial divers.

Just last fall, OSHA presented OMB with a strong defense of those same record-keeping rules. OSHA told OMB the records are needed to assure the safety of equipment, that other statutory requirements for health and safety record-keeping exist, and there is an absence of general industry opposition to the requirements. OMB approved the requirements Sept. 30, 1985, conditioning its okay on a speedy conversion to certification.

John R. Molovich of the USWA's safety department called OMB's interference in OSHA regulations "counterproductive, unnecessary and very dangerous." He added that if "OSHA is so hell-bent on reducing paperwork, then they should start with themselves, by not proposing changes to existing rules and then defending the requirements and needs of the rules they are proposing to change."

Molovich questioned OSHA's determination that the rule changes would cut 8.5 million hours of paperwork and save employers $20 million.

Adopted in 1977

The BCTD, in expressing strong opposition to the proposed rule changes, noted that many of the requirements were adopted in 1971 as part of the existing industry standards. The "certification" process OSHA wants to implement will not provide the safeguards that exist currently because of the record-keeping requirements, the BCTD said. It pointed out that OSHA has acknowledged that if information on equipment safety were not collected, "the employers' injury and fatality rates would rise. . . ."

OSHA failed to formally submit the changes to its Advisory Committee on Construction Safety & Health as required by law. A representative of the Solicitor's Office advised the committee in May 1984 that OSHA wanted to drop the record-keeping requirement in favor of "certification." The committee found, however, that the planned changes would be "detrimental to the safety effort and to the safety of the employee." It recommended that the changes planned by OSHA "should not be pursued."

Joseph L. Durst Jr., safety director for the Carpenters, declared that the rule changes would "adversely impact on employee safety," giving employers "an incentive to falsify their certifications.

Durst stressed that eliminating the commercial divers' record-keeping requirements could unnecessarily endanger these workers. "Deletion of this standard serves no one's interests except perhaps to placate falsely those bent on deregulation," he said.

The gas station record-keeping is important to assure employee safety from fires and explosions caused by "accumulation of liquid and vapor in below-ground voids" from leaks in tanks or piping, he said.

Ben Hill, safety director for the Operating Engineers, said the OSHA changes are "not motivated toward any goal of promoting workplace safety and their implementation would, in fact, result in increased occupational accidents."

Hill suggested that the record-keeping requirements should be strengthened rather then weakened.

Strike activity drops over seven-year span

Only 54 major strikes occurred during 1985, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in noting a seven-year decline in work stoppages.

BLS said the number of major strikes involving 1,000 or more workers and lasting at least one day has declined steadily since 1979. There were 62 strikes in 1984.

BLS also found that all its measures of strike activity—number of strikes, number of workers idled, and the ratio of days worked to days lost to work stoppages—hit record lows last year.

Work stoppages in 1985 involved 324,000 workers, down from the previous low of 376,000 in 1984.

UFCW locals approve merger plan

Members of the Food & Commercial Workers in the metropolitan Washington and Richmond, Va., areas have approved a merger that will create a 36,000-member Local 400.

Local 400 is the Washington-based union whose members voted 85 percent approval of the merger plan. Local 157 in Richmond earlier approved the action by a comparable margin.

The merger, which will become final when the UFCW executive board acts on it, is intended to bring greater resources to organizing the retail market in the Richmond and Tidewater areas of Virginia. About 20 to 30 percent of the food markets in the Virginia jurisdiction are organized compared with about 95 percent in the Washington area, the UFCW local leaders said.

EDITORIALS

One Standard for All

FOR THE American trade union movement, human rights are not airy abstractions. They are bread and butter issues, no less noble for being connected to our pocketbooks.

We have no truck with those cynical ideologues who, counterposing economic and political rights, denigrate the latter as meaningless to a hungry man. They are wrong.

We are wary of those subdividing the tramplers of human rights into authoritarian and totalitarian varieties. Distinctions can be made, but we have too often seen them employed in the service of a double standard. In the trade union movement, we hold to a single standard.

Freedom of association—the right of plain people to organize and control their own institutions, independent of the state—is the foundation of all other human rights. For without the right to band together in self-defense, the people are powerless to protect their rights.

American labor has always understood that cheap labor posed a threat to the wages and living standards of our members. That is why we have fought for higher minimum wages and for legislation to protect workers from exploitation.

We have always sought to lift those at the bottom of the economic ladder, knowing that unemployed workers willing to accept poverty wages were a threat to the jobs and living standards of our members—indeed, a threat to the American standard of living.

We saw manufacturing jobs in the Northeast flow to the "right-to-work" states of the South, as employers sought the low wages of a union-free environment. Now we see many of these jobs going abroad, lured by even lower wages and weaker, or nonexistent, unions.

For many American workers, that is the meaning of the high-flying terms "global economy" and "economic interdependence."

IF WE ARE now integrated into a global economy, then the mission of the trade union movement must also be global.

American workers cannot, and should not be asked to, compete with foreign workers making a buck and a half a day. Yet we continue to hear from the free-trade dreamers of academia that American workers have priced themselves out of the world market. What they are saying is that the American standard of living is too high.

We contend that American workers are not too well paid, and the American standard of living is not too high. Foreign workers are too poorly paid and their standards of living are too low.

We know of only one way to raise the wages and living conditions of workers—through authentic, effective representative unions of their own choice. For some time now, we have been helping workers in Asia, Africa and Latin America to build such unions—often against great odds and at great peril.

But we cannot carry this burden alone, nor should we. Trade unionists are not the only Americans who have a stake in halting the erosion of our industrial base, protecting good jobs, and preserving the American standard of living.

THE AFL-CIO welcomes legislation linking the granting of trade preferences and investment incentives to a country's respect for labor rights.

We see no reason to grant trade preferences to countries that seek to gain a competitive advantage over the United States by ruthlessly exploiting their own workers.

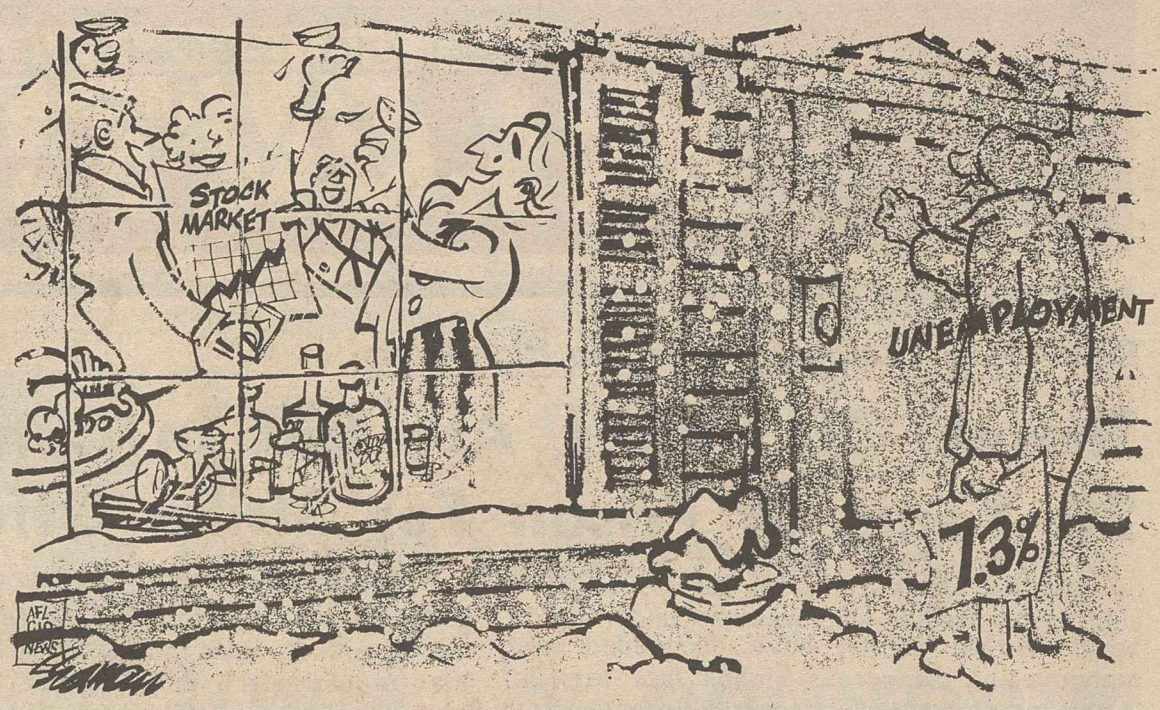
Some Third World economists have protested that their countries are too poor to afford better wages and working conditions. They are wrong.

If Third World economies are not to be dependent on production for export, they must develop domestic markets for their goods and services. This requires expanding consumer purchasing power—that is, higher wages.

If Third World countries are not forever to be ruled by narrow, revolving elites through successions of coups d'etat, they must encourage the growth of a working middle class and of stable democratic institutions.

Freedom of association is not an abstraction. It is essential to broad-based economic development.

—AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland at conference on labor rights and trade, Washington, D.C., Mar. 6, 1986.



Washington Window

Reagan's policies thwart drive for full employment

By Press Associates Inc.

America mobilized all its human and material resources during World War II to help the allies defeat Germany and Japan and save western democracy.

Faced with the rapid demobilization of millions of troops, Congress passed and President Truman signed the Employment Act of 1946 to carry the wartime sense of national purpose into peacetime.

In one of his Economic Reports to Congress, Truman said full employment means more than jobs. A constantly expanding economy "facilitates the spreading of economic justice, and the quality of the expansion is measured in terms of justice as well as efficiency . . . More and more people, being able to take the needs of their stomachs for granted, can devote increasing attention to the needs of their minds and hearts."

The 40th anniversary of the landmark Employment Act was recently commemorated in the nation's capital. Those participating in the events, one sponsored by the congressional Joint Economic Committee and the other by the National Committee for Full Employment, proposed sensible ideas and called for leadership to carry out the promises of the Employment Act and the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment & Balanced Growth Act of 1978.

Recession-level joblessness

At the moment, however, the advocates of full employment sounded like they were the only sane people in town. At one end of Pennsylvania Ave., a President faced with recession-level unemployment was advising the jobless to read the want-ads; on Capitol Hill, an irrational fervor was developing behind a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

Anyone who urged during World War II that balancing the budget or stabilizing prices should be the top priority at the sacrifice of all else would have been strung up, Leon Keyserling told the Full Employment gathering.

Keyserling, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Truman, said the Employment Act's national purposes of promoting maximum employment, production and purchasing power succeeded in the postwar years and during most of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He said the past 17 years, from 1969 to 1986, have been a roller-coaster series of upturns, stagnations and recessions.

The nation needs to reverse its policies, Keyserling said, and revive the Employment Act as well as move toward the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment goal of 4 percent jobless. The task should not be left to experts, he said, but to leadership that understands and feels the issues.

New public invitations

Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.), chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, addressed both Employment Act events. He said previous "waves of public creativity" brought the Marshall Plan, the GI Bill, the public highway system, social security and other programs. "It is time for another wave," he said, time to find ways to achieve economic growth with equity as promised in the Employment Act.

Prof. Sar Levitan of George Washington University dissected the current rationale of some economists and policymakers that "natural" unemployment is 6 to 7 percent. In the jargon, this is the non-accelerating inflation rate of unemployment or NAIRU. Levitan said it will take active government leadership, labor-management cooperation, and comprehensive training for the unskilled, undereducated and displaced workers to restore U.S. competitiveness. He said he doubts public leadership is there at present.

Prof. Lester Thurow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology said the nation should make its basic goal a high rate of growth in per capita income. To compete globally, he said, the United States must seriously improve the quality of education, develop a training system for non-college-bound workers, maintain technological parity and develop an economic strategy. He said government should be the catalyst, with labor and industry involved in planning and implementation of the strategy.

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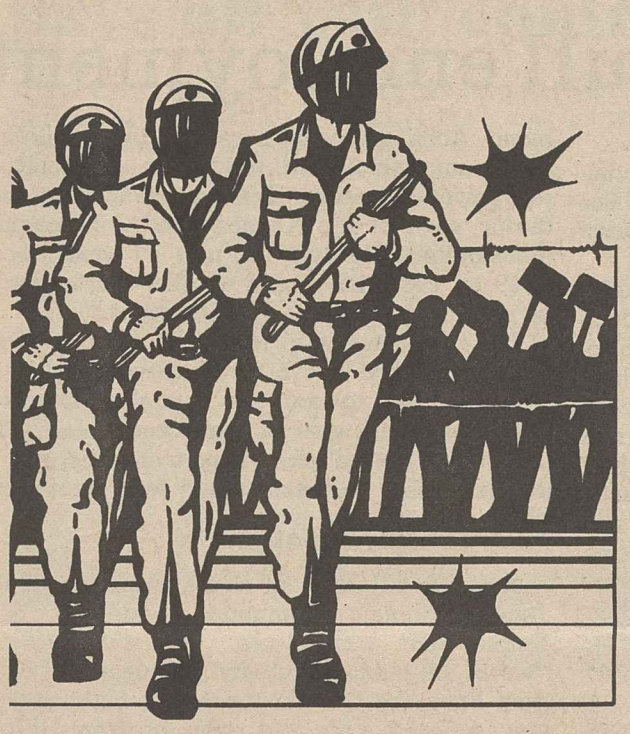
AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

Right-Wing Campaign Kicks Into High Gear

Threat Of Hobbs Act Bill In Senate; 20 Years In Prison For Strike Offense

For the first time in years, radical right-wing forces, who want to undermine basic worker rights, have succeeded in maneuvering dangerous Hobbs Act legislation around the Senate Judiciary Committee and are positioning it for full Senate consideration. S. 1774, sponsored by



Senator Charles Grassley (R-IA), is expected to come to the Senate floor this session, possibly very soon, and could set labor law back decades.

The measure would create a new category of federal extortion crimes for even minor picket line incidents -- violations that would carry penalties of up to 20 years in prison and fines of up to $10,000. Federal criminal law would usurp state law in governing picket line behavior. The National Right To Work Committee is already conducting a massive campaign to ramrod the bill through Congress.

For workers, the bill hits at the very heart of their hard-won rights -- the freedom to strike employers. It also runs counter to one of the basic tenets of American labor law -- that government should remain neutral in all disputes between workers and management.

Using an unusual procedural device, Sen. Grassley was able to have the bill placed on the Senate calendar without being referred to the Judiciary Committee, where it has been voted down in each of the last few years.

The NRTWC is looking to Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-KS) to be its champion when the measure comes to the floor and recently quoted him in its newsletter as being "strongly committed to the amendment." For the past several weeks the committee has conducted a high powered scare campaign to arouse voters to back their cause.

Although certain provisions of the bill have been revised allegedly to appease unions and other concerned groups, the final version is every bit as dangerous as past bills. Because of the relatively open Senate calendar, the measure could come up for a vote at any time. Across the country workers must mount an all-out effort to defeat this attack.

What You Can Do:

As the Easter recess nears, the Senate will be trying to complete important work on the balanced budget amendment and Hobbs Act legislation. Contact your two senators today, urging them to oppose the two measures which would bring further program cuts and possible federal government policing of picket lines.

Then during the Easter recess, March 26 through April 6, arrange to meet them face to face. Get their commitment to support the House-passed version of the President's Tax Reform Bill as well as the Kennedy-Hatch Polygraph bill.

Superfund Measure Delayed In Conference Committee Over Who Pays For Clean-Up

House and Senate conferees still have much work ahead of them if they are going to pass and send to the President a superfund bill in the near future.

Details yet to be resolved include important "right-to-know" provisions and mandated clean-up schedules. But the most hotly debated issue has been whether to tax toxic waste at its source with a House-drafted levy on manufacturers or to use the Senate-favored value-added tax. The latter -- merely an elaborate sales tax -- is strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO because it would place the burden on consumers. It would also be regressive, taxing the poor at the same rate as the well-to-do.

Matters were complicated further when Labor Secretary William Brock recently sent an 11th-hour letter to the conferees objecting to a provision in the bill that sets safety standards for workers involved in clean-up operations. The modestly funded provision included important training in clean-up procedures.

The AFL-CIO has been strongly supporting the House version of the bill, which is superior in virtually every way to the Senate's. But, with committee members far apart on many issues, the process could drag on for some time.

Committee Hearings Begin March 25

House Panel To Consider 'Parental Leave' Measure

The House Education and Labor Committee will soon begin consideration of a new bill that would allow employees of either sex to take extended periods of leave from their jobs during childbirth or serious illness on their part or on the part of a dependent. The leave would not be paid, but workers would retain their job positions and their health care coverage, while taking parental care leave of up to 18 weeks in a two-year period or medical leave of up to 26 weeks in a single year.

Rep. William Clay (D-MO) Chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations and Rep. Austin J. Murphy (D-PA), Chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor Standards are cosponsors of the bill, H.R. 4300. Their two panels will hold joint legislative hearings on the measure March 25.

The AFL-CIO along with several international unions have already voiced their approval of the concept of parental and medical leave legislation and will be following the bill's progress closely.

Push Expected In House For Broad Trade Bill

House Speaker Thomas P. "TIP" O'Neill has indicated he will lead a new House effort to pass an all-encompassing trade bill in the next few weeks. O'Neill has asked the chairmen of all House committees now considering trade legislation to complete their work by May 5. By May 12, he has vowed there will be an omnibus trade bill on the House floor.

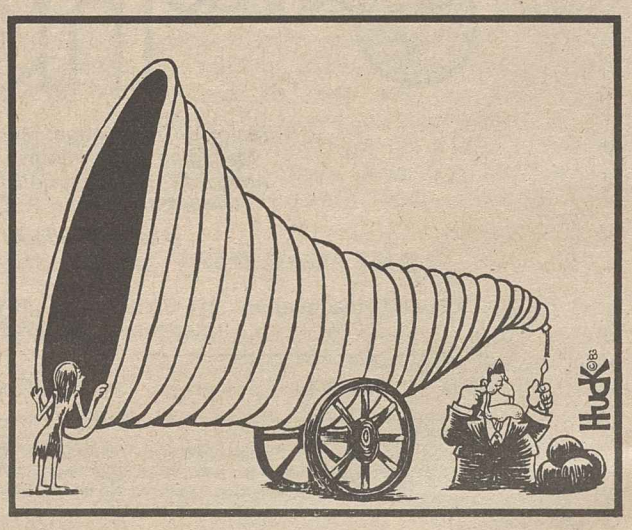
Likely to be addressed in the umbrella measure are problems in the areas of trade deficit reduction, trade law modernization, labor rights abroad and perhaps individual industry problems.

Double-Breasting Bill Introduced In Senate

While important legislation to stop contractor double breasting in the construction industry was moving through the House, Senators Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) March 11 introduced a companion bill in the Senate.

Like its House counterpart, S. 2181, also sponsored by Senators Bill Bradley (D-NJ) and Lowell Weicker (R-CT), would prevent union contractors from setting up separate non-union operations to undermine their union workers. The sponsorship of a moderate Republican like D'Amato gives the measure true bi-partisan support in the Senate and improves the bill's overall chances of passage.

In the House, H.R. 281, sponsored by Rep. William Clay (D-MO), was reported out of the House Education and Labor Committee and is awaiting a date for floor action.



AFL-CIO news

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SATURDAY
MARCH 22, 1986

The American Federationist

PAGE 5

With budget coalition symbol, Ronald Pollack, Villers Foundation executive director; Arthur S. Flemming, co-chair of Save Our Security and Eisenhower Administration Cabinet member; AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee, and AFL-CIO Associate Legislative Director Peggy Taylor.

Penny message demands 'common sense' budget

Start saving pennies. They'll be needed in the next few weeks to send a strong message to Congress for "a common sense budget" that will protect essential domestic programs, hold down military spending and cut the federal deficit through effective tax reforms.

The message is sponsored by a new broad-based coalition, Americans for a Common Sense Budget. The AFL-CIO and many of its unions are among the member organizations, and the number of affiliated groups has been growing daily.

An initial printing of 2 million envelopes with an attached message is being distributed through participating groups, and the pennies are an important part of the message.

"Here's my penny for a common sense budget," the envelope is marked. "It may not be much, but it's more than all the taxes paid last year by 50 of the largest, most profitable U.S. companies, and hundreds of millionaires."

Three messages

The coalition goal is three messages from each household, to the sender's representative in the House and to both senators from the state.

The printed message lists some of the big and profitable corporations that didn't pay "a red cent" in taxes between 1981 and 1984. "If they had paid their fair share," the message notes, "the federal budget wouldn't be so far in the red now—and Congress wouldn't be considering further reductions of vital domestic programs that keep this country strong."

It identifies the sender as a voter who stands for:

- "Protecting domestic programs that safeguard essential human services and ensure a better future for all Americans—programs that have already been cut drastically in recent years.
- "Reducing military funding. The Pentagon should not be exempt from spending reductions, particularly in light of the recent, sharp domestic cutbacks.
- "Cutting the deficit by ensuring that rich people and giant corporations pay their fair share in taxes, such as by establishing a meaningful minimum corporate tax, and by closing huge tax loopholes."

Senders are asked to list their name, address and organizational affiliation, if any, and to put a stamp on each envelope. They are invited to enclose any additional message they'd like to send in support of a common sense budget.

For union members, distribution of message envelopes will be primarily through international unions. The envelopes also will be available through the AFL-CIO Dept. of Legislation.

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3/22/86

Trade, growth data mark trouble spots for U.S. economy

By Gene Zack

"Serious trouble spots" persist in the American economy, the AFL-CIO warned as a number of key economic indicators turned downward and economic growth lagged far behind the Administration's optimistic forecasts.

The federation pointed out that an improvement in producer prices, thanks mainly to the collapse of the OPEC oil cartel, was largely negated by a one-year turnaround of more than $84 billion in the nation's international debt, coupled with declines in such areas as factory output, retail sales and the rate of economic growth.

Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald said the figures present a mixed signal that "some industries and workers, particularly those plagued by unfair foreign competition, continue to suffer while other parts of the economy are enjoying better times."

He warned that the nation would "continue to bump along on this economic roller coaster, with the continued threat of a possible derailment, until Congress and the Administration adopt some rational economic policies."

The national agenda, Oswald said, must focus on reducing the soaring trade deficit and on developing a full employment policy that rejects domestic program cuts proposed by President Reagan and adopts "a fair and equitable tax system to finance the budget."

The Commerce Dept. said the United States became a debtor nation in 1985, for the first time in more than seven decades, because of the soaring trade imbalance and the overvalued dollar. As a result, foreigners now own more in investments in this country than Americans own overseas.

The nation was in the black to the rest of the world by $28.2 billion at the end of 1984, but last year it slipped to an estimated $56 billion deficit to put the United States third among the leading debtor nations of the world, behind only Brazil and Mexico.

The shift to debtor-nation status brought warnings from private-sector economists that the situation will worsen in the months ahead.

'Massive deterioration'

C. Fred Bersten, director of the Institute for International Economics, termed it "a massive deterioration in America's international financial position." He predicted the U.S. debt will top $100 billion by the end of this year and could reach the $400-billion mark before leveling off.

David Wyss of Data Resources Inc. pointed out that "we will have to pay interest on this debt, and eventually foreigners may want their money back. It essentially puts a sword out there hanging over us."

Continued on Page 3

Reagan nominees challenged as foes of job safety, rights

Two labor-opposed presidential nominations remained locked in Senate committees, and both face strong opposition if they are brought to the Senate floor.

At issue in the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee is whether Robert E. Rader Jr. should be confirmed as a member of the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission, an appointment that the trade union movement sees as a flagrant example of putting the fox to guard the chicken coop.

Rader made his reputation as a legal strategist, not just an advocate, for a policy of battling OSHA jurisdiction and maneuvering to deny OSHA inspectors access to workplaces. The committee vote is expected to be close.

At least as flagrant is President Reagan's selection of Jefferson B. Sessions III for a federal district court appointment in Alabama.

Sessions, whose nomination is waiting action by the Judiciary Committee, has admitted making such remarks as referring to the NAACP as "un-American" and "communist-inspired."

He concurred in a description of a white civil rights lawyer as "a disgrace to his race" and he reportedly termed the Ku Klux Klan "okay."

Sessions prosecuted—unsuccessfully—black civil rights leaders in Alabama, charging them with vote fraud. He was given the lowest "qualified" rating by the American Bar Association, with a minority terming him "unqualified."

AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten wrote Judiciary Committee Chairman Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) that Sessions "would be incapable of impartiality, or even the appearance of impartiality, in deciding voting rights and civil rights cases."

Fitzwater confirmed

The Administration had its way on another controversial appointee, when the Senate voted 52-42 to confirm the nomination of Sidney Fitzwater as a federal district judge in Texas.

Fitzwater is the state judge who, in the 1982 elections, had large and intimidating signs posted in precincts used by minority-group voters warning that violations of the election law would subject persons to imprisonment.

His tactics were "incompatible with the high demands on a member of the federal judiciary," the AFL-CIO wrote senators. Federal judges are appointed for life. At 32, Fitzwater will be the nation's youngest federal judge.

Steel union, LTV reach agreement on profit-sharing

The Steelworkers have reached a tentative agreement on a 40-month contract renewal with LTV Steel Corp.—the first major accord reached in this year's critical round of bargaining.

The settlement, covering 30,500 USWA members in 24 plants in seven states, includes a number of trade-offs aimed at aiding the financially ailing steelmaker. The savings to the company, estimated at $140 million, would be returned to the workers through profit-sharing or stock.

The USWA executive board gave unanimous approval to the settlement and the presidents of the LTV locals voted 32-6 in favor of the proposed package. The contract is subject to a mail ratification vote by the members affected. Balloting is expected to be completed early next month.

LTV is one of five steelmakers that agreed to work toward an early contract settlement. Contracts with the major steel producers will expire July 31. The proposed agreement with one of the industry's weaker producers reflects the fairness of the USWA bargaining stand against concessions.

The four other companies seeking to reach settlements with the union before a self-imposed deadline of Mar. 31 are Bethlehem Steel Corp., National Steel Corp., Inland Steel Co., and Armco Steel Co.

"We are pleased that LTV Steel has responded to our bargaining policy that Steelworkers should not bear the brunt of any sacrifices," USWA President Lynn Williams said. "Our members will receive a dollar-for-dollar payback in equity for any wage and benefit reductions. Our pledge to the LTV membership has been fulfilled in providing for guaranteed job security opportunities and more worker involvement in decision-making at all levels of company policy."

Anthony Rainaldi, chairman of the USWA bargaining committee for LTV Steel, and committee Sec. Joseph Coyle, said, "We strongly believe that this contract provides a guaranteed investment plan

Continued on Page 4

Jobless aid at stake

More than 2,500 trade unionists from across Minnesota rally at the state capitol in St. Paul to protest deep cuts in unemployment benefits by the legislature and to support the veto pledge of Gov. Rudy Perpich (D). Minnesota AFL-CIO President Dan Gustafson, at microphone, leads crowd in demonstrating against the measure, which would slash jobless benefits for workers and lower employer payroll taxes.

UFCW orders local to end Hormel packing plant strike

The Food & Commercial Workers ordered its Local P-9 to end a seven-month strike at Hormel's Austin, Minn., plant and said it would seek direct negotiations with the company to win a new contract and regain the jobs of union members.

Calling the Austin strike "a failed strategy," UFCW President William Wynn lifted the international union's strike authorization and directed the local's leaders "to cease its seven-month strike and related activities against the Geo. A. Hormel & Co."

In a telegram to Local P-9 leaders, Wynn offered the UFCW's bargaining and legal assistance to help the local secure a contract at Austin and to win back its members' jobs. But the UFCW directive also warned that if Local P-9 continued its strike, unauthorized boycott, and "roving pickets" tactics, the union would end strike benefits and take further action.

Hormel strikers have received $40 per week in strike benefits from the international plus an additional $25 per week from a fund maintained by the UFCW Minneapolis district to channel contributions from other unions. Wynn said the UFCW would continue to pay "post-strike assistance" to workers who comply with the international's directive.

As the AFL-CIO News went to press, UFCW officials were scheduled to meet with the executive board of Local P-9 to discuss implementation of the international union's directive and the resumption of bargaining with the Hormel management. A return to negotiations was a major element of the international's order.

The international union's action followed a membership vote Mar. 12 in which the local voted 345-300 to call on the international to help end the dispute. On the basis of this vote and "petitions and calls from hundreds of P-9 members asking the international to end the strike" the UFCW Executive Committee stepped in and lifted the strike sanction, Wynn said.

Wynn said the union would press Hormel to accept "the orderly return to work of all employees" and would fight to regain the jobs lost by UFCW workers at Hormel plants in Ottumwa, Ia., Fremont, Neb., and Dallas, Tex. Nearly 500 workers at those plants were fired by Hormel for refusing to cross picket lines set up by Local P-9's "roving pickets."

Although the international believed the Hormel strike was ill-advised and improperly structured from the beginning, Wynn said, the UFCW "respected their decision when the local voted to strike" and gave its sanction to the walkout. This is the first time in the UFCW's history that strike sanction has been withdrawn.

"Nothing further can be gained by continuing or expanding the strike," Wynn observed.

"The UFCW is unwilling to watch one of the largest and most modern plants in the industry go non-union because Local P-9's leadership is incapable of settling their strike. One thing is clear: after seven months of the strike and 15 months of a feeble corporate campaign, Local P-9 stands farther away from achieving its goals than it did on the day its leaders broke ranks with the Hormel chain locals in September 1984."

Reconciliation deadlock

Trade adjustment aid snarled in Congress

A take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum from the White House has stalled the latest attempt to pass a congressional budget reconciliation package that includes measures to revive trade adjustment assistance for workers and shore up funding of the single-employer pension insurance program.

Both labor-priority measures have been bogged down since last December in a legislative quagmire that has defied repeated rescue attempts.

Initially, the House and Senate were deadlocked over the financing of an expanded Superfund program for the cleanup of toxic wastes. That held up action until negotiators from both sides agreed to handle the Superfund legislation separately.

Then, informal negotiations between the two sides led to compromises intended to lessen the risk of a presidential veto and appeared to have paved the way for passage early this month.

One such compromise extended the trade adjustment assistance program, retroactively to last December when benefits were cut off. But it dropped a labor-sought expansion of the program to cover employees of supplier companies as well as firms directly affected by imports. Another trimmed back somewhat a provision requiring that half the materials used in offshore oil rigs be American-made.

The proposed rise in the pension insurance premiums was non-controversial and supported by the Administration as well as unions affected.

There remained differences, and the bill bounced back and forth between the House and Senate until the string of amendments became a parliamentary puzzle. But in the last round before the AFL-CIO News went to press, the Senate version was accompanied by a White House warning that the bill would be vetoed unless the Senate version was approved intact. Although it wasn't the stumbling block, one of the Senate changes eliminated the American-content requirement for offshore oil rigs.

Faced with an ultimatum, the House refused to blink and rejected the Senate amendments.

With time running out—the bill was intended to provide deficit reductions for the fiscal year that began last October—there were indications that "can't wait" portions of the measure might be rushed through as separate legislation. But the legislative script was still being written.

House budget action

In another budget area, House Democrats had some partisan fun by bringing the President's proposed budget for the new fiscal year to an up-or-down vote—to the dismay of Republicans.

The presidential budget, with its huge rise in defense spending coupled with severe new cuts in domestic programs, was rejected by a 312-12 vote, with 77 Republicans and one Democrat merely voting "present."

House Budget Committee Chairman William H. Gray III (D-Pa.) said his committee will begin marking up its own budget plan now that the Senate counterpart committee has completed its version.

The Senate, meanwhile, was preparing for a close vote on Mar. 25 on the labor-opposed resolution to initiate a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget. It will require a two-thirds vote by both the House and Senate to be sent to the states for ratification.

UAW ratifies Volkswagen contract

The Auto Workers reached agreement with Volkswagen of America Inc. on new contracts covering some 3,300 workers at plants in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Texas.

By a 1,506 to 86 vote, UAW members at Volkswagen's Westmoreland, Pa., plant approved a new three-year contract that will give them parity with workers at the Big Three automakers' plants. Skilled-trades workers ratified the agreement with a 183-52 vote.

Initial pay boosts for VW assemblers will be 13 cents an hour, bringing the rate to $13.46 per hour. Other increases range from three cents an hour to $1.69 per hour.

Lump-sum payments equal to 2.25 percent of annual pay will be paid in April 1987. In March 1988, the workers will get an increase equal to the first-year pay increase negotiated at General Motors Corp. for the previous year. Cost-of-living adjustments were retained in the contract.

At VW's South Charleston, W.Va., plant, the contract was geared primarily to the planned closing of the plant in June 1987 and was ratified by a 225-61 vote. VW has had the metal stamping plant for sale, but has been unable to find a buyer.

The 15-month contract there will channel an average increase of 34.2 cents an hour into a severance income fund that will receive 50 percent matching funds from the company.

The SUB plan will be converted to a separation pay fund, offering up to 570 hours of pay for workers with more than 13 years' service. Early retirement will be provided for those age 50 or older with 10 years' service. Benefits will range from $12.75 to $13.50 a month for each year of service, with an added $11 a month per year through age 62.

UAW members at VW's Fort Worth, Tex., heating and air conditioning plant will vote shortly on their new agreement. Details will be released after voting by the 350 members is tallied.

Congressional study forecasts fewer clerical jobs

The acceleration of office automation can lead to declining job opportunities, a shift to part-time and home-based workers, and the elimination of opportunities for career advancement, the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment warned.

The conclusions, contained in a report prepared at the request of the Senate and House Labor committees, were viewed by the Service Employees as corroborating concerns the union has been expressing for the past six years.

Karen Nussbaum, president of SEIU District 925, said it was "heartening" that the congressional research arm "has turned its attention to the fate of clerical employment" and, in the process, has "challenged previous conceptions about the growth of office jobs."

OTA's study, Automation of America's Offices, asserted that the introduction of new technologies will slow the growth of office employment in the next decade and could lead to an actual decline in these jobs before the end of this century.

Nussbaum, who also is director of 9to5, National Association of Working Women, pointed out that office work is the largest single job category in the country, accounting for more than 15 million jobs. One of every three working women is currently a clerical worker, she said.

Not only are jobs being lost, she continued, they are being made even more marginal with the growing trend toward temporary, part-time and home-based work. Nussbaum noted that "these jobs tend to be lower paid and rarely include such benefits as health care."

Shifting costs

Echoing the SEIU's concern, the congressional office said that this shift will result in a "growing proportion of the workforce" being left without essential protections, with the costs being shifted "from employer to employee to a degree that ultimately causes these costs to be borne by the taxpayer."

OTA warned that the accelerating trend toward the use of video display terminals can lead to "chronic health effects," including musculoskeletal injuries and heart problems resulting from speedups, increased workloads and loss of decision-making power. "Mental stress could emerge as the most important public health problem" related to automated office work, the OTA report said.

The congressional agency said that while automation is often accompanied by productivity increases ranging from 15 to 85 percent, depending on the industry, clerical wages have not increased to reflect this improved output.

Nussbaum concurred, noting that 9to5 research has shown that clerical wages actually decreased by 1.5 percent between 1983 and 1984 after adjusting for inflation. She called this trend "up-skilling and down-waging."

OTA said that automation offers employers an opportunity to establish systems of "equal opportunity and equal pay." The SEIU agreed, declaring that the huge productivity increases make it possible for employers to "increase pay without disrupting the workforce."

Although new technologies make it imperative for clerical workers to be trained and retrained, adequate programs are largely unavailable to help them graduate to more responsible, better-paying positions. Instead, there is a growing trend among employers to hire from outside the organization rather from within, making it "even harder for clerical workers to climb up from the bottom," OTA said.

Nussbaum said that OTA is not the only government agency to provide new evidence confirming SEIU and 9to5 research on the problem.

Additional studies

She pointed to a recent report from the Women's Bureau of the Labor Dept., Women and Office Automation: Issues for the Decade Ahead, which assigned the problem top priority, and to data published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics supporting the union's contention about the erosion and the anticipated decline of clerical sector jobs.

In addition to publishing a series of studies on the impact of automation, SEIU and 9to5 launched a "Campaign for VDT Safety" last year aimed at securing a range of safety laws at the state and local level, and currently is funding a study on VDTs and pregnancy hazards, being conducted by Dr. Irving J. Selikoff at Mt. Sinai Medical Center in New York.

IUE petitions for 10,000 at Eastern Air

The Electronic Workers is seeking to represent more than 10,000 skycaps and ticket agents employed by Eastern Airlines in 80 cities nationwide.

IUE President William Bywater said a committee of Eastern workers filed an election petition with the National Mediation Board and presented the board "with thousands of signed application cards."

"Eastern agents and skycaps have been the victims of huge pay cuts, drastic work rule changes and fringe benefit reductions arbitrarily and unilaterally imposed by management on Feb. 1," Bywater said. He pointed out that the skycaps and ticket agents, unlike other Eastern workers, had "no union to negotiate on their behalf."

While pilots and flight attendants were able to alter excessive Eastern demands, the unrepresented agents and skycaps were forced to accept "the whole package as served up by management," Bywater said.

He noted that the IUE already has gained some ground for the unit by persuading Eastern to rescind work rule changes for agents and skycaps, as the company had done earlier for pilots and attendants. Eastern has agreed to restore work rules affecting overtime and shift differential pay, layoff and recall rights, severance pay and other working conditions.

Down payment

Bywater called the work rule preservation "a down payment" that will pay even greater dividends when "IUE becomes the certified bargaining agent." He expressed confidence that the election would not be affected by the recent acquisition of Eastern by Texas Air, a nonunion carrier owned by Frank Lorenzo. Under Lorenzo's leadership, Continental Airlines filed for bankruptcy to cancel its union contracts.

"Once we win the election, union negotiators will be ready and willing to negotiate in good faith with Eastern Chairman Frank Borman or Frank Lorenzo," Bywater said.

"One thing is certain, we will be negotiating from a position of strength coming on the heels of a system-wide vote of confidence in IUE."

BMWE members gather kindling for picket-line warmth at entrance to Maine Central Railroad's Portland Terminal.

Philadelphia, Maine strikes tied to management reneging

Transportation strikes that tied up services to hundreds of thousands of commuters in Philadelphia and New England were brought on by the actions of both managements reneging on previous offers.

Some 5,100 Transport Workers in Philadelphia struck the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) Mar. 16 after the transit authority severely reduced its final offer before a strike deadline.

BULLETIN

A tentative agreement in the Philadelphia transit strike was reached shortly before this issue of the AFL-CIO News went to press. Details of the settlement will appear in the News dated Mar. 29, 1986.

A similar tactic by the Maine Central Railroad forced the Maintenance of Way Employees to strike that carrier Mar. 3.

In Philadelphia, Transport Workers Local 234's strike halted the city's buses, trolleys and subway. The local opened talks with the transit authority last September in anticipation of hard bargaining and in hopes of changing SEPTA's practice of not making any reasonable offers until faced with a deadline. The local struck in 1975, 1977 and 1981 to gain contracts.

SEPTA agreed to a number of contract items, but just short of the contract's expiration at midnight on Mar. 14. The local extended the agreement in hopes of reaching a settlement, but when the two sides met on Mar. 16, SEPTA reportedly offered a substantially poorer package than it had indicated it would.

"This is not an economic strike," said Harry Lombardo, the local's secretary-treasurer. "The issues are pensions, arbitrations and grievance procedures and part-time workers."

The current pension pays $315 a month after 30 years' service. The union asked for the same pension plan that covers SEPTA management, with benefits based on the five highest years of pay.

Arbitration costs

Lombardo pointed out that the union's position on arbitration cases is that the loser should have to pay all costs. He noted that nearly 10,000 grievances are being filed each year with nearly 1,000 going beyond the first step of the grievance procedure. The union has a win rate of nearly 90 percent for grievances taken to arbitration.

The Maine Central strike involves 97 Maintenance of Way Employees who work for the carrier and its Portland Terminal operation.

BMWE President Ole M. Berge said he was frustrated and disappointed that the railroad had backed off from its previous offer. National Mediation Board Chairman Walter C. Wallace announced that the NMB had recessed the talks, because the carrier had "retreated from previous bargaining positions" and "is not disposed at this time to enter into an agreement."

Offer reduced

Berge confirmed that Maine Central's last offer was worse than its previous one. After agreeing to accept the employer-paid health and welfare plan accepted by the rail industry nationally, Maine Central bargainers reversed themselves and insisted that the workers pay half the costs.

The company also held to a demand that the workers accept a 20 percent across-the-board pay cut.

The strike began at the Portland Terminal on Mar. 3 and spread to the full line a day later. When the rail carrier began using Boston & Maine Railroad employees to haul freight on the MC lines, the picketing included B&M. Union workers respecting those picket lines shut down the northbound commuter trains running out of Boston.

A key issue to the BMWE members is job security, as the maintenance of way workforce has been slashed from 325 to fewer than 100 full-time positions.

Guilford Transportation Co. owns MC and B&M railways, as well as the Delaware & Hudson Railroad. MC tried to get a court order restraining the strike, but a federal district judge denied the motion.

The Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, which contracts with B&M to run commuter lines north of Boston, filed suit in federal court Mar. 16, seeking to ban picketing at the Boston Engine Terminal in Somerville, Mass.

Contracts bind new owners, appeals court rulings affirm

Two federal courts have upheld rulings of the National Labor Relations Board that new owners have the same responsibility to workers and their unions as the previous management.

The successorship doctrine was upheld by the 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals in a case brought by Service Employees Local 32B-32J against the new owner of a Forest Hills, N.Y., apartment building, and by the 7th Circuit court in a case brought by Food & Commercial Workers Local 35 against the purchaser of a nursing home in Godfrey, Ill.

In the New York case, the SEIU contract contained a successorship clause under which the original owner agreed to require any purchaser to agree in writing to adopt the existing collective bargaining agreement and retain the existing labor force.

When the apartment building was sold in November 1980, a copy of the union contract was attached to the sales agreement, and the obligations to the union were listed as binding on the purchaser. But on Apr. 1, 1981, the day after the title closing, the new owners discharged the building superintendent, an elevator operator and a porter, offering them cash settlements to surrender their jobs.

The SEIU went out on strike and picketed the building for a month, by which time all six employees had reached individual settlements with the new owners, conditioned on their agreement not to press individual further claims.

The NLRB ruled, and the court agreed, that the new owner had assumed the union contract under the terms of the sale and was obligated to continue to honor it, directing the firm to offer reinstatement and back pay to the discharged employees. The court held that the new management's repeated efforts to induce the workers to quit the union and sign release forms were evidence of an awareness of its obligations under the union contract.

In the Illinois case, the UFCW won bargaining rights at the nursing home in July 1980 and began negotiations on a first contract. Local 35 struck in October 1980 and filed an unfair labor practice charge in January 1981 over management's refusal to let the union examine the company's financial records.

The new owners took over in May 1981 and immediately imposed their own set of wages and benefits, but offered to take back the striking UFCW members as well as those who had been hired as replacements during the strike. Local 35 agreed to return to work unconditionally and asked the new management to come to the bargaining table.

Bargaining order

Invoking the successorship doctrine, the NLRB ruled that the new owners had to bargain with the UFCW, adding that, since the union was still within its one-year certification period, its presumption of a majority could not be challenged.

The labor board also ruled that the original refusal to open the company's books was an unfair labor practice, that the new owners acquired the nursing home with knowledge of the pending charges, and that the strikers must be reinstated with back pay starting from May 1981.

In upholding the NLRB decision, the court ruled that the purchaser had an obligation to remedy the previous owner's unfair practices. Because the new owners had knowledge of the pending labor board case they could be held accountable for remedying those past wrongs, the federal appeals court said.

Trade, growth data confirm 'trouble spots'

Continued from Page 1

Here's what the latest round of government statistics showed:

- The economy expanded by just 2.2 percent last year, far below the Administration's optimistic forecast of a 4-percent growth rate. It was the worst performance since the depths of the Reagan Recession in 1982, when the real gross national product shrank by 2.5 percent. Indicating a continued weakness in the economy, the Commerce Dept. said growth in the fourth quarter of 1985 was an anemic seven-tenths of 1 percent.
- Home construction dropped 3.5 percent in February, after reaching a two-year high the previous month, but was still running a strong 22 percent above the level of a year ago. The government said housing starts were running at an annual rate of just under 2 million.

Analysts were optimistic that, with interest rates at their lowest level in more than seven years, the housing sector will continue to be a bright spot on the economic horizon.

- American industry operated at just 80 percent of capacity in February, the second consecutive month that the operating rate of the nation's factories, mines and utilities declined. The Federal Reserve Board said February's steep drop of six-tenths of 1 percent was the largest for any month since October 1985.

Oil, gas drilling off

The back-to-back declines left the operating rate a full 2 percent below the high point of 82 percent set in July and August 1984. The drop was paced by a huge 2.4-percent plunge in oil and gas drilling, as falling energy prices curtailed exploration for new oil and gas deposits. Manufacturing output, under continuing import pressure, fell six-tenths of 1 percent to 79.9, with widespread weaknesses reported in the primary metals and aerospace industries.

- Retail sales slipped one-tenth of 1 percent in February, led by a drop of 1.3 percent in auto sales following the end of another round of cut-rate financing offers. The decline followed January's drop of two-tenths of 1 percent—the first time that retail sales fell for two consecutive months since May and June 1985.

Economists called the weakness in retail sales a matter of concern, since consumer spending accounts for fully two-thirds of the nation's economic activity.

- The producer price index dropped a record 1.6 percent in February as the result of falling energy and food prices, with the expectation that plunging world oil prices will put a damper on inflation throughout the year.

Energy prices tumbled 9.4 percent at the wholesale level last month on the heels of January's 4.2-percent drop.

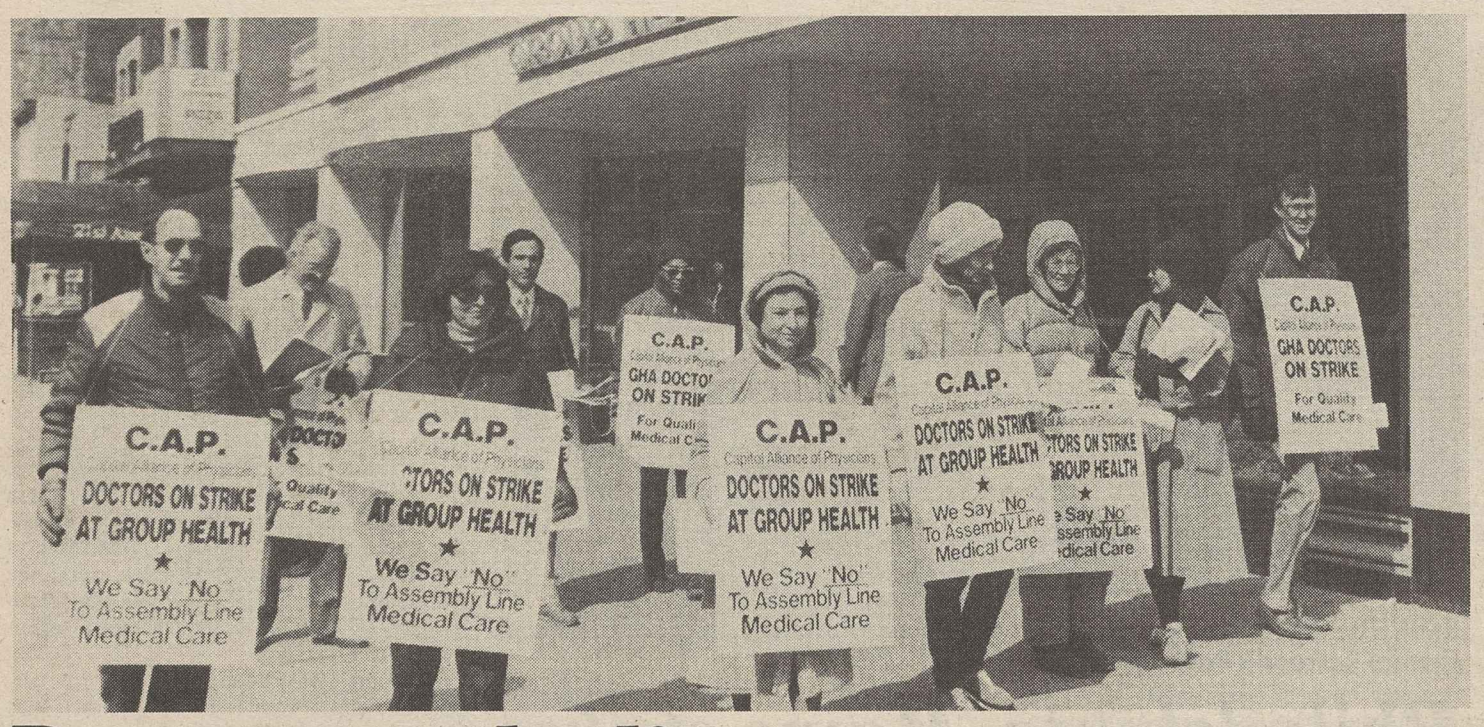
The result was that producers' prices declined 11.9 percent for gasoline, 20.5 percent for crude petroleum and 26.2 percent for home heating oil, bringing them down to levels well below those of a year ago.

Bargaining tool

Labor unions will find a new Commerce Dept. publication, 1986 U.S. Industrial Outlook, a useful tool for assessing trends in hundreds of manufacturing and service industries and for developing collective bargaining strategies during the coming year.

The 650-page booklet forecasts the economic potential of 250 goods-producing industries and 132 service industries, most of which are strongly unionized. It is based on the views of more than 100 key industry analysts.

The publication—stock number 003-008-00197-1—costs $21 and is available through the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 20402. Visa, Mastercard and Choice account numbers can be used to order the book by telephone from the Government Printing Office in Washington, (202) 783-3238.



Doctors on the line

Striking doctors and union supporters on the picket line at Group Health Association, a Washington area HMO that provides medical care for a number of unions and their members. The doctors, members of the unaffiliated Capital Alliance of Physicians, are protesting mangement demands that they limit time spent with patients. D.C. area trade unionists joined the picket line in Washington, while Seafarers donated office space and staffed demonstrations at satellite clinics in Maryland suburbs. The 168 doctors have been on strike since Mar. 3 but are covering patient emergencies and childbirth situations.

Plant idled for four years but layoffs still 'temporary'

Calumet City, Ill.—How long does a plant have to remain closed before it's considered permanently shut down?

Only management is in a position to make that determination, arbitrator Gil Vernon ruled, as he denied severance pay to 18 Steelworkers, the last remnants of Ferro Engineering Co.'s workforce at the time the plant ended all operations in May 1982.

When it ceased production, Ferro posted a notice that the shutdown would last "until further notice," blaming its action on slumping economic conditions resulting from the unbridled flood of foreign-made steel into the domestic market.

"The company will notify you when to return to work," the notice said. In the intervening four years there has been no production at the plant. Ferro and USWA Local 4775-04 agreed in 1983 to discuss any permanent shutdown, and in January 1985 management informed the union that it still had "not made a decision to close the facility permanently."

The company, which operates two other plants in Ohio, said a year ago that the steel industry's severe depression had caused "the temporary, but protracted, idling of the plant. If steel rebounds sufficiently to make it economically feasible to resume operations, Ferro could again bring this plant back on line."

The USWA filed a grievance a month later, charging that the plant was plainly deserted and contending that there was little if any likelihood that operations at the plant would ever resume.

In addition, the local pointed out in its grievance, the recall rights of the remaining members of the bargaining unit have long since expired, so the 1982 promise to let employees know when to return to work is meaningless.

The severance provision of the contract, the Steelworkers insisted, was never intended to allow management to evade its contractual obligations merely by claiming that the facility might reopen at some undetermined future date.

But the arbitrator disagreed, declaring after a personal inspection of the plant that "other than a couple of leaks in the roof and some dust, the plant looks more like it was shut down for a weekend."

In any event, Vernon wrote in his decision, the condition of the plant is not really relevant because the contract gave the company "sole authority" to decide whether the plant is open or closed.

"In the case," he said, "management has given rational consideration to all the factors bearing on the matter. Therefore it cannot be said they improperly exercised their discretion by being wholly unreasonable or unrealistic in their decision."

Unions, chemical group join to back tough pesticide law

Unions whose members are exposed to pesticides, either in their manufacture, transportation or use, welcomed the introduction of legislation to strengthen the nation's pesticide law.

The AFL-CIO and several of its departments and affiliates—all members of the Campaign for Pesticide Reform—were joined by 92 agricultural chemical companies in backing legislation that resulted from more than a year of negotiations between the reform group and the National Agricultural Chemical Association.

At a Mar. 10 press conference, Margaret Seminario, the federation's safety and health specialist, told reporters, "We have many members who are exposed to pesticides. Some are covered by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration and others by FIFRA (Federal Insecticide, Fungicide & Rodenticide Act). But all are concerned about health hazards."

She said labor welcomes the legislation, noting that it should improve information available to workers and will require testing of pesticide ingredients "on a faster schedule than under current law."

A key issue still outstanding is adequate protection for farm workers—the group most often exposed to pesticides, Seminario stressed. "We can't have reform in the true sense until these workers are protected," she said. Separate negotiations on proposals to ensure protections for workers using pesticides are continuing with the American Farm Bureau Federation and other agricultural interests.

The 70-page bill was introduced in Congress by Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) and Rep. Berkley Bedell (D-Iowa), both chairmen of the relevant committees.

The major features of the bill include:

- Full health and safety testing of pesticides under a strict timetable and new funding for the Environmental Protection Agency to complete the job through an industry reregistration fee.
- The right of communities to information about pesticides produced at local plants, including fact sheets on health and safety hazards.
- Prevention of residues of banned pesticides in food.
- Cancellation of pesticides registered with false or invalid information.

Labor members of the reform group include the Industrial Union Dept., Food & Allied Service Trades Dept., Farm Workers, Teachers, Steelworkers, and State, County & Municipal Employees.

Labor endorses bill to strengthen pension income

Tax-deferred savings plans should not be considered a substitute for a basic retirement pension, the AFL-CIO said in a letter endorsing legislation to strengthen retirement income protection for workers and curtail abuses in existing law.

Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.) and Rep. William L. Clay (D-Mo.) are the chief sponsors of the measure, and chairmen of congressional subcommittees considering it. In a letter to Heinz, the AFL-CIO praised provisions that would:

- Require employers to provide a basic retirement plan before making available other forms of deferred benefits. One effect would be to bar an employer from closing down a retirement plan to pocket the "excess assets" and substitute a cheaper savings plan.
- Establish a five-year vesting requirement for single-employer pension plans, while continuing to allow 10-year vesting for multiemployer plans. Such a provision would enable more workers to qualify for pensions.
- Strengthen rules governing the linkage of pension benefits with social security payments so as to prevent undue advantage to company executives and the highest-paid employees.

The Air Line Pilots, whose members would face special problems under the proposed legislation because of the nature of their employment, requested several changes in the proposed legislation at hearings held by the House Labor-Management Relations subcommittee.

ALPA President Harry A. Duffy reminded the panel that federal regulations require commercial pilots to retire at age 60 and said linking benefit levels to an age 62 retirement would be inappropriate for pilots.

Steelworkers reach accord on LTV pact

Continued from Page 1

for steelworkers in exchange for assistance to LTV that provides immediate labor cost relief."

The accord, reached after two months of intense bargaining, would trim the average hourly wage by $1.14, from $12.87 to $11.73. Other proposed changes include a reduction in paid holidays from 10 to seven, an average reduction of one week of vacation, reduced shift differentials and elimination of cost-of-living adjustments.

Planned changes in health care coverage include precertification for hospital admission, elimination of vision care, increased major medical deductible and lowered sickness and accident benefits. A joint health care cost-containment committee also would be established.

The wage and benefit reductions would average $3.15 per hour, and the company estimates that it would be able to save an additional 45 cents hourly from reduced taxes and administrative costs, for a total of $140 million over the 40-month period.

The proposal provides that USWA members will recover the full cost of the reductions through profit-sharing and stock. The company will pay 10 percent of its first $100 million in annual profits to the workers and 20 percent of any profits above that amount.

If the payments to the workers fall short of the level of economic savings they have provided the company, the remainder will be paid into a trust account for each employee in shares of newly created LTV preferred stock. After two years, the shares can be exchanged for LTV common stock at $16 a share or sold for cash.

The union won a new contracting-out clause to preserve jobs and increase employment opportunities. Contracting out has been a long-festering problem at LTV. The bargaining committee said the tentative contract adopts the principle that work capable of being performed by bargaining unit workers shall be performed by them.

Retraining fund

The company also agreed to commit $975,000 annually to retraining, counseling and job placement assistance programs.

The firm will likewise contribute $900,000 to the LTV Steel Crisis Action Fund to aid in cooperatively seeking legislation to halt the decline of the steel industry and to increase public awareness of the import problems.

The grievance and arbitration procedure was improved by providing for interest payments on unpaid monetary awards or settlements, eliminating the deduction of outside earnings from back pay awards, continuing expedited arbitration procedures and reducing union costs for initial grievance procedure steps. These were among the goals set by the USWA for this year's basic steel bargaing.

Overtime will be reduced in an effort to increase job opportunities for members on layoff, as the company and the union monitor overtime levels.

Benefits for retirees were left untouched, and the company agreed to provide special early retirement or separation benefits for some 8,700 workers on indefinite layoff.

Houston campaign produces Teachers' organizing gains

Houston—More than 2,000 area teachers and education professionals have joined the Teachers through a cooperative campaign launched by the Houston Federation of Teachers and the AFL-CIO Houston Organizing Project. The organizing wins make AFT Local 2415 the largest Teachers local in Texas, with a total membership of 3,035.

The local joined the AFL-CIO coordinated drive in 1981 with a membership of just 791. With help from federation project organizers and AFT representatives, the Houston AFT mounted successful organizing campaigns in each of the past five years and quadrupled its membership, AFL-CIO Assistant Organizing Director Green Lewis said.

The federation's Houston campaign set up shop in October 1981 with 30 unions joining in the coordinated drive. Green said progress was slowed by layoffs and plant shutdowns due to the Reagan recession, but he pointed to successes in construction and service sectors and a total gain so far of 8,000 members.

Other Houston success stories include a record 10 consecutive wins by the Service Employees in representation campaigns at Beverly nursing homes and State, County & Municipal Employees gains among city and school district workers.

Labor's position from the start of the Houston drive has been that "we are here for the long pull," Green said. Paul Nash, current coordinator of the Houston Organizing Project, replaced Green in that position.

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WORK & FAMILY

The family is the key to social stability, community progress and national strength. To strengthen the family is at the heart of the labor movement's long struggle to raise wages and living standards, to democratize education, leisure and health care, to broaden individual opportunity and secure dignity in old age.

In the conviction that work, and the rewards of work, are the foundations of the stable, hopeful family life that engenders self-reliance, self-respect and respect for others, unions have sought to advance the welfare of working people and their families through collective bargaining and through legislative and political activity.

As a result, generations of Americans have benefited through higher wages, negotiated pensions and health and welfare programs, increased job security and increased leisure for enjoying family life. The entire society has gained through union-won wage, hours and overtime laws, child-labor laws, Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, equal employment opportunity, pay equity, day care and a wide range of other programs that support, protect and advance the quality of family life.

Changes are underway that make work and family issues more vital than ever to the health of America's society. Women are vastly increasing their participation in the workforce. The number of single-parent families is growing rapidly, and so are families that require two incomes.

Many who label themselves "pro-family" are in fact the architects and supporters of the weakening of public policies that benefit children, the elderly and the unemployed.

Two out of three jobless workers receive no unemployment benefits at all. Those who do receive no more than 35 percent of previous wages. More and more low-wage, year-round workers fail to earn enough to lift their families out of poverty. In 1985, a full-time worker at the minimum wage earned only $7,000, less than half of the $17,000 needed, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics for a "minimum but adequate" living for a family of four, and far below the official $11,000 poverty line for such a family.

At the same time, more and more working families need day care for small children and other dependents, including elderly and handicapped family members.

Many families with one and even two earners find that the cost of day care consumes 25 to 50 percent of their income, at the rate of $3,000 per year per child.

Clearly, both the availability and the affordability of child care have reached crisis proportions.

There are no simple, easy or cheap ways to meet the needs of America's families who have diverse and sometimes conflicting interests. But unions have special responsibilities and opportunities to promote and defend family-oriented programs, both public and private.

For example, among benefits to be won through collective bargaining are equal employment opportunity, pay equity, maternity and paternity leave, child care for union members, flexible work schedules to help working parents, the right to refuse overtime and elimination of sex discrimination.

The AFL-CIO continues to urge affiliates, whenever possible, to pursue such family-strengthening programs through the collective bargaining process, including joint employer-union sponsored day care centers, information and referral services, allowances for care in existing centers, time off when the child or dependent is sick, and establishing flexible working hours to accommodate caring for children or other dependents.

Unions should work cooperatively with parents, child care activists, churches and other civic groups to insure that care provided meets quality standards.

The AFL-CIO also urges support for a broad range of federal action to strengthen the American family, including opportunities to work and earn enough for decent family life, including:

- National economic policies aimed at full employment in line with the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment & Balanced Economic Growth Act of 1978.
- Improved unemployment insurance, health care protection, and mortgage and rental relief for unemployed workers.
- Quality health care for all families.
- More vigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity laws and promotion of pay equity.
- An increase in the minimum wage to assure more adequate income for the working poor.
- A shorter workweek, reduced work hours per year and higher overtime penalties to increase opportunities for family life.

Specifically, the AFL-CIO urges the Congress to:

- Enact a broad-based national program to make day care available to all who need it and to provide financial incentives to states for encouragement of programs in early childhood education and child care services, as well as services for the elderly and the disabled, and to improve licensing and monitoring of day care.
- Pass legislation to insure that parents can take a reasonable parental leave to care for newborn, newly adopted or seriously ill children without risking loss of their jobs.

This is the text of a statement approved by the AFL-CIO Executive Council Feb. 21, 1986. It is based on a resolution presented to the federation's October 1985 convention in Anaheim, Calif., and referred to the council for expansion into a more comprehensive analysis.

Essentials of a Decent Life

Who Is Really 'Pro-Family'?

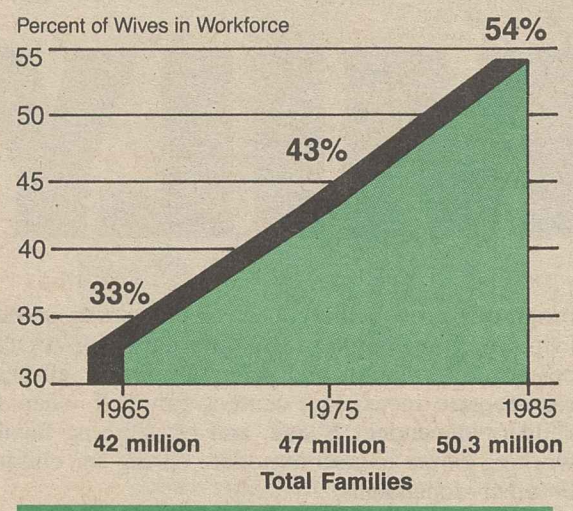
"Many who label themselves 'pro-family' are in fact the architects and supporters of the weakening of public policies that benefit children, the elderly and the unemployed."

- Restore funding to family support programs including Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, and Medicaid.
- Restore and increase funding for social services under Title XX of the Social Security Act to meet the needs of abused children, the mentally ill, and the elderly, as well as to provide child-care services for low-income working mothers.
- Retain the tax credit now allowed for child care expenses. Congress should resist the Reagan Administration's efforts to change the tax credit to a tax deduction—making it far less advantageous to lower-income families.

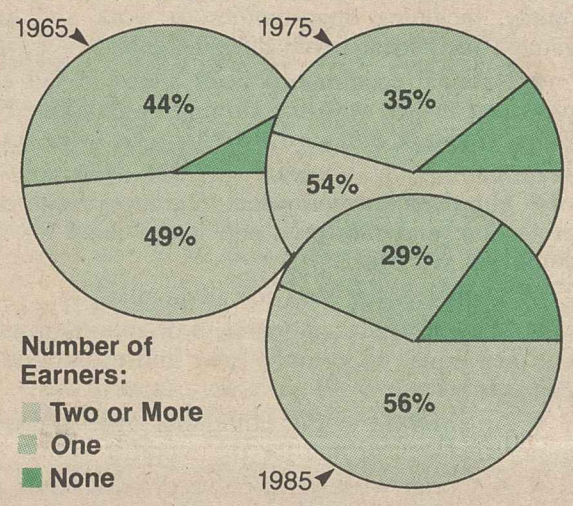
Work and family problems are complex. They will not yield easily or soon to the private and public efforts we are proposing. The AFL-CIO pledges continued support of efforts to solve these problems.

Profile of a Changing Society

More and More Wives Join the Labor Force...



And More Family Members Work...



But Family Income Drops

Child Care: Slow Prog

By Mary Logan

More than two-thirds of the entrants into the labor force in the past decade have been women, and two-thirds of these women have children—most of whom are under six years of age. It is predicted that by 1990 at least half of the labor force will be female and an estimated 30 million infants and children will be in need of child care services.

Overall, some 65 percent of the mothers of children under 18 and 52 percent of the mothers of children under 6 are now in the workforce. One in five of all children live in a single parent home, and by 1990 nearly one in four will be living with a single parent—double the 1970 rate. More than half of all black children now live with their mothers only.

Most mothers are working full-time, making child care a problem that cannot be resolved by arranging work hours to coincide with school hours. Flextime work schedules are available to only about 6 percent of all full-time workers. In 1980, 10 percent of the dual-earner couples were able to work different shifts so that one parent would always be at home with the children.

There are currently 24 million children under the age of 13 in need of care while their parents are out of the home. The most current reports from the Dept. of Health & Human Services and the Census Bureau indicate that there is space available in existing licensed centers and family homes for around 6 million children. (These official figures do not indicate the percentage of day care arrangements which are in for-profit centers. One estimate is that there are 22,000 for-profit centers nationwide.)

There are significant variations in the cost of child care based on geography, age of child and type of care ranging anywhere from $1,500 to $10,000 per year. The majority of parents pay about $3,000 per child per year for child care.

The median income of two parent households with two children was $25,338 in 1984; with two children in need of full day care, the cost in most cases would be $6,000 or nearly 25 percent of their income. The median income of single parent families in 1984 was $12,803; the cost of care for one child would likely be 25 percent of this income and 50 percent if two children needed care. For the person earning the minimum wage, $6,968 a year, the cost of caring for two children would be nearly 100 percent of his or her income. For all families, both the availability and the affordability of child care are of crisis proportions.

Federal Role

The federal government became significantly involved in supplying child care services during World War II. In the Lanham Act of 1942, Congress provided grants to states to provide care for children of mothers working in wartime industries. The program ended when the war ended.

Since then, the only comprehensive child care legislation to be passed by the Congress was enacted in 1971. The bill was vetoed by President Nixon on the grounds that enacting a comprehensive child care bill would destroy the American family and lead to sovietization of child rearing in this country. That message from the President has served to reinforce right-wing opposition enough to prevent the passage of any comprehensive legislation since then. Since 1971, bills to create a comprehensive federal child care program have never gotten as far as the floor of either house.

Some assistance for child care did make it through Congress in the '70s. In 1976, Congress enacted a child care tax credit for families of children under 15. The 1976 flat rate credit for dependent care was expanded in 1981 and made slightly more generous to low-income households, allowing a 30 percent credit for expenditures up to $2,400 for taxpayers with incomes of $10,000 or less. The credit is reduced gradually between incomes of $10,000 and $28,000, and those with incomes of $28,000 and up receive a deduction (not a credit) of 30 percent. A family earning $10,000 a year would have to pay $2,400 per year, nearly one-fourth of its income, to receive the maximum credit of $720. Over two-thirds of the annual $1.7 billion tax savings from this program goes to families with above-median incomes.

The Social Service Block Grant under Title XX of the Social Security Act was passed in 1974. The program provides grants to states to provide a wide variety of human services—of which child care is one—to families on welfare. (Technically, low-income working families not on welfare were eligible, but rarely was any funding available for these families.) To encourage the states to begin to address child care needs, the law required that a portion of the original $2 billion appropriation be set aside specifically for child care.

Some additional support programs were enacted during the '70s, such as the Child Care Food Program which helps offset the cost of food in child care programs. The CETA program was a source of funds for child care employees, and federal minimum standards for federally funded day care programs existed throughout the decade. Those standards, the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements, were never adequately enforced, but they did represent a federal policy that certain minimum protection should be provided to children in programs funded by the federal government.

As inadequate as the federal response to the critical need for child care was in the '70s, consisting primarily of some help for upper-income families through the tax code and some assistance for welfare families through Title XX, things got far worse in the '80s during the Reagan Administration. First, the Congress suspended the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements, abdicating any federal responsibility or role in requiring quality standards in the care provided to young children. In 1981, 21 percent was cut from the Title XX appropriation, reducing it from $3.1 billion to $2.4 billion and eliminating the earmarking for child care services. The CETA program was abolished and the Child Care Food Program cut by 30 percent.

A much pared-down Title XX remains the only source of direct federal support for child care services (outside of Head Start, which is in most cases a half-day program and not meant to provide care to children of working mothers). In fiscal 1986, the program is funded at $2.7 billion, and about 20 percent of that money is being spent on child care services. This funding is slated for a 4.3 percent reduction on Mar. 1, 1986, and an additional cut in October 1986, conservatively estimated at 18 per-

This article is taken from a background paper that accompanied the AFL-CIO Executive Council statement on Work and Family, adopted Feb. 21, 1986. Mary Logan is an assistant director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security.

Married Couple Families with Wife in Labor Force

	1965	1975	1985
Number of families	41.6 Mill.	47.0 Mill.	50.3 Mill.
Percent	100%	100%	100%
Wife in labor force	33	43	54
Wife not in labor force	67	57	47

Number of Earners in Families*

	1965	1975	1985
All Families	100%	100%	100%
No earners	8	11	15
One earner	44	35	29
Two or more earners	49	54	56

*Refers to number with earnings in previous year.

An important ingredient in the erosion of real family incomes between 1974 and 1984 was the drop in the real work earnings of men, (measured in 1984 dollars). Over the decade, the median real earnings of all male workers fell by 11 percent, with most of the decline taking place in the last 5 years. Even for those working year-round full-time, the drop was 7.2 percent over the 10-year period.

Families and Incomes

	Number of Families	Prior Year Median Income	Pct. Change in Income
	(Millions)	(1984 Dollars)	
1965	48.0	$21,970	—
1975	55.7	27,175	+23.7%
1985	62.7	26,433	−2.7%

The real income drop would have been even larger had it not been for the rising percentage of families with working wives.

The percentage of families with a working wife rose from 29 percent of all families in 1965 to 43 percent in 1985. This happened even though married couple families as a group fell from 87 percent of all families in 1965 to 80 percent in 1985.

gress, Pitiful Funding

cent, as a result of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act.

As a result of the continued efforts of children's advocates and evidence gathered at hearings conducted in 1984 by the Select Committee on Children & Youth documenting the seriousness of the situation, three omnibus bills were introduced in 1985 which addressed the need for child care. Congress has not passed any of these child care initiatives, nor has it funded the extremely modest program ($20 million per year) it authorized in 1984 for start-up costs for school-age care and resource and referral programs.

Maternal and Parental Leave

Although not directly relating to child care services, a bill being introduced in the Congress would improve parental leave policies in the workplace. The proposed Parental & Disability Leave Act would require employers to allow all female workers six months of unpaid maternity leave. It would also require employers to allow either parent four months of unpaid leave to care for a newborn, newly adopted or ill child while ensuring job security and continuing the worker's health insurance coverage during absence from work. Additional hearings were scheduled for early 1986.

Criminal Record Checks

Other federal involvement in the provision of child care resulted from the exposure in 1984 of instances of sexual assault and child abuse cases occurring in centers in Florida and New York. While child care advocates recommended higher salaries (earnings of day care professionals are about half those of public school teachers with equivalent degrees) and better training to attract competent workers to child care, Congress instead mandated that states institute state and national criminal record checking systems to be used on prospective employees. As no federal money was appropriated, the cost of setting up national criminal record checking systems is expected to cut deeply into the meager amount of federal funds for training of child care workers.

Insurance Crisis

The child abuse crisis has led to another dilemma in child care:lack of affordable liability insurance. With no concrete statistics on numbers of claims, insurance companies nationwide placed the child care industry in the same high-risk category as nuclear power plants. Liability policies for Head Start programs, child care centers and family day care homes were cancelled mid-term or premiums were raised as much as 1,000 percent. Since most states require centers to have liability insurance, many facilities were forced to close. Congressional leaders and state officials recognize the problem, have held some hearings, but have provided no relief. One national organization has been receiving 200 calls a week from frantic center-based providers. A coalition of child care advocates has been meeting with insurance carriers in efforts to find a solution.

State and Local Response

Although, by and large, the availability of funding for child care is still well below 1981 levels, at the urging of child care advocates, state and local governments have shown some movement in responding to the situation. Between 1984 and 1985, 30 states increased state funding by 4 percent or more. With inflation factored in, however, 35 states were spending less for child care services in 1985 than in 1981. Some states increased their child care budgets and/or adopted other measures to improve their child care systems.

Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, for instance, have increased state funding to help families afford child care and improved the wages for child care workers. Others, such as North Carolina and Ohio, while increasing state funding for child care services, have also created positions to strengthen their family day care licensing capacity and ability to respond to reports of licensing violations. Some states, like Iowa and New Jersey, have appropriated money to set up resource and referral offices guide parents to care where it exists. Wisconsin, Michigan, California, Florida and others are providing money for child care specifically to make it possible for some of the more than 550,000 adolescent females who give birth each year to finish high school.

A number of states, notably California and Massachusetts, have funded sizable child care programs as a part of the increasingly widespread and controversial workfare programs. California will spend $134 million a year to provide child care for children of welfare recipients while their parents participate in job training and placement programs. The program will provide up to $2,100 per child per year for care of school-age children.

Five states have loan or grant programs to help with the extremely prohibitive cost of the construction of new or renovation of existing day care facilities. Iowa provides some grant money to make physical improvements in existing centers. California offers an interest-free revolving fund for child care facilities. The city of San Francisco has responded to the high cost of constructing or renovating space for child care in downtown urban areas by requiring that any new building constructed in the center city have free space set aside for child care or that the builders contribute funds to pay for child care.

Public School Based Care

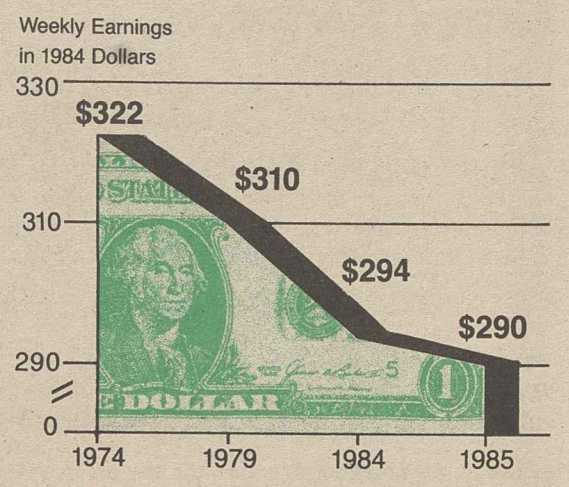
As state governments pay more attention to the plight of school-age children whose parents work outside the home, the schools are being encouraged to provide before and after school child care programs. (Up to 10 million children under the age of 13 are estimated to be left home alone in early morning and late afternoon.) Seven states have recently approved some amount of money to be spent on care for school-age children. Many programs involve schools contracting with community groups to provide care in a school setting.

There is also increased activity around the country in school-based pre-school programs. Those initiatives are in response both to the need for child care for working mothers and the desire to duplicate the success of the Head Start program's positive impact on the development of young children. In the past two years, seven states have been added to the twelve that have been providing some state funding for pre-school programs. Each new state takes a somewhat different approach.

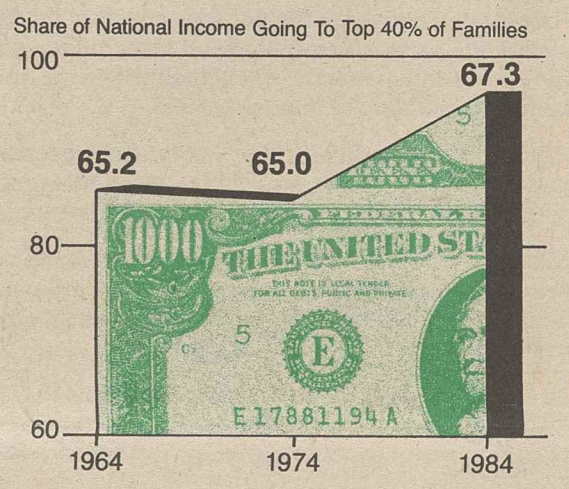
Massachusetts, for example, has authorized $20 million to help local schools deal with both child care and child development programs—$2 million of which will be used in 1985-86. Initiatives include setting up pre-school programs for three and

Profile of a Changing Society

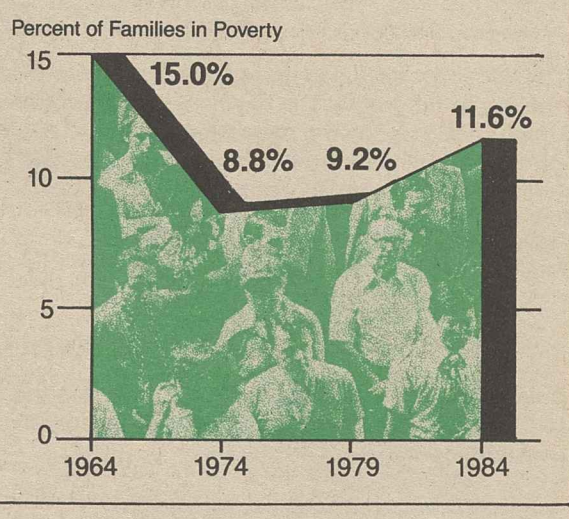
Workers Don't Make As Much



As Rich Get Richer



And Poor Get More Numerous



Average Weekly Earnings

Non-Farm Production and Nonsupervisory Workers (Annual Averages)

	In 1984 Dollars		In 1984 Dollars
1974	$332.42	Pct. Change:	
1979	310.61	1974-79	−3.7
1984	294.05	1979-84	−5.3
1985	290.98	Total 1974	-8.8
		1984-85	-1.0

In the decade 1964 to 1974, the percentage of families below the poverty line dropped sharply — from 15.0 percent to 8.8 percent. In the decade since 1874, family poverty has risen — reaching 11.6 percent as of 1984.

At the same time, the share of the top 5 percent of families, which was 15.9 percent in 1974, fell to 15.5 percent in 1974. But it rose to 16.0 percent in 1984.

Shares of Total Family Income

	1964	1974	1984
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Lowest 20 percent	5.1	5.5	4.7
2nd	12.0	12.0	11.0
3rd	17.7	17.5	17.0
4th	24.0	24.0	24.4
Highest	41.2	41.0	42.9
Top 5 percent	15.9	15.5	16.0

Families in Poverty

(Income Year)	Number of Families	Number of Poverty	Percent in Poverty
1964	47,835	7,160	13.0%
1974	55,698	4,922	8.8%
1979	59,550	5,461	9.2%
1984	62,706	7,277	11.6%

(Note: These figures relate to family units, not to number of persons.)

Over the same period the share of aggregate family income going to the families in the bottom 20 percent of income receiver showed much the same pattern. The bottom 20 percent of families received 5.1 percent of total family income in 1964. This rose to 5.5 percent in 1974, but dropped off to 4.7 percent in 1984.

SAMPLE CONTRACT CLAUSES

Leave of Absence for Birth or Adoption

Section 20 a. **A child care leave of absence without pay shall be granted to an employee (male or female) who becomes the parent of a child up to four years of age, either by birth or by adoption, for a period of up to forty-eight (48) months. The use of this maximum allowance will be limited to one instance only. All other child care leaves of an employee shall be limited to a thirty-six (36) month maximum.**

— AFSCME and Communications Workers city-wide contract with New York City

Workers' Absences for Sick Family

When serious illness in the worker's close family requires the worker's absence to care for the ill family member, the worker may take sick leave of up to 10 working days in any year. The worker's "close family" is limited to the worker's spouse, children, parents, parents-in-law, brothers or sisters, grandparents or grandchildren, or other dependent family member living in the worker's household.

— Service Employees contract at Leland Stanford Junior University

Flexible Hours for Various Needs

Flexible hours shall be arranged for any employee who has need, provided the operation of the department continues to function. Reasons for such flexibility may be but are not limited to school needs for children, medical needs, or daytime classes which are not available outside of regular working hours.

— UAW contract at Barnard College

Child Care Facility at the Department

Article 34. Section 1. **The parties agree that the Department shall provide and maintain a child care facility, including space, office equipment, playground equipment, supplies, telephones and maintenance services for the maximum number of children within the space currently used. All such equipment and services shall be for the duration of this Agreement.**

Section 2. **The parties agree that the management of the facility shall be undertaken by the Department of Labor Day Care Center, Inc., for the life of this Agreement. Each party shall designate one representative to serve on the Board of Directors of the Center, Inc.**

Section 3. **The facility is dedicated to serve the needs of the employees of the U.S. Department of Labor. Priority on admission shall be given to children of U.S. DOL employees. Children whose parents are not employees of the Department may be admitted only when no child of an employee of the Department is available to fill an appropriate vacancy.**

Section 4. **Each parent member of any governing body of the Center, Inc., shall be allowed up to two (2) hours per month of administrative leave to attend meetings of that body. Each parent shall be allowed up to two (2) hours of administrative leave per month to attend meetings of the Center.**

Section 5. **If the use of appropriated funds is authorized by any source which could affect the (scope or activities) operation of the DOL Day Care Center, Inc., negotiations on this article may be reopened at the request of either party.**

— AFGE contract at the US Department of Labor

Employer Contributions to Child Care

The employer shall pay up to $500 per year towards child care expenses per family for children of pre-school age (up to 1st grade). The payment will be pro-rated for parttimers. The Voice will advance the funds to the Union based upon employee's registration at the Voice. The Union will thereafter administer the payments based on vouchers proving child care expenses. Any amount of funds not spent will be applied toward the Security Fund Voice accounting.

— UAW contract at the Village Voice

Baby Sitters Pay During Overtime

Employees whose childrn are at day care centers or being cared for by baby sitters shall receive, in addition to the overtime outlined in the Article, seventy-five (75) cents per hour baby sitting allotment for each overtime hour.

— Office and Professional Employees contract at Margolis, McTernan, Scope & Sacks

A Joint Committee on Child Care Facility

Section 1. **In recognition that the composition of the bargaining unit includes over 2,000 women, many of whom are "working mothers" and that due to a lack of adequate child care facilities at reasonable cost available in the greater Washington Metropolitan area, the Employer and the Union agree to establish a Joint Child Care Committee, composed of three members selected by the Union and an equal number selected by the employer to study the need for child care and prepare recommendations based on the need.**

Section 2. **The Committee will meet within 30 days after this Agreement is signed and will issue their recommendations not more than six months later. The Employer agrees to give technical support of the Committee, as required, and to seriously consider their recommendations for implementation. Committee recommendations cannot conflict with this Agreement or applicable laws and regulations.**

Section 3. **The Employer considers all Committee members as performing official work, therefore, Committee members shall not suffer loss of pay or leave while serving as a Committee member.**

Section 4. **During the first month, the Committee Chairman will be selected by the members appointed by the Employer; the second month, the Chairman will be selected by the Union members and the Chairmanship shall alternate monthly until completion of the Committee's assignment. The Committee, at their option, may select a permanent Chairman by majority vote. The Committee shall meet at the call of the Chairman.**

— AFGE contract at General Services Administration

four-year-olds, expanding and improving kindergarten programs, and sponsoring new programs that meet the needs of the community. Schools may contract with Head Start and other child care programs to provide services. The state board of education must establish a state office of early childhood education, develop new criteria and standards, involve parents and child development specialists and in general take all the steps necessary to refocus its efforts in a manner that would be suitable for the care and development of infants. California, Washington and Maine appear to be taking a similar approach, whereas some other state plans are less comprehensive.

Employer and Union Involvement

The number of union and non-union employers offering some kind of child care assistance to employees has tripled in the past three years. However, this increase brings the total to only about 1,800 of the estimated 6 million U.S. employers, and the benefits range from providing actual child care services to offering noon-time seminars on parenting. An estimated 855 offer some kind of financial assistance including vouchers; about 550 provide on or near site care (400 of these employers are hospitals); 300 provide information and referral services; and others offer a sick child program which permits a parent leave to care for a sick child.

The success of unions which have pursued child care at the bargaining table has been limited, but in many ways accounts for the increase in the number of employers looking into child care. The negotiating process on this issue is extremely arduous and in many cases, where the union is able to overcome employer resistance, the result has been merely an agreement to set up a joint labor-management committee to study the problem. This is followed in many cases by years of struggle which may or may not culminate in the employer participating in the actual provision of child care services. Far more often, the result has been employer involvement in information and referral services or holding seminars on child care.

Some unions, such as the Ladies' Garment Workers in New York City, have started centers themselves and have then been able to get employer contributions. The Clothing & Textile Workers was one of the first to open and operate child care centers for its members which were financed from the union's health and welfare funds. The Service Employees International Union has successfully negotiated a number of contracts with hospitals beginning with Kaiser in California. A Food & Commerical Workers local in Colorado recently authorized its officers to purchase a child care center in Colorado for its members. A local of the Communications Workers in Florida put together a detailed directory of child care centers in the area and distributed it to potential members as an organizing technique.

The New York City chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) recently acted to fill the void created by the lack of information and hard data on what has been done so far and what could be done through the collective bargaining process. CLUW published a report that lays out the variety of issues involved, such as assessing the needs of workers, flexible work schedules, creating information and referral services, and providing center care. The document includes contract language that various unions have successfully negotiated (samples are reprinted with this article) and recommended additional model language.

There is a clear need for continuing and reliable data and further assistance to unions in negotiating for child care benefits. However, as the CLUW report observes, "Bargaining for child care does not eliminate or diminish the need for political action to assure sufficient public funding and appropriate regulation of child care facilities. Unless child care facilities exist in a community, employer-provided subsidies will assist only a small number of workers. If state building and health code regulations are lax, permitting substandard centers to exist, working parents will endure the added stress of constant concern for their children's welfare."

While there is visible progress on the state level with 25 percent of the states enacting some child care programs, movement is slow and funding is less than adequate. Thirty-five states provided care for fewer children in 1985 than in 1981, and with the serious budget cuts expected, spending on child care is not likely to accelerate at a rate that comes close to filling the need. With the urgent focus on deficit reduction, action on the federal level is likely to continue to be negligible. The need is clear for unions along with other advocates for families and children to press ahead to seek increased state and congressional support for child care.

Denial of rights

U.S. drug-testing plan denounced by AFGE

A proposal to subject all federal workers to drug tests is "morally repugnant and repulsive to a free society," Government Employees President Kenneth T. Blaylock testified before the House Human Resources subcommittee.

The subcommittee hearings focused on a recommendation by the President's Commission on Organized Crime that federal employees and applicants for federal jobs be tested for evidence of drug use. The commission also suggested that federal contracts be denied to companies that don't drug-test employees.

Blaylock told the panel that the AFGE and its members "detest drugs" and "the criminals that prey upon the weak and susceptible."

The union "has long sought to negotiate strong drug and alcohol treatment programs," he testified. The AFGE supports additional funding for drug prevention and interdiction programs, Blaylock said. "We stand ready to enlist all federal workers and their families to put a halt to the illegal drug trade."

There is already a federal policy to offer appropriate drug prevention, treatment and rehabilitation programs in the federal service, Blaylock said. "Yet all too often," he testified, "we see paper programs with no money or skilled personnel to back them up."

Universal drug testing is being proposed at the same time that Customs Service funds to stop drug smugglers are being cut back, he pointed out.

Invasion of privacy

Blaylock noted the possibility of error in drug testing but said the AFGE would oppose such a wholesale invasion of privacy in the absence of any indication of a special problem.

No employer, not even the federal government, should subject an entire workforce to drug testing as a condition of employment "without overwhelming need because of the nature of the job or reasonable cause," he said.

Blaylock told the panel that the AFGE is increasingly concerned at the singling out of federal workers as second-class citizens, in such matters as political and union rights, and in requirements for lie detector testing as well as proposals for drug testing.

There are those in the Administration, he charged, who would "separate federal employees from the rest of the workforce, to create a second-class workforce stripped of fundamental rights of citizenship, politically neutered, and thus subject to political manipulation and ideological conformity."

An official of the commission that recommended the drug tests complained that the subcommittee tried to embarrass him by requesting that he take a drug test before testifying in support of mandatory testing of federal workers.

Subcommittee Chairman Gary L. Ackerman (D-N.Y.) presented Rodney Smith, deputy director of the crime commission, with a specimen bottle and asked him to go to the men's room with a witness present so that a urine sample could be collected for a drug test.

Another commission staff member protested that Congress had no right to require drug tests "without having probable cause or reasonable suspicion that this test needs to be taken."

The issue of probable cause "is exactly what this hearing is about," Ackerman retorted. The same question applies as to whether government workers should be required to take such tests without a special reason to do so, he said.

LaRouche cult victories stun Illinois Democrats

The surprise victory of two followers of the Lyndon LaRouche cult in the Illinois Democratic primary knocked the state election campaign into disarray and turned the spotlight on a political movement that most people had considered too extreme to be taken seriously.

While former Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III easily defeated a LaRouche candidate in the gubernatorial primary, two virtually unknown LaRouche supporters defeated mainstream Democrats for lieutenant governor and secretary of state. Stevenson said he will abandon running on the Democratic ticket rather than be linked with the lieutenant governor nominee, Mark Fairchild.

LaRouche, whose political front is called the National Democratic Policy Committee and has also gone under the name of the U.S. Labor Party, has mixed hate-filled rhetoric of the extreme left and the extreme right. His organization says it will field 149 candidates for the House, 14 for the Senate, six for governor and 618 for other offices in this year's primaries.

NFLPA Executive Director Gene Upshaw explains planned drug abuse prevention program at press conference. At rear, from left, FPA Sec.-Treas. Doug Allen, Mark Murphy, assistant to Upshaw, and Neil Olkewicz, player-representative on the Washington Redskins.

NFL players' union drafts its own anti-drug program

By Arlee C. Green

The National Football League Players Association announced a drug abuse prevention program requiring annual testing of all players, permitting random testing under certain conditions, and setting stiff fines and treatment for those found to be using drugs.

The NFLPA executive committee unanimously adopted the comprehensive prevention program on Mar. 15, NFLPA Executive Director Gene Upshaw announced.

Upshaw, president of the Federation of Professional Athletes, stressed during a news conference at AFL-CIO headquarters that the league's 1,600 players recognize "we have a responsibility to football and to the society in which we live." But he stressed the union's continued opposition to random drug testing of all players. They "shouldn't have to provide evidence everyday that they are not guilty," Upshaw said.

The proposed NFLPA program will be voted on by the union's 28 player representatives at their Apr. 22 meeting in Hawaii, Upshaw said. After that, the plan will be submitted to the league's Management Council. Upshaw noted that the program could be implemented in time for the opening of the 1986 NFL season.

Current contract language provides that all players submit to urinalysis testing during the annual pre-season physical. In addition, when the team doctor has "reasonable cause" to believe a player is using drugs, the player must submit to another urinalysis test.

Under the NFLPA proposal, players testing positive in either test would then have to be treated by an independent medical facility and submit to random testing by that facility for the rest of the season.

After treatment, if a player fails another random urinalysis test, he would be fined an amount equal to payment for one game (one-sixteenth of his annual salary), with the money going to fund the drug program, Upshaw said.

Suspension from the NFL would be the penalty for failing the third urinalysis test. The suspension would be reviewed after one year by a joint committee of union, management and medical members, Upshaw said.

To assure confidentiality, a $50,000 fine will be assessed against "any person who violates the confidentiality provisions of the collective bargaining agreement," he said.

Upshaw emphasized that the union wants to clarify how random sampling will be used.

Mark Murphy, a former Washington Redskin and now assistant to the NFLPA executive director, stressed that union members "want to take steps to clean up the game. But the approach has to be a comprehensive program" that includes not just testing, but education, counseling, and orientation for rookie players.

FPA Sec.-Treas. Doug Allen cited a number of problems that exist now because "reasonable cause" for testing is not defined. In some clubs, he said, a player can be tested "if he is late for a meeting or if he seemed sluggish in the second half of the Miami game." In other clubs, the team doctors say they aren't sure what reasonable cause is and need guidelines, he added.

Pressure mounts

Redskins' player representative Neil Olkewicz maintained that random testing is not acceptable to the players. Noting that pressure appears to be growing to test athletes for drug use, Olkewicz pointed to other professions, such as heart surgeons and pilots, where there is no outcry for routine testing.

Under the NFLPA plan, a player would be required to submit to a "reasonable cause" urinalysis if he tested positive in the pre-season physical or if there was substantial medical or physical evidence of the use of illegal drugs. The test also would be triggered if there was any "objective evidence" of illegal drug use or sale provided by a law enforcement agency, or if another player witnessed the sale or use of drugs.

Judgment as to whether the "reasonable cause" criteria are met will be made by the independent treatment facility. The accuracy of any positive test would have to be confirmed by a second test of the same urine sample, Upshaw noted.

Reagan's huge tax breaks failed to spur U.S. firms to expand export production

Instead of spurring American corporations to increase exports, tax incentives have actually undermined American competitiveness in world markets, Citizens for Tax Justice declared.

The organization reported that of the 31 top exporting firms, those with higher tax rates increased their exports between 1981 and 1984, while those paying little or no taxes had lower exports.

Eleven profitable firms—which not only paid no taxes but actually reaped combined rebates of $838 million—reduced their exports by 15 percent from 1981 to 1984.

They included Boeing Co., Dow Chemical Co., General Electric, DuPont, Lockheed Corp., Northrop Corp., Union Carbide, Weyerhauser Co., International Paper Co., Allied Corp., and International Minerals & Chemicals.

The decline in exports by these firms, coupled with export losses chalked up by six other large companies, accounted for one-third of the total decline in U.S. merchandise exports in the four years following enactment of the Reagan tax cuts of 1981.

In contrast, the 10 top exporters paid an average rate of 16.7 percent in federal taxes, yet managed to boost their exports by 22 percent over the same period.

Taking sharp exception with the claims of corporate lobbyists that tax breaks are needed to improve U.S. performance in international trade, CTJ charged that the preoccupation of no-tax companies with "chasing after tax dodges . . . reduced their ability to compete effectively."

Since the Reagan tax cuts of 1981, the organization noted, the annual cost to the government for corporate tax subsidies has tripled, to $120 billion in this fiscal year.

Meanwhile, CTJ said, the U.S. merchandise trade balance went from a surplus in 1981 to a record deficit of close to $140 billion last year, with merchandise imports in 1985 topping exports by a staggering 70 percent.

"To maintain in the face of this track record that loopholes are good for trade shows an almost boundless chutzpah on the part of the lobbyists for no-tax companies," Robert S. McIntyre, CTJ's federal tax policy director, asserted.

'Loophole lobbyists'

"If anyone were to argue that federal welfare payments encourage people to go to work, he'd be laughed at," McIntyre continued. "Yet the loophole lobbyists often are taken seriously when they claim that corporate welfare will spur companies to be more productive and more competitive."

Citizens for Tax Justice is a research and lobbying group supported by a coalition of labor unions, churches, public interest groups and community-based organizations. It recently presented Congress with petitions bearing more than a million signatures, urging that corporate America be required to pay a fair share of the tax burden.

In releasing its study on how the nation's export capability fared in the face of the tax bonanza that the Administration lavished on corporations, CTJ declared:

"Tax breaks that on the surface seem beneficial to a particular company or industry's cash flow can produce harmful economic effects that undermine America's international competitiveness."

The report pointed, in particular, to the key role that corporate tax loopholes have played in producing the enormous federal budget deficits. At $120 billion a year, CTJ said, corporate tax subsidies now account for well over half the budget deficit.

These budget deficits pushed up real interest rates to record levels, making the U.S. dollar more attractive to foreign investors seeking to purchase U.S. corporate and government bonds. This, in turn, sent the international exchange rate of the dollar skyrocketing. While the dollar has dipped in recent months, it remains far above its pre-1981 level against most major currencies.

"It's no wonder so many American companies are having trouble competing in world trade, given the awesome price disadvantage that the high dollar has created," McIntyre noted.

Citizens for Tax Justice urged the Senate to "reject the tired, discredited and self-defeating arguments of the loophole lobbyists and to join with the House of Representatives in giving back to the American people a tax code we can believe in."

Drive reopens for nationwide industrial plan

The AFL-CIO welcomed a new effort to move an industrial policy bill through Congress and said the need is even greater than when the House Economic Stabilization Subcommittee took up the legislation in the previous Congress.

The labor-backed bill, introduced by Subcommittee Chairman John J. LaFalce (D-N.Y.), would create a 16-member Council on Industrial Competitiveness, with members drawn from government, business, labor, academia and the public. It would make recommendations on measures needed to strengthen key U.S. industries, setting up specialized subcommittees where appropriate.

AFL-CIO Deputy Research Director Henry B. Schechter cited the rising trade deficit as evidence that the Administration's "hands-off policy" hasn't worked. The United States has continued to transfer its high-level technology as well as labor-intensive jobs to other countries, he testified.

Countering imports

Schechter said a high-level industrial council, as provided by the legislation, would be able to press the case for remedies for unfair trade practices as well as more directly help lagging sectors of U.S. industry catch up with foreign competitors.

LaFalce did not reintroduce the most controversial element of the previous industrial policy legislative package—a proposed Bank for Industrial Competitiveness that would combine federal loan guarantees and private-sector funding to finance industrial modernization projects.

Schechter acknowledged the problems of mustering a congressional majority for establishment of a bank at this time. But he urged that the legislation establishing an industrial competitiveness council include a directive to recommend a financing mechanism "to help attract private, long-term capital for new production facilities."

Commitment to justice

New York AFL-CIO President Edward J. Cleary, center, receives the Eugene V. Debs award of the Social Democrats USA from Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store President Alvin E. Heaps in recognition of Cleary's commitment to labor justice. With them, from left, are Bayard Rustin, national chairman of the Social Democrats, and President Sandra Feldman of the United Federation of Teachers, the dinner cochairs, and Social Democrats' Executive Director Rita Freedman.

High court rules agency shop valid for public employees

The Supreme Court upheld the principle of the agency shop for public employees in two separate actions that indicated their legality hinged only on the presence of adequate internal union mechanisms to deal with the proper use of nonmembers' money.

In one case, the court refused to hear a challenge to a New Jersey statute that not only allowed the agency shop but also authorized public employee unions to include lobbying costs in the agency fee assessed against nonunion members.

Although they upheld the legality of the agency shop in the second case, the justices sent it back to the California courts for readjudication, contending that the parties must exhaust all union remedies before turning to the courts for relief.

The high court's actions followed on the heels of an earlier decision that a Chicago Teachers local had not established a satisfactory system for isolating bargaining and contract administration costs as the basis for agency shop assessments.

In the New Jersey case, nonmembers challenged the validity of a state law permitting the use of agency shop fees for lobbying purposes. The legislature included that provision in its agency shop statute in recognition of the fact that not all public employee job-related issues can be resolved through collective bargaining and that unions therefore had the right to put their case before lawmakers.

The California case reached the courts when the California Teachers Association sued 108 teachers to collect agency shop fees as provided for in their 1981 contract with the San Jose school district. The contract requires all teachers to either become union members or pay a service fee equal to membership dues, initiation fees and other payments and assessments.

The nonunion teachers refused to abide by the contract provisions, claiming that a portion of the assessment would be used for political and ideological purposes in violation of their First Amendment rights of free speech and association.

Two lower courts rejected the union's argument that a valid procedure existed to provide rebates, but the California Supreme Court reversed their findings and directed the dissenting teachers to pay the required fee and then seek redress through the state's Public Employment Relations Board.

In overturning California's highest court, the Supreme Court relied on its decision in the Chicago case, suggesting that the union should have used its own internal machinery for handling such complaints before bringing the recalcitrant teachers to court.

Shanker calls on teachers to accept education reform

Toronto—Teachers President Albert Shanker brought his campaign for quality education to the New York State United Teachers convention here, urging delegates to take charge of their profession and accept the risks and responsibility of education reform.

"I believe if teachers are seen as the people with ideas and the power to try out those ideas, we will attract and keep a lot of top people who otherwise would not consider teaching as a profession," Shanker said. He reminded the delegates that the nation faces the prospect of losing more than a million teachers over the next seven years.

Nearly 2,000 delegates, representing some 260,000 teachers and education professionals throughout the state, attended the union's 14th annual convention.

Shanker said an innovative "peer review" program, in which experienced teachers evaluate and train new teachers, needs to be tried in more schools and he urged delegates to consider such measures.

He also renewed his call for national teacher certification boards that would establish licensing procedures for educators similar to those for doctors and attorneys. Teachers certified by the boards would be eligible for higher salaries and expanded responsibilities.

Nontraditional approach

"What we do now will affect the quality of education for the next generation," Shanker said, adding that "we can't solve the problem with traditional answers."

Delegates voiced their approval of Shanker's program, adopting an action plan to increase support for "giving teachers a greater professional voice in education decisions."

The convention also stressed the need for effective recruiting measures to find and retain quality teachers and called for a statewide yearly minimum salary of $20,000. Currently, about 14 percent of the state's public school teachers earn less than $19,000 a year, the convention noted.

The convention also called for improvement of teachers' work environments by "reducing class sizes, teaching loads and paperwork." Such conditions "hamper recruitment efforts and restrict our abilities to be true professionals," the union declared.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, in an address to the delegates, reviewed the findings of the federation's Evolution of Work Committee and the recommendations outlined in its report. "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions."

Donahue noted that the report is the subject of debate and discussion in union circles across the country and holds "enormous promise for us," especially in suggesting ways to meet the needs of union members and other workers through new programs and activities.

Donahue pointed to the associate member program being developed and the plan to reduce organizing disputes between unions as evidence of labor's willingness to focus on the needs of workers "today and tomorrow."

He also reviewed results of a survey conducted by an independent polling firm that found 78 percent of union members well-satisfied with the services provided by their unions.

In other convention business, the delegates condemned the censorship tactics of "Accuracy in Academia" on college campuses and vowed to fight censorship in the schools; reaffirmed their opposition to South African apartheid, and established a health and safety committee to examine the problem of hazardous materials and substances in schools.

The NYSUT represents public school teachers and educators in the state university network as well as state employees and health care workers.

Fire fighters, police support flexibility on early retirement

Unions representing fire fighters and police officers across the country urged Congress to amend the federal age discrimination law and allow cities and states to continue early retirement provisions for these high-hazard occupations.

Fire Fighters Legislative Director Harold Schaitberger and Police Associations President Robert B. Kliesmet stressed their unions' support for the principle of barring arbitrary age discrimination in employment, along with other forms of job discrimination.

They contended, however, that the physical demands and harsh stress on law enforcement and fire fighting personnel make an age ceiling a valid employment standard.

"Fire fighting is one of the most dangerous professions in the world," Schaitberger testified before the House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities and the Senate Labor Subcommittee. "Fire fighters who are not in top physical condition endanger themselves, their co-workers and the communities they serve."

Kliesmet said the early retirement provisions common in law enforcement reflect the special pressures and demands of the work and serve a legitimate purpose.

The exact age for a retirement program, he suggested, should continue to be negotiated on the local level.

A Supreme Court decision last year struck down a Baltimore law requiring retirement of fire fighters at age 55, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has been pressing local and state governments to scrap mandatory retirement requirements that are often linked to pension plans. Legislation to allow age limits for public safety jobs has been introduced in both the House and Senate with numerous cosponsors.

Labor fights diversion of jobless funds

Funds set aside for unemployment insurance payments shouldn't be diverted to other programs, the AFL-CIO insisted at House hearings.

Various bills being considered by a House Ways & Means subcommittee would authorize the use of funds from state unemployment insurance trust funds for programs intended to assist dislocated workers, such as victims of plant closing.

There is no "surplus" in the UI trust funds, James N. Ellenberger testified. An assistant director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, Ellenberger pointed out that unemployment insurance reserves are still recovering from the last recession, and the system remains chronically underfunded even at the existing low level of benefits and coverage.

Ellenberger reminded the subcommittee that most jobless workers aren't receiving unemployment compensation, and only 1 percent of the 1.2 million persons unemployed for 27 weeks or longer qualify for extended benefits. Further, he noted, the average benefit is only 35 percent of the average wage in covered employment.

Trust funds coveted

Ellenberger expressed the AFL-CIO's concern that, in a time of budget constraints, the $16 billion in UI trust funds is beginning to be eyed as a source of revenue to fund new programs.

The AFL-CIO's position, he stressed, is that "unemployment compensation must be reserved for the purpose for which it is intended—temporary income support, enabling the jobless to continue to provide themselves and their dependents with the essentials of life: food, clothing and shelter."

The "most troubling" proposal before the subcommittee, Ellenberger testified, would allow states to provide a lump-sum unemployment compensation payment to help individuals become self-employed. The suggestion to tap unemployment insurance funds presumably stems from budget cutbacks in small business assistance programs, but the proposal should be rejected, he urged.

Self-employment

Ellenberger did support a related concept, that work-search requirements for persons receiving unemployment compensation should not be used to disqualify from benefits an individual who is attempting to make a living as a self-employed person. Also, he suggested, "if several unemployed workers are attempting to pool their efforts to take over or restart an enterprise, they too should be eligible to draw on their unemployment benefit entitlements."

While rejecting tapping unemployment insurance funds, Ellenberger noted that the AFL-CIO has been involved with the Labor Dept. and with the states on projects to deal with long-term unemployment and dislocated workers. "We will continue to do so," he stressed.

EDITORIALS

Uncommon Sense

THERE WAS more than political gamesmanship in the decision of House Democrats to bring President Reagan's proposed budget to a vote.

If the Reagan budget had made any real sense, House Republicans would have welcomed the chance to line up behind the program of a popular president. But only a lonely 12 of them voted for the budget. The rest either abstained or joined in the 312-12 vote rejecting it.

The bipartisan message is that the Reagan budget does not make sense.

It clearly doesn't make sense to propose to pay for another big rise in military spending with further deep cuts in already battered domestic programs. Nor does it make sense to insist, as President Reagan continues to insist, that tax reforms must be "revenue-neutral" and not used to meet deficit reduction targets.

That's why so many concerned organizations are joining together to advocate "a common sense budget" and to promote a penny campaign that sends this message to Congress:

- Don't cut essential programs.
- Don't exempt military spending from cuts and make the domestic sector bear the full burden.
- Reduce the deficit by making profitable corporations and wealthy individuals pay a fair share of taxes.

It's a message that makes a lot of sense.

More Foxes

ONE OF THE more outrageous appointments of the Reagan Administration brought Hugh Reilly, the "right-to-work" lawyer, into the sensitive post of solicitor of the National Labor Relations Board. Now, there was a "fox in the chicken coop" if there ever was one.

Mr. Reilly, perhaps having run out of chickens, has returned to his old job with the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation. But this Administration, unfortunately, has a seemingly endless supply of foxes.

Take Robert E. Rader Jr., the President's choice to serve on the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission. The Administration must have searched long and hard to find such an ideological denmate.

This is the lawyer who mapped strategy to keep OSHA inspectors out of workplaces. Who better could be found to sit in judgment over whether OSHA's modest fines for serious safety and health violations are excessive?

One of the great changes of our times has been the stripping away of the overt barriers of discrimination and segregation that for generations held down southern blacks. Some very distinguished jurists, appointed by Republican and Democratic presidents alike, helped achieve this progress.

Now we are seeing the nomination of judges whose expressions of overt prejudice reflect an insensitivity that most of us hoped was rapidly disappearing from public life.

The Senate has from time to time exercised its constitutional right to refuse confirmation to presidential nominees who are clearly unfit. Surely this is such a time.

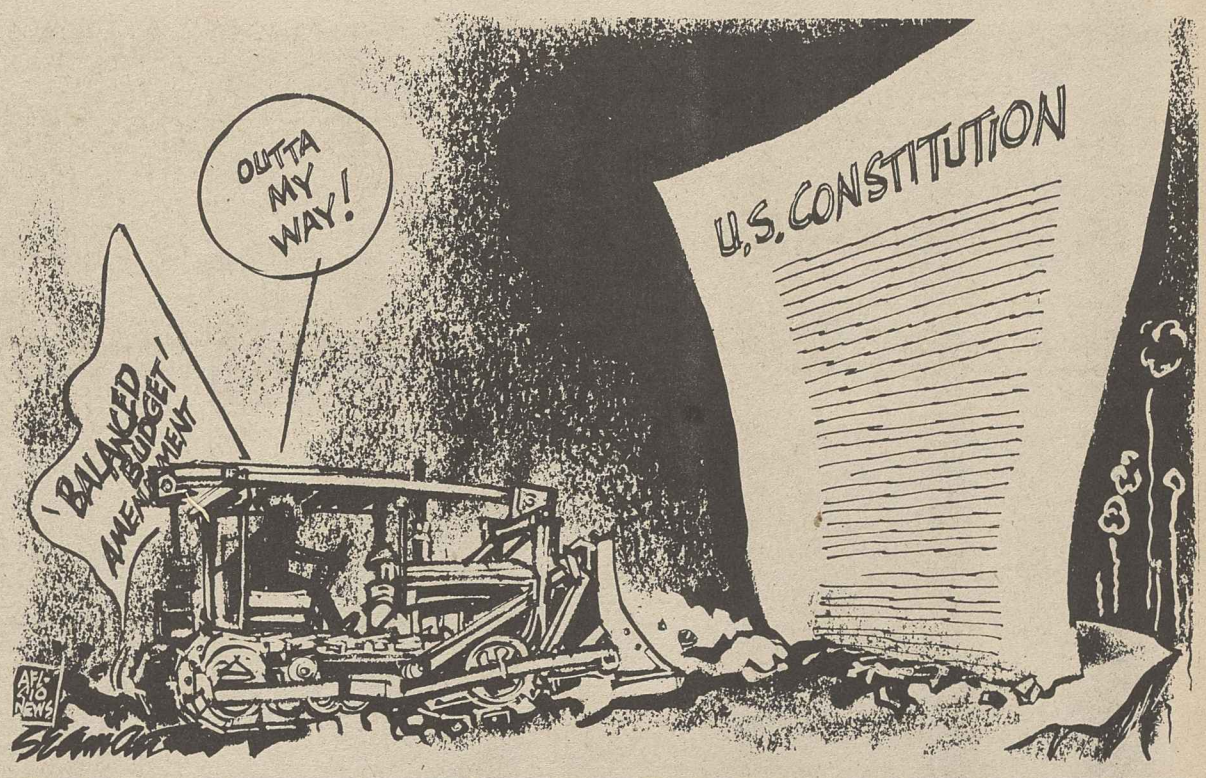
Out of the Woodwork

THE TRADE UNION movement was one of the first targets of the craziness represented by the Lyndon LaRouche cult, which has swung so erratically from the far extremes of the left to the wildest edges of the right.

Its founder sees international conspiracies as exotic as an alliance between Britain's Queen Elizabeth and Israeli intelligence agents. The Swedish suspect interrogated after the assassination of Prime Minister Olof Palme was associated with one of the LaRouche group's international fronts.

It is against this background that the surprise victory of LaRouche candidates in the Illinois Democratic primary is a cause for such dismay. Obviously, the vast majority of those who voted for the LaRouche candidates did not identify the deceptively named National Democratic Policy Committee with the extremist views of its founder.

The trade union press had a major role in cutting through the camouflage of LaRouche front groups when the labor movement was his target. The need for public exposure is certainly no less when the control of government is at stake.



'Uncompromising viciousness'

'Movement' conservatives undermine key programs

By Ben Albert
Editor, COPE Memo

Behind the smiling—and apparently, to the public, engaging—face of the Administration in Washington is a grimmer and much more menacing visage. From time to time it surfaces in a feature here and a feature there into a more alarming mosaic.

For example, piecing together a few events in recent weeks, a picture emerges of just how deeply committed this Administration and its entrenched right-wing ideologues are to permanently setting this government on a rightward path.

- A nominee for the Occupational Safety & Health Administration is found to have spent a good part of his professional life advising managements to defy, or to skirt, OSHA.
- A nominee for a major judicial post is discovered to have expressed publicly his belief in the "un-Americanism" of such respected organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- And, tellingly, this Administration's former Secretary of Education, Terrell Bell—himself a conservative—reveals how "movement conservatives" tried to impose "radical and off-the-wall ideas" on him and the Dept. of Education.

Far-right network

Bell, who served throughout the first four years of the Reagan Administration, tells how he constantly had to fend off appointees from the far-right network who "enjoyed . . . extraordinary privileges and automatic forgiveness" from the White House.

The right-wing clique stuck together in their haberdashery as well as their ideology. They were identifiable, Bell says, by their "Adam Smith neckties."

Their goal, he said, was the eradication of every federal education program. It is interesting that they in part succeeded. Their President recommended originally the abolition of the Education Dept. itself and has succeeded in cutting back programs like education aid to the handicapped, civil rights enforcement in education and student financial aid.

The ultimate goal of the "zealots" of the right, as Bell calls them, he says is the destruction of public education to be replaced by tuition-charging private schools run by businesses seeking profit.

(Bell's scorn for the right-wingers and their attacks on education programs takes on added impact when it's recalled that he was appointed by Reagan in the first place to preside over dissolution of the Education Dept. His own views changed to regard for the department itself and to a protective sympathy and respect for federal aid-to-education programs. He departed a strong supporter of public education and a strong proponent of government aid.)

Frightening impact

Bell is careful to distinguish "movement conservatives" from more traditional GOP conservatives who, he states, "are frightened by the uncompromising viciousness of this movement."

Indeed, perhaps we all have reason to be frightened by its "uncompromising viciousness."

What Bell cites as their impact on education programs and prospects can easily be applied to virtually every area of what is presently viewed as federal responsibility.

In all federal departments, appointees from among "movement conservatives" abound. They are not all as visible as, for example, James Watt, or Ann Burford, or Ed Meese, or Pat Buchanan.

But they are there, in place, operating mostly out of public view, but apparent and influential in the proposals that come down from the Olympus of the White House and eager in their implementation when the Congress accepts them.

It's bad enough to have to put up with them in the Reagan era. Many will outlast the administration they now serve, ultra-conservative moles waiting for the light of another right-wing leadership to lead them out of concealment.

Even after Reagan, they can continue to do untold damage—in seeing that bad programs on the books are administered with zeal or in diluting the good that decent programs can achieve. This cadre—this right-wing cadre—will be the lasting legacy of Reaganism.

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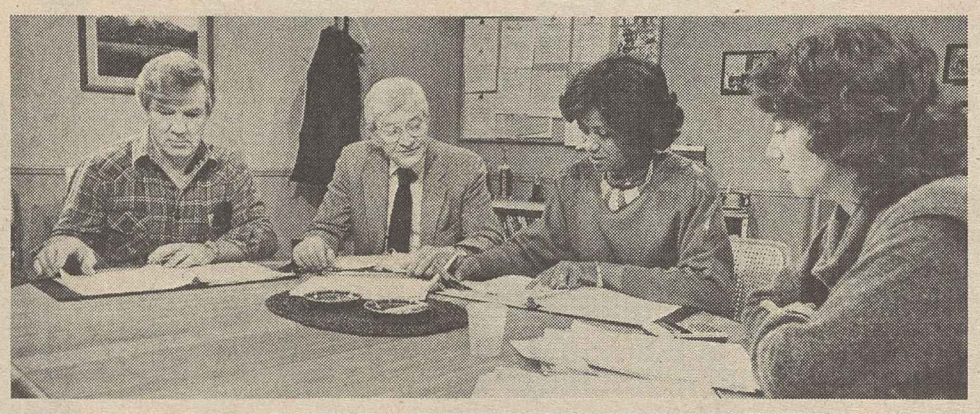

Union and "management" teams in videotape of simulated bargaining over health care. Union group in top photo includes, from left, John Flemming, Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers; Pat Glenn, Rubber Workers; Lana Felton, Hospital & Health Care Workers, and Meredith Miller, Service Employees. Management group includes, from left, James Kennedy, executive assistant to the AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer; Ray MacDonald, Steelworkers; Linda Lampkin, AFSCME, and Pat Killeen, UAW.

Health care teleconference to focus on cost containment

The AFL-CIO teleconference on health care, set for Apr. 21 and 22, will feature a unique series of videotapes that play out bargaining sessions on health care cost containment between management and union representatives at a fictional company.

The videotape program, created by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs, casts health care specialists from nine unions and AFL-CIO staff members as negotiators who meet over a 12-month period to discuss health benefits and costs at "Mammoth Stores," a fictional department store chain.

The simulated meetings dramatize employer demands for lower health costs through reduced benefits and highlight options unions can pursue to hold down costs to members and the company, while maintaining benefits. The program also stresses the importance of working with insurance carriers, health care providers, legislators and other parties to limit increases in health costs.

Health care discussion

The video program, called "Crisis," will be just one feature of the AFL-CIO conference on protecting workers' health care benefits, sponsored by the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security and the George Meany Center for Labor Studies.

Through satellite hookup and transmission coordinated by LIPA, trade unionists, health experts and labor educators at 17 universities will review changes in bargaining for health care coverage and new cost-containment initiatives during the two-day broadcast. The teleconference technique also allows for a question-and-answer session involving participants at the various sites. Panel discussions by health care specialists representing 19 unions also are on the agenda.

Labor educators and directors of university labor studies programs who are coordinating arrangements at the videoconference sites will attend a planning session next month at the Meany Studies Center. Trade unionists interested in attending the health care videoconference should get in touch with the coordinator at the nearest participating university.

The coordinators, all representing labor studies programs at their universities, include:

Morris Fried, University of Connecticut, Storrs; Mary Lehman, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.; Richard Hindle, Penn State University, University Park; Richard Humphreys, West Virginia University, Morgantown; Edgar Lee, University of the District of Columbia; David Patton, Ohio State University, Columbus; Lee Balliet, Indiana University, Bloomington; Hal Stack, Wayne State University, Detroit; Neil VandeVord, Michigan State University, East Lansing; Helen Elkiss, University of Illinois, Chicago; John Lund, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Larry Casey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis; Emory Via, University of Oregon, Eugene; Bruce Poyer, University of California, Berkeley; James Nickels, University of Arkansas, Little Rock; George Boyle, University of Missouri, Columbia, and John Kretzschmar, University of Nebraska, Omaha.

New policies sought

JEC offers blueprint for economic reform

A wide-ranging blueprint for economic reform—geared to creating new jobs, bringing down the massive budget and foreign trade deficits and breaking the cycle of welfare dependency—was unveiled by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

The committee majority called, among other things, for new trade and budget policies, improved labor-management relations, expanded access to higher education for young people, adequate retraining programs for the jobless and tax reform that would put multi-billion-dollar corporations back on the tax rolls and discourage the waste of capital involved in corporate raids and takeovers.

In a report marking the 40th anniversary of its creation under the Employment Act of 1946, the JEC blamed President Reagan's "supply-side" policies for creating a recession "longer and deeper" than any economic downturn since the Great Depression, with the "recovery" purchased only through "unprecedented increases in both budget and trade deficits."

Republicans on the committee filed their own views, hailing the "heartening economic expansion" of the past five years while conceding that last year's growth was "somewhat mediocre," that the nation's poverty problem "remains extremely serious," and that "trade barriers must be eliminated worldwide" to spur lagging U.S. exports.

JEC Chairman Rep. David R. Obey (D-Wis.) emphasized that the Employment Act of 1946 recognized the need for an effective "public economics" policy to put the nation on "a sustained path of growth and prosperity."

The strong performance of the economy in the quarter century following World War II resulted, not from private initiative, but from a series of public innovations, Obey pointed out.

These included the Marshall Plan and the Bretton Woods monetary conference which fostered growth elsewhere in the world and created a demand for American-made goods; the GI Bill of Rights and the National Defense Education Act which helped create a needed pool of skilled labor, and a "strong and progressive labor movement" backed up by laws that safeguarded workers' rights and promoted wage increases "sufficiently large to purchase the output of industry."

Real wages down

That growth has now slowed to a crawl, Obey continued, and "it is getting harder and harder to achieve a decent middle-class standard of living." Real earnings fell steadily during the 1970s and have not rebounded, while the gap between America's richest and poorest families now stands at "the highest point" since the government began keeping such data four decades ago.

The majority report called for:

- A fair-handed, across-the-board process for cutting the budget to prevent focusing the lion's share of reductions on domestic programs that represent "investment in the future growth of the economy and the future strength of American families."
- Making increased revenues part of any deficit-reduction package, not by increasing individual income tax rates but by closing loopholes that allow the wealthy and corporate America to escape their fair share of the tax burden, and by curbing corporate raids and mergers "financed with unsustainable amounts of debt."
- Trade policies that force other countries to open their markets to American products, put a halt to unfair practices which flood the domestic market with foreign-made goods, and condition trade relief for domestic industries on their commitment to modernization, improved productivity and increased worker involvement in the decision-making process.
- Cooperation between the Administration and Congress on fiscal and monetary policies that bring the deficit, the dollar and interest rates "down to levels compatible with long-run growth and competitiveness."
- Encouragement of labor-management relations to provide increased employment security, new "gain-sharing" mechanisms for workers, and a system to give workers a voice in solving quality control, productivity and other on-the-job problems.

Overtime premium

In a separate view on the labor-management issue, Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) recommended raising overtime pay from time and one-half to double time which, he said, would create a million new jobs "at no cost to the taxpayers." Triggering overtime payments after 35 hours instead of 40, Proxmire declared, would create as many as 7 million additional jobs.

- Helping workers "retool" their skills through mid-career training by providing public and employer contributions to supplement workers' own investment in Individual Training Accounts.
- Providing effective programs to retrain and reemploy workers displaced by technological change and international competition. Present efforts in this area, the report said, reach "only a disgracefully low 5 percent of the eligible workers."
- Facilitating home ownership for younger Americans by expanding opportunities for first-time buyers to obtain low-interest mortgage financing with low down payments.
- Providing higher education grants to students willing to perform national service after graduation, and restructuring student loan programs to gear repayment amounts and schedules to their actual post-graduation incomes. This would help those who choose to work for lower salaries in jobs that often provide a significant degree of public service.
- Moving people from welfare rolls to payrolls, whenever possible, by utilizing innovative techniques similar to those pioneered in Massachusetts, Minnesota, Wisconsin and California which expand opportunities for work and self-reliance.
- Assuring adequate funding for employment and training programs targeted at the structurally unemployed.
- Increasing public works investment to overcome years of deterioration. The committee acknowledged that "infrastructure finance is primarily a state and local government responsibility," but urged federal assistance to enhance the nation's ability "to grow and compete."

Reagan creates new NLRB vacancy

A Reagan Administration reshuffle is sending Patricia Diaz Dennis from the National Labor Relations Board to the Federal Communications Commission, continuing the fast turnover of NLRB membership.

President Reagan has already made seven appointments to the five-member board. Dennis and Chairman Donald L. Dotson, both named in 1983, are the senior members. The other three—Marshall B. Babson, Wilford W. Johansen and James M. Stephens—have served for less than a year. Dennis, a Democrat who was a management attorney before coming to the NLRB, will remain on the board until she is confirmed by the Senate for the FCC post.

The NLRB is also in the market for a new solicitor, a key staff appointment made by the board. Hugh L. Reilly, whose appointment in 1983 created a swirl of controversy and was denounced by the AFL-CIO, resigned earlier this month to return to the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, which specializes in harassment lawsuits against unions.

Reilly was an attorney for the anti-union group before coming to the Labor Dept. early in the Reagan Administration. He was a top aide to Dotson, who was then an Assistant Secretary of Labor. It was later revealed that Reilly, with Dotson's approval, moonlighted as an "unpaid counsel" for the "right-to-work" foundation while employed by the Labor Dept. When Dotson became NLRB chairman, he pushed through Reilly's appointment as solicitor along with a controversial expansion of the job's responsibilities.

In an unrelated action, the White House filled the Labor Dept. post that has been vacant since 1983, when Dotson left for the NLRB. President Reagan nominated Salvatore R. Martoche, currently U.S. Attorney for the Western District of New York, to be Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor-Management Standards.

Martoche, a former professional arbitrator, will head the agency charged with administering and enforcing the Landrum-Griffin Act, including provisions dealing with handling of union funds and election of union officers.

Another presidential appointment at the Labor Dept. would promote George R. Salem from deputy solicitor to Solicitor of Labor, a post he has filled on an acting basis since the resignation of Francis X. Lilly last December. Both appointments are subject to confirmation by the Senate.

OPEIU wins New Jersey court units

Passaic, N.J.—The Office & Professional Employees was the overwhelming choice of administrative and clerical workers at the Passaic County courthouse in a representation election here.

Two separate units at the courthouse—representing 229 state court workers and 51 county employees—picked OPEIU Local 153. The consolidated unit will bargain with a joint state-county management team.

The victory follows a five-year campaign marked by management bickering over whether the employees, all of whom work for the County Clerk, Register of Deeds, Tax Board and the judiciary, should be considered state or county workers. A compromise finally was reached splitting the workers between the two jurisdictions.

Workers in the state court system supported OPEIU by a vote of 130 to 48. The county workers voted 21 to 14 in favor of the union.

Bargaining proposals will include an immediate wage increase, improved working conditions and better job security, the local said.

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Balanced budget clause blocked

President Lane Kirkland addresses Washington rally marking anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

Amendment falls short in Senate vote

By David L. Perlman

This time around, the balanced budget constitutional amendment didn't get out of the starting gate. It was blocked in the Senate, one vote short of the two-thirds majority needed to initiate a constitutional amendment.

A similar amendment passed the Senate four years ago with votes to spare, causing an alarmed trade union movement to mobilize an emergency grassroots campaign to stop it in the House. The AFL-CIO's concern, shared by leading economists, has been that a constitutional requirement for a balanced budget would make recessions worse and make a controversial economic ideology a permanent part of the Constitution.

The turnabout this year came when two Republicans and two Democrats who had voted for the amendment in 1982 switched and opposed it. They were joined by three of the five new senators elected since the previous vote.

The 66-34 vote for the amendment matched the "hard count" that lobbyists on both sides of the issue had calculated before the vote. President Reagan made personal phone calls to senators in a futile search for the 67th vote needed for a two-thirds majority.

Parties divided

Party lines split, with 10 Republicans joining 24 Democrats opposed to the amendment and 23 Democrats voting with 43 Republicans for the proposal. **(Rollcall, Page 6.)**

Despite the closeness of the vote, the message was clear. Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), who led the effort for the amendment, said after the Senate vote that it would be "very difficult" to revive it in a future Congress.

The amendment the Senate voted on was shaped by Hatch and Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), with modifications that were added in a sometimes successful effort to assure the votes of wavering senators.

If passed by Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the states, the constitutional requirement would be effective in 1991, when the Gramm-Rudman timetable is supposed to produce a balanced budget.

Continued on Page 3

Trade adjustment aid extended for six years

Congress extended a trade adjustment assistance program the Reagan Administration had sought to end, assuring retroactive benefits for some 13,000 workers whose jobs have been wiped out by imports.

The six-year renewal of trade assistance benefits was included in a deficit-reducing budget reconciliation bill that finally became law after bouncing back and forth between the House and Senate since last December.

Also in the bill is long-sought strengthening of pension insurance for some 30 million workers covered by single-employer plans. The changes include both higher insurance premiums and additional pension guarantees.

Retroactive benefits

Extension of the trade adjustment law is retroactive to Dec. 19, when the Labor Dept. stopped paying cash benefits. The legality of the cutoff was challenged by the Auto Workers and the Clothing & Textile Workers, but the new legislation achieves the aim of the suit brought by the unions.

A presidential veto threat had been the chief stumbling block to a House-Senate agreement on the legislation. One compromise made to meet Administration objections was deletion of a labor-urged expansion of trade adjustment assistance coverage. The original House-Senate conference agreement last December would have extended eligibility to employees of firms supplying parts or services to import-damaged companies. Also dropped from the final version of the bill was an import tax to pay the cost of assistance to victims of imports, and in the process reduce the deficit.

The TAA program provides up to 52 weeks of payments for eligible workers participating in job-search or retraining programs after exhausting the 26 weeks of state unemployment benefits.

TAA cash benefits are based on the amount a displaced worker receives in regular state unemployment compensation, but payments made after Mar. 1 short-change recipients. That's because the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction law made TAA payments subject to mandatory cutbacks, even though state unemployment compensation is exempt. Thus the government-wide 4.3 percent reduction for the balance of this fiscal year that took

Continued on Page 6

Rallies in 7 cities assail apartheid, Shell Oil policies

By Candice Johnson

"No more apartheid" was the message as union members and supporters gathered in seven cities to focus on South Africa's brutal system of racial discrimination and to step up labor's boycott of Shell Oil Co. products.

Organized by local AFL-CIO councils, the rallies featured visiting South African black trade union leaders and officers of the AFL-CIO and its affilated unions and central bodies.

Labor's "Day of Solidarity with the Victims of Apartheid" also marked the 26th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, in which South African police opened fired on demonstrators peacefully protesting that nation's repressive and dehumanizing laws requiring black citizens to carry passes.

In Washington, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, calling the day one of "solidarity with our black brothers and sisters of the South African trade union movement," recounted the events of Mar. 21, 1960, that left 89 men, women and

Continued on Page 3

Kirkland cites flaws

Senate tax package called retreat

A tax revision package being considered by the Senate Finance Committee falls short of the fairness standard labor has urged, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said.

The draft bill prepared by the committee staff would be a step backward from the tax reform legislation the House passed last December, Kirkland wrote Committee Chairman Bob Packwood (R-Ore.). The House bill points in the right direction and needs strengthening, not weakening, he urged.

On the plus side, Kirkland welcomed the fact that the Senate draft does not impose new taxes on employer-provided benefits and thanked Packwood for his leadership on the issue. The House-passed bill is also free of such a tax, and 55 senators have co-sponsored resolutions opposing taxation of worker benefits.

Kirkland urged Packwood to reconsider a provision of the draft bill that would eliminate part of the present federal income tax deduction for state and local taxes. The disadvantages outweigh the revenue gains, he said.

The AFL-CIO also is concerned over the proposed shift to excise taxes to offset income tax cuts, Kirkland said. He criticized the Senate draft as endorsing big cuts in income tax rates on business and wealthy individuals, with revenue losses recouped from new taxes that would "unfairly affect particular groups of workers, states, localities, firms and industries."

Harsh provisions

Kirkland said the Senate could improve on the House-passed bill by remedying "unduly harsh" provisions involving taxation of public employee pensions.

The revenue neutrality the Administration has insisted on is not a guarantee of fairness, Kirkland stressed. As the AFL-CIO sees it, "a fair tax system is one which is based on the ability to pay and which raises sufficient revenues to meet the needs of society."

Kirkland urged the Senate panel to "give serious attention" to the AFL-CIO's package of tax reform proposals. Without tampering with job benefits or state and local tax deductions, labor's proposals would increase revenue by more than $40 billion a year, he said.

The AFL-CIO tax reform proposals would set the top income tax bracket at 45 percent, compared to 38 percent in the House bill, 35 percent in the Senate committee draft, and 50 percent under present law. It would trim the present 46 percent top corporate tax rate only to 41 percent. The House bill would put the top bracket at 36 percent and the Senate committee version would cap it at 35 percent.

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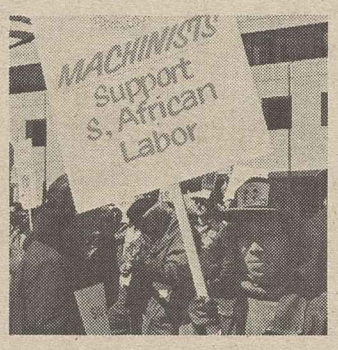
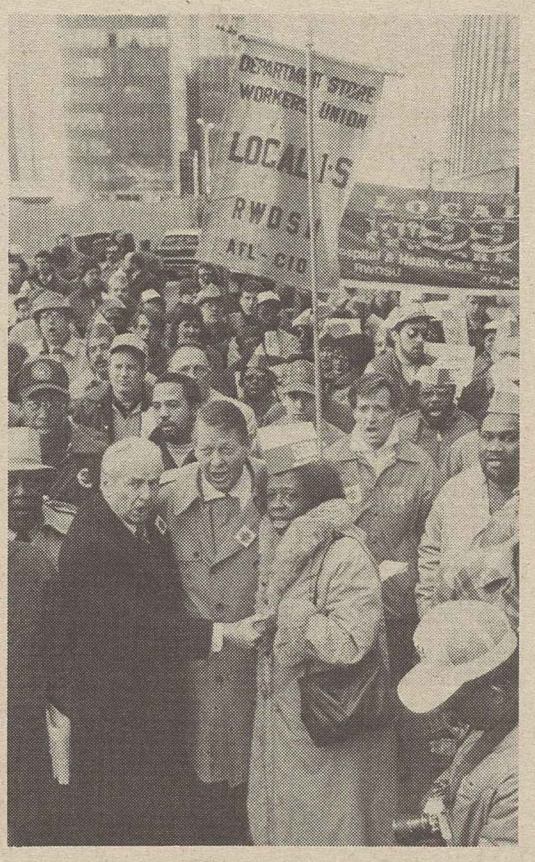


President Kirkland applauds UMW President Trumka's symbolic cutting of giant Shell credit card.



"We Shall Overcome" rings out in New York City.

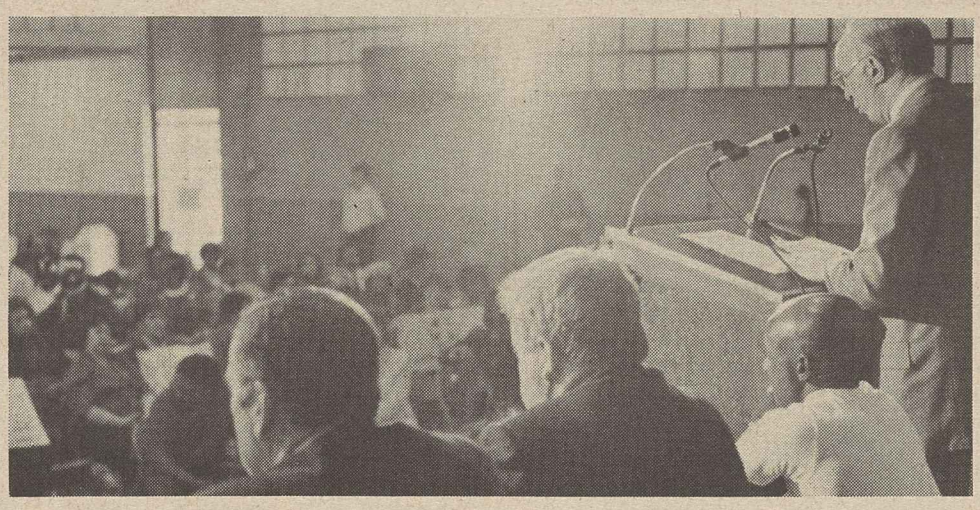
No more Sharpevilles

Trade unionists in seven cities say no to apartheid as they mark the 26th anniversary of South Africa's Sharpeville massacre with rallies and pledges of support for the black trade union movement in that country. On Mar. 22, union members across America voiced their opposition to apartheid, from the streets of New York to San Francisco's historic Union Square. They brought banners and balloons and sang songs of work and protest to make the day one of "solidarity with the victims of apartheid." Participating in the rallies were the AFL-CIO's top officers and vice presidents, who recalled the tragedy of Sharpeville and promised American labor's help to South Africa's black trade unionists in their fight to overcome racial oppression and to win human dignity.

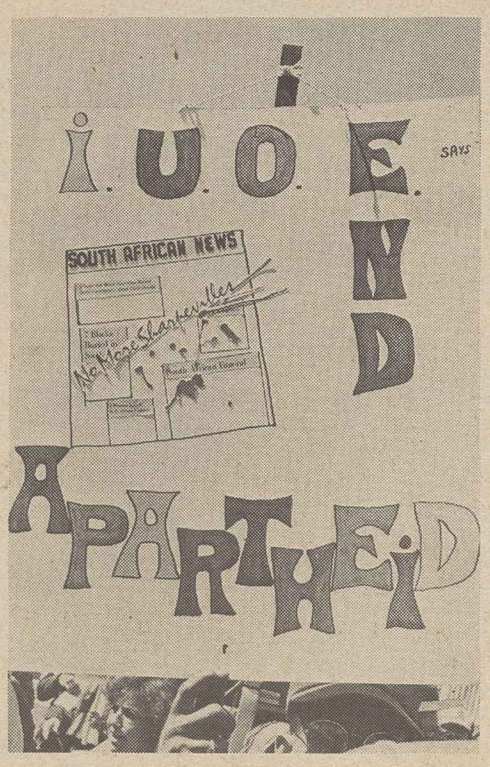
Labor Against Apartheid

Sending the message in Houston.

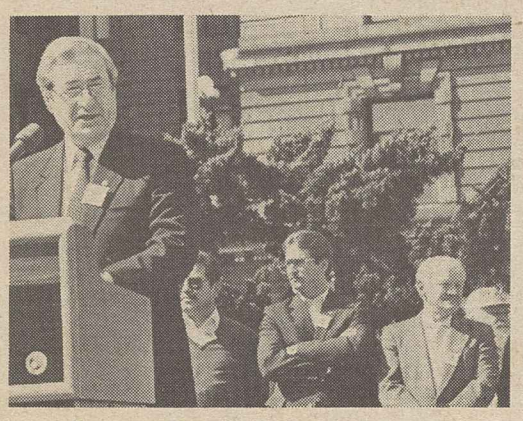
Los Angeles rally.



Sec.-Treas. Donahue in St. Louis recalls Sharpeville tragedy.



Union members in Detroit gear up for Shell boycott.



Speakers in San Francisco.

Senate bars straitjacket budget plan

Continued from Page 1

Thereafter, unless the United States was in a declared war, the balanced budget requirement could be waived only through a three-fifths vote of both the House and Senate.

There was no lack of scoffers during the Senate debate. Senators from both parties noted caustically that the advocates of a constitutional amendment clearly had the votes to balance the budget through legislation if they thought it desirable, without changing the Constitution. Instead, the deficit skyrocketed in the years that Congress followed President Reagan's call to slash taxes and boost defense spending at the same time.

Sen. Daniel J. Evans (R-Wash.), a leading Republican foe of the amendment, presented a letter opposing the balanced budget amendment signed by 217 leading economists, including seven Nobel laureates and four former chairmen of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Simon countered with letters from the Chamber of Commerce, the American Bankers Association and other business groups urging its approval.

Both sides cited the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction law to back their position.

Opponents questioned why a constitutional amendment is needed when a law mandating a timetable to bring the budget in balance is already on the books.

Supporters countered that a law can always be repealed or changed. Opponents readily agreed, and made the point that a constitutional amendment that proves too rigid or unworkable cannot be amended or repealed within any reasonable time span.

Pressure remains

Despite evidence that the tide of support for a balanced budget amendment has receded over the years, the pressure for congressional action is not likely to ease so long as there is a threat that a constitutional convention can be summoned into existence by petitions of 34 of the 50 state legislatures.

Thirty-two states have petitioned for a constitutional convention to propose a balanced budget amendment, all but two in the 1970s, when few people took it seriously. There is no precedent for a constitutional convention, and no agreement among constitutional scholars as to the scope of its powers.

The AFL-CIO and other opponents of a balanced budget amendment have carried on a multi-front battle—in the states, where a resolution calling for a constitutional convention remains a threat, and in Congress, where constitutional amendments can be initiated by a two-thirds vote of the House and the Senate.

Remembering the massacre

By Dale Tifflin

Mar. 21, 1960, will always be honored by the workers in South Africa as the turning point in the history of African nationalism.

The Pan African Congress, under the leadership of Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, called on the African people to leave their passes at home and surrender to the nearest police station for arrest. Strict instructions were laid down by congress leaders to ensure that the pass campaign was peaceful and nonviolent, part of the organization's positive action campaign.

On the morning of Mar. 21, 1960, Sobukwe led a group of followers to the Orlando police station in Soweto. The Africans offered themselves for arrest for refusing to carry the despised and dehumanizing pass.

More than 9,000 people converged on the municipal offices in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, in response to the PAC's call. Tear gas failed to disperse the crowd and a subsequent police charge only temporarily dispersed it. The crowd had by now swelled to nearly 20,000, and Nyakane Tsolo, a PAC leader, explained to the police that they had no reference books and demanded to be arrested. According to a later commission report, the crowd was not hostile, nor did the Africans carry sticks.

Police reinforcements arrived at 12:45 p.m. and forced their way through the crowd with armored vehicles. Tension increased as a result of the police action.

At 1:35, Maj. Van Zyl, district commander of police, showed the crowd by opening his hand that he was giving them five minutes to disperse, or face bullets. Five minutes later, police started shooting.

Mar. 21, 1960, shall always be remembered as a day which strengthened our people to wage further struggles for a free and democratic country. The sons and daughters who died in Sharpeville, Langa, Gugulethu, Cato Manor, Uitenhage, Soweto and elsewhere did not die in vain.

Tifflin is editor of the Council of Unions of South Africa's newsletter. She recently was in the United States to attend courses at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies and to meet with other labor editors.

South Africa apartheid, Shell Oil role denounced at rallies in 7 major cities

Continued from Page 1

children dead and more than 300 wounded, and promised that the American labor movement "will not rest until the odious system that produced such brutality and so many more subtle forms of violence is undone."

"We want that message to be heard, loud and clear, by the government that represses them and by the employers who exploit their labor or passively acquiesce in the apartheid system," Kirkland said. "That's why we turned the spotlight on Shell."

He noted that while Shell claims to enjoy good relations with its workforce, earlier this year the company fired 86 miners who organized a memorial service for another worker killed on the job.

The federation's boycott of Shell products is a direct response to an appeal from black trade unionists in South Africa and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Kirkland said, and has become "a worldwide effort."

Rally organizers emphasized that point by providing a huge copy of a Shell gasoline credit card for Kirkland and other speakers to cut in half. Trade unionists who destroy their Shell credit cards and send one half to AFL-CIO headquarters will receive a "Shell discredit card," outlining the company's anti-union position.

The event was organized by the Metropolitan Washington AFL-CIO, which coordinated earlier demonstrations at the South African embassy and lobbied the city to divest itself of South African holdings. Council President Joslyn Williams called the rally "a statement to the world that we believe oppression must end."

James Mndaweni, president of the Council of Unions of South Africa, addressed the Washington rally and described the "brutality and domination that exist" in his country "despite the government's claims of peaceful change and reform."

United Mine Workers President Richard Trumka pointed out that many more massacres have occurred since Sharpeville. "As the black majority continues to resist the system of apartheid, they continue to be met by brutal force of the police and military," he noted.

Corporate support

Apartheid has been able to survive because of aid from governments and corporations, Trumka said, with investment by American companies increasing 900 percent in the past 26 years. "These corporations choose to invest in apartheid instead of jobs here at home," taking advantage of "apartheid's cheap wages and repressive police state," he observed.

In St. Louis, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue told a crowd of some 150 trade unionists that their demonstration against apartheid continues a noble tradition of the labor movement by accepting the responsibility to "help our brothers and sisters who are struggling to preserve free trade unionism."

"To those who say the American labor movement should not concern itself with events in other nations, we say: human freedom and human justice are too important to be left in the hands of an international business community that cares only about seeking the highest profit and whether a country can pay its bills," Donahue declared.

Donahue was joined by Vincent Mazibuko, CUSA's chief shop steward, Service Employees Vice President William Stodghill and Robert J. Kelley, president of the St. Louis AFL-CIO which organized the event.

More than 1,000 Detroit area union members raised labor's call against apartheid at an early morning rally sponsored by the Detroit AFL-CIO. Some 20 AFL-CIO unions, representing skills ranging from teachers to auto workers and deputy sheriffs, met to mark the tragic anniversary and promote the boycott of Shell products.

Speakers included Motsomi Mokhine from the Black Allied Mining & Construction Workers Union, Michigan AFL-CIO President Sam Fishman and Detroit AFL-CIO President Tom Turner.

In Houston, some 350 union members representing nearly 30 AFL-CIO unions gathered at Harris County AFL-CIO headquarters for speeches and songs. They cheered SIU President Frank Drozak's call for justice for South African workers and democracy for its people.

Drozak was joined by State, County & Municipal Employees Sec.-Treas. William Lucy; Joseph Rakgoadi, organizer for the South African Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions, and council Sec.-Treas. Don Horn.

In San Francisco, hundreds of union members, their friends and supporters met in historic Union Square to make their voices heard against repression and apartheid. Communications Workers President Morton Bahr pointed out that "the most sophisticated goods and services are being produced in the poorest of countries by the most oppressed workers," and said U.S. labor must answer their appeal for help.

Food & Commercial Workers President William Wynn called apartheid "the tip of an iceberg" that workers around the world must unite to destroy, while Professional Athletes President Gene Upshaw told the crowd that the aftermath of the Sharpeville tragedy was that people "in this country began to understand what apartheid is all about."

Joseph Mokoena, secretary of the Commercial, Catering & Allied Workers in South Africa, told the San Francisco gathering that black workers "hope to avoid violence". in their fight for freedom, but "will not be deterred by the threat of violence. We long for freedom."

Also taking part in the demonstration were John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO; Albin J. Gruhn, president of the state federation; Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco AFL-CIO; Rick Sawyer, executive secretary of the Santa Clara County AFL-CIO, and James Herman, president of the unaffiliated Longshoremen.

Los Angeles rally

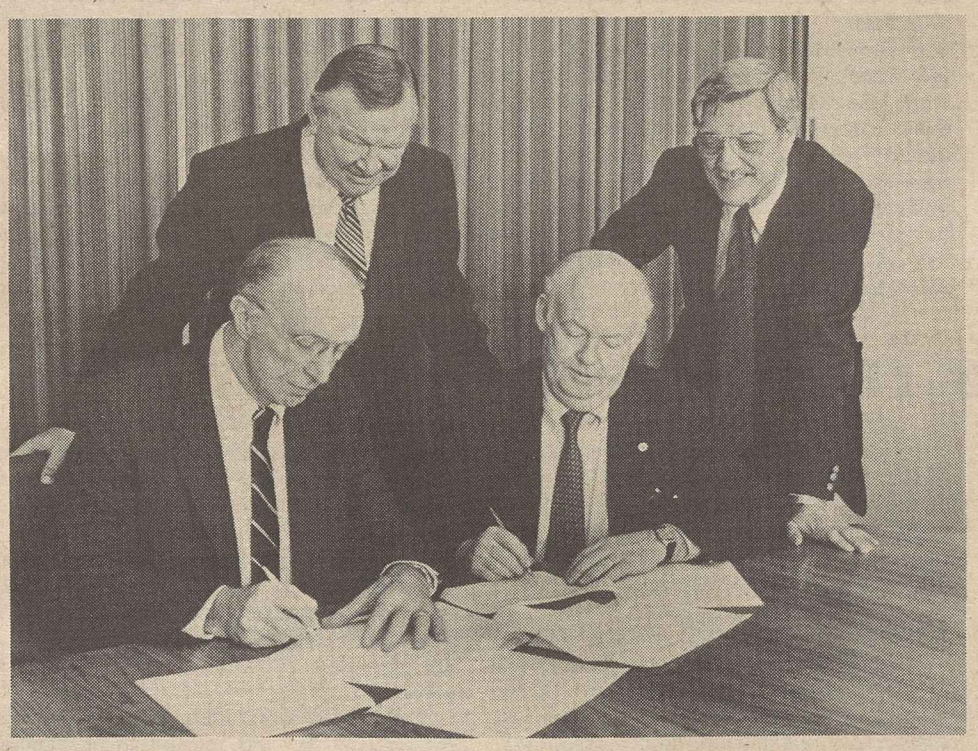
The Los Angeles rally brought several hundred union members and their families to the police department's southwest district headquarters, where union and city leaders called for an end to apartheid and commemorated the Sharpeville slaying.

Service Employees President John Sweeney and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley were key speakers, with Agnes Molefe, general secretary of the South African Laundry, Dry Cleaning & Dyeing Workers.

In New York City, union members massed in front of the South African mission to send their anti-apartheid message. Nearly 2,000 trade unionists raised the cry of "labor against apartheid."

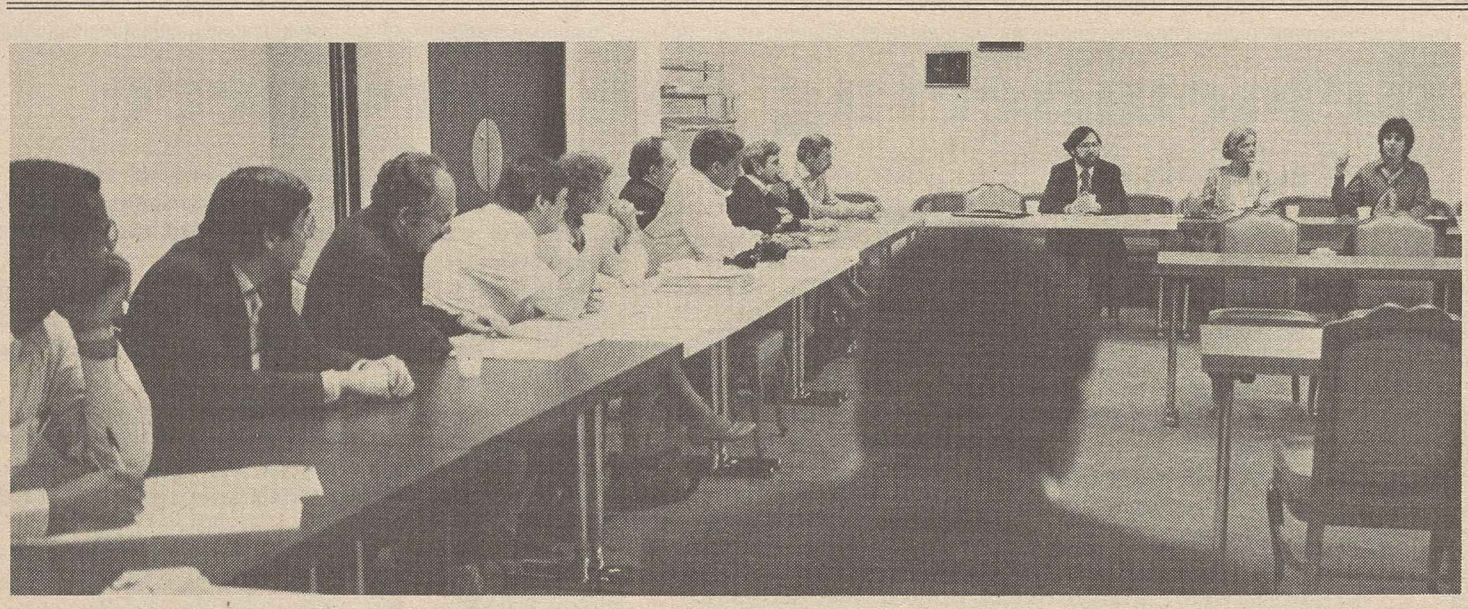
Alvin Heaps, president of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union, and Frederick O'Neal, president of the Actors & Artistes, were among the featured speakers. Tlou Komape, president of South Africa's Black Health & Allied Workers, also addressed the rally.

Others speakers included State AFL-CIO President Edward Cleary and Thomas Van Arsdale, newly elected president of the New York City AFL-CIO.



Credit card kickoff

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue and Service Employees President John J. Sweeney sign first agreement to make low-cost credit card benefits available to union members—in this case, members of the SEIU. Taking part in launching the federation's program of expanded services are SEIU Sec.-Treas. Richard W. Cordtz and Ray Denison, right, director of the newly established AFL-CIO Union Privilege Program.



Workshop on impact of changing technology was one of several at AFL-CIO's annual Education Conference.

OPEC collapse triggers drop in consumer prices

Plunging world oil prices and declining food costs pushed the Consumer Price Index down four-tenths of 1 percent in February—the first decrease since the bottom of the Reagan Recession in December 1982 and the sharpest in more than three decades.

If the drop in oil and food prices were excluded, the Labor Dept. said, consumer prices actually would have climbed two-tenths of 1 percent last month.

In a related development, the government reported that real earnings rose three-tenths of 1 percent last month, but that workers still were worse off than they were a year ago. Average weekly earnings increased a modest 2.6 percent since February 1985, but the gain was wiped out by a 3-percent rise in the CPI, leaving the purchasing power of today's earnings four-tenths of 1 percent below what it was 12 months ago.

The price war that has divided the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and broken its stranglehold on the world economy led to a 6.2-percent drop in gasoline prices and a hefty 10.1-percent decline in home heating oil prices.

Food prices were down five-tenths of 1 percent in February, although they were still 1.9 percent ahead of last year.

Other costs rise

But elsewhere in the economy, consumers were paying more. Shelter costs increased four-tenths of 1 percent to a level 5.8 percent ahead of a year earlier; new car prices rose four-tenths of 1 percent and are 3.1 percent above last year's level; public transportation costs rose a sharp 1 percent during the month and 7.4 percent over the year, due mainly to transit fare increases, and natural gas and electric prices rose six-tenths of 1 percent, two-tenths of 1 percent above last year's level.

Medical care costs, meanwhile, continued to hold the dubious distinction of being the consistently fastest-growing component of the marketbasket of goods and services that make up the CPI. The government reported a seven-tenths of 1 percent increase in the health-care category, pushing these costs up 7.1 percent from the February 1985 level.

Even with the decline in the inflation rate, moreover, workers were losing their struggle to keep their heads above water, as living costs more than chewed up their modest wage gains.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that February's real earnings, as compared to the same month a year ago, declined in four out of eight categories, with the steepest decline—7 percent—occurring in the construction industry.

In other developments:

- Sales of existing single-family homes slipped back nine-tenths of 1 percent in February, the second straight monthly decline, according to the National Association of Realtors. January's decline was a much sharper 6.25 percent.
- After two monthly gains, orders to factories for durable goods fell five-tenths of 1 percent in February, the Commerce Dept. reported.
- New car sales by domestic producers plummeted 17.2 percent from the level for the same period in 1985, while sales of American-made light trucks were down 7.4 percent, as buyer incentive programs failed to bring in a new wave of customers.

Labor educators examine challenges faced by unions

Piney Point, Md.—Labor educators from unions and universities around the country met to discuss "the challenge of change" in today's labor movement at the AFL-CIO Education Conference and annual meeting of the University & College Labor Education Conference.

Nearly 135 educators attended the weeklong session at the Seafarers' training center here.

The joint program enables trade unionists responsible for labor education and community programs to exchange views and share ideas with their university counterparts, AFL-CIO Education Director Dorothy Shields said. It recognizes the major role university programs play in the education of workers, she said, and strengthens the working relationship between unions and the university labor programs.

Shields cited the upcoming teleconference on health care costs and bargaining as an example of the type of cooperative programs labor and the university system can undertake. The conference, set for Apr. 21-22, will allow union members at 17 university sites to review health cost containment issues and participate in question-and-answer sessions with union health care experts.

The plenary sessions of the Education Conference focused on new approaches to labor's concerns by the AFL-CIO and a number of affiliates. The federation's study of "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions" received extensive discussion with some participants reporting on university-sponsored conferences. Other sessions covered the AFL-CIO's associate members program, the plan to resolve organizing disputes, the Bricklayers' "Project 2000," an education and organizing initiative, and a Teachers' program on future directions in union management.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue expanded on the meeting's theme in his address to the educators, noting that the "changing situation" report has provided a forum for debating change within the labor movement as well as the challenges posed by a changing workforce and changing workplace.

The report ignited the enthusiasm of union activists, Donahue said, encouraging them to seek knew ways to advance workers' interests and respond to members' needs. "Change is really what the report's all about," Donahue said.

In welcoming the participants to Piney Point, Seafarers President Frank Drozak recalled that because his predecessor as SIU president, the late Paul Hall, had valued education so much, he worked to establish the Piney Point school—where members have the opportunity to learn both the seafaring trade and basic education skills. Since the school opened 19 years ago, Drozak said, more than 95 percent of SIU members have attended classes.

Drozak said the school produces the best-trained and most productive sailors in the world, but he pointed out that the United States does not offer the subsidies and benefits other countries provide to their merchant fleets. "Even if we worked for nothing, we wouldn't be competitive," he observed.

He criticized calls for lower wages as an answer to increasing competitiveness, stating "we're not advancing ourselves or our country when we try to equal wages in developing nations."

Rudy Oswald, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Economic Research, outlined changes and new approaches in collective bargaining. Ray Denison, the federation's former legislative director who now heads the benefits program soon to be available to union members through their unions, described the program and how it will work.

Literacy problem

A session on adult education reviewed the literacy problem and its effect on labor and worker education programs. A series of workshops on international affairs highlighted labor activities in the Far East. Participants also reviewed developments in health and safety and debated the pros and cons of labor-management cooperative programs.

Demonstrations and advice on computer use were offered by the Postal Workers, while the Machinists provided a tour of their computer operations and "state-of-the-art" training programs at their nearby training center. Following the IAM demonstration, Tom Juravich, a labor educator at the Pennsylvania State University, led an impromptu program of workers' songs and workers' stories.

Philadelphia transit strike wins new pact

Philadelphia—Transport Workers Local 234 won tentative settlement of a new three-year contract with the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority, ending a five-day strike by some 5,000 city transit workers.

The new contract, reached after a marathon bargaining session that included assistance from mediators and Mayor Wilson Goode, addresses the chief strike issue of "harassment," Local 234 President Roger Tauss said.

Goode monitored the talks through an aide and showed up at the final bargaining session at 4 a.m. A settlement was reached several hours later, and the city's transit workers were back on the job within hours of its announcement. Some 440,000 commuters were affected by the strike.

Tauss said that a pre-bargaining poll of his members showed harassment of the workers by supervisors to be the key issue, with pension improvements second, followed by wages "as a distant third."

Under the proposed package, which was to be voted on after the AFL-CIO News deadline, the union will have to pay arbitration costs only in cases in which the transit system complaint is completely upheld. If the matter is overturned by the arbitrator, the company will pick up the tab. In cases where there is no clear winner or loser, the arbitrator's fee will be paid by the city from an annual $50,000 fund that Goode promised to set up.

Joint training plan

Money remaining in the fund at the end of the year will be used to provide joint labor-management training for supervisors and shop stewards, Tauss said. He noted that some 10,000 informal grievances are filed each year, with nearly 100 a month ending up as formal grievances and about 10 cases a month going to arbitration.

The settlement improves the pension plan by making the early retirement reduction 4 percent a year instead of 6.66 percent. This means that workers retiring at age 55 will get 60 percent of their pension, rather than 33.3 percent, Tauss pointed out.

Wages will be improved in the second and third years with hourly raises of 20 cents in March of each year and 30 cents in September of each year. A cost-of-living provision will raise pay levels an estimated 12 cents an hour during the contract.

The union fought back numerous concessions sought by the transit board, including the demand for part-time workers. The union retained its no-layoff clause.

Meanwhile, a strike by Maintenance of Way Employees against the Maine Central Railroad is set to enter its fourth week with no further bargaining scheduled.

The strike, which began Mar. 3 at Maine Central's Portland Terminal, has now spread to include most of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad, another subsidiary of Guilford Transportation Co., which owns the Maine Central and the Boston & Maine Railroad.

D&H's attempt to get a temporary restraining order against the BMWE pickets was rejected by a federal district court judge. A similar action by Maine Central was also thrown out of court.

OSHA caves in, cuts Carbide fines

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration's reduction of proposed penalties against Union Carbide Corp. from $32,100 to $4,400 is "another example of OSHA's willingness to cave in to the employer," and it sends a definite message to other employers, the AFL-CIO said.

"How are employers ever going to take OSHA seriously if in the worst case scenario, it backs off from enforcing its own regulations?" asked Margaret Seminario, associate director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security.

Union Carbide was cited by OSHA for a half-dozen "willful" and "serious" violations relating to the Aug. 11, 1985, release of a toxic cloud from the company's plant in Institute, W.Va. The escaping gas injured 135 area residents and six workers, including five members of the Machinists.

At the time OSHA issued the citations, Acting Administrator Patrick Tyson declared that "Union Carbide willfully violated their own company procedures, standard industry practice and federal health and safety regulations."

Penalties reduced

The company contested the citations and in a settlement reached last Feb. 11 but announced during the week of Mar. 24, OSHA reduced three "willful" violations to the "serious" level and dropped the penalties from $32,100 to $4,400.

Seminario said OSHA's action in this case will send a message to employers and that message is: "Don't worry about OSHA. Even if it does issue citations and fines, OSHA will reduce them. So not to worry."

The agency reported that under the agreement it reached with Union Carbide, the company would purchase a simulator to help train its employees on how to avoid chemical accidents.

The Institute plant is the only location in the United States producing methyl isocyanate, the chemical that killed more than 2,500 persons in Bhopal, India, and injured an estimated 200,000 others on Dec. 3, 1984.

Called the worst industrial accident in history, the gas was released from a plant owned by Union Carbide. The company recently announced that it reached a tentative settlement with the battery of attorneys representing the Bhopal victims.

The company proposed to pay $350 million over a period of years to a fund to compensate the victims, but that settlement was strongly rejected by the Indian government.

Labor hits bid to weaken overtime pay standards

The AFL-CIO registered a strong protest with the Labor Dept. against efforts to weaken existing standards exempting bona fide executive, administrative and professional employees from the overtime provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

"These exemptions are often abused by employers to avoid their FLSA wage and hour responsibilities to workers who are not exempt," Research Director Rudy Oswald said in formal comments filed in response to the department's announcement that it was reviewing the issue.

At the same time, the federation charged that present salary tests for exemptions are "far too low and should be raised significantly"—from the present $155 per week for executive and administrative employees to $325 a week, and from $170 to $350 for professional employees. These levels should then be linked to either the Employment Cost Index or the Consumer Price Index to assure automatic adjustment in the future.

The present salary tests, Oswald asserted, "were too low when they became effective in 1975," adding that wage and salary increases that have occurred since then "have made these tests more and more irrelevant."

The AFL-CIO made clear its opposition to any alterations in the duties-and-responsibilities test currently being used to determine whether an employee actually falls into the executive, administrative or professional category.

Proper yardstick

The most accurate method of determining a workers' status is the actual amount of time spent in non-exempt work and not an employer's representations about a worker's "primary responsibility," the federation declared. It charged that "some employers attempt to circumvent" the law by handing out "new job titles which are intended to exclude the workers from eligibility for overtime pay."

Oswald told the Labor Dept. that the AFL-CIO opposes arbitrarily putting the "professional" label on such occupations as reporters, computer programmers, aircraft pilots, flight engineers, medical occupations and teachers. Such wholesale changes in status, he said, would abet employer efforts to get around the requirements.

He also registered strong opposition to proposals that would establish separate salary tests for different industries, declaring:

"Fairness to workers is a basic goal of the FLSA. It is simply unfair to allow one industry to pay less and work certain employees long hours without overtime pay under the label 'exempt' while other workers doing similar work in a different industry have FLSA wage and hour protections."

The federation reminded the Labor Dept. that "part of the purpose of the act is to encourage a maximum 40-hour week, and thus more job opportunities for unemployed workers, to mitigate health and safety problems related to long hours and fatigue, and to improve the quality of family life." To the extent that more workers are exempted by being placed in the executive, administrative and professional categories, labor said, "the broad purposes of the act are undermined."

Opportunities for abuse

In the area of general application of the wage-hour law, proposals that annual wage guarantees be substituted for weekly wage criteria also came under labor's fire. "The opportunities for abuse and exploitation are excessive under annual salary guarantees," Oswald said, adding:

"There is no assurance to workers that they will be on a payroll long enough to get a year's compensation; and, indeed, a regulation approving an annual guarantee would be an incentive to greedy employers to comply on paper but terminate the workers short of a full year's employment."

Drug-testing rule invades privacy, D.C. court rules

An employer cannot unilaterally impose a new set of drug-testing rules that mandate the discharge of employees refusing to comply, a federal judge ruled as he ordered management to submit the issue to the grievance and arbitration machinery of its union contract.

Judge Harold Greene of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia issued a temporary restraining order against Potomac Electric Power Co. to halt implementation of rules that he labeled "invasions of privacy," until the issue is resolved in arbitration with Electrical Workers Local 1900.

The utility's new regulations, which Greene labeled "Draconian measures," mandate discharge for employees refusing to submit to urine or blood tests, or for refusing to consent to a search of lockers and lunchboxes as well as body searches.

Employees also would face summary discharge if any detectable quantity of drugs was disclosed by the urine or blood samples, even if drug use took place on weekends or vacations.

Upholding the IBEW challenge to the new regulations, the court found that unless the new policy was blocked pending arbitration, the utility's 5,300 employees would "undergo invasions of privacy which are almost unheard of in a free society."

Judge Greene denounced PEPCO's action, declaring:

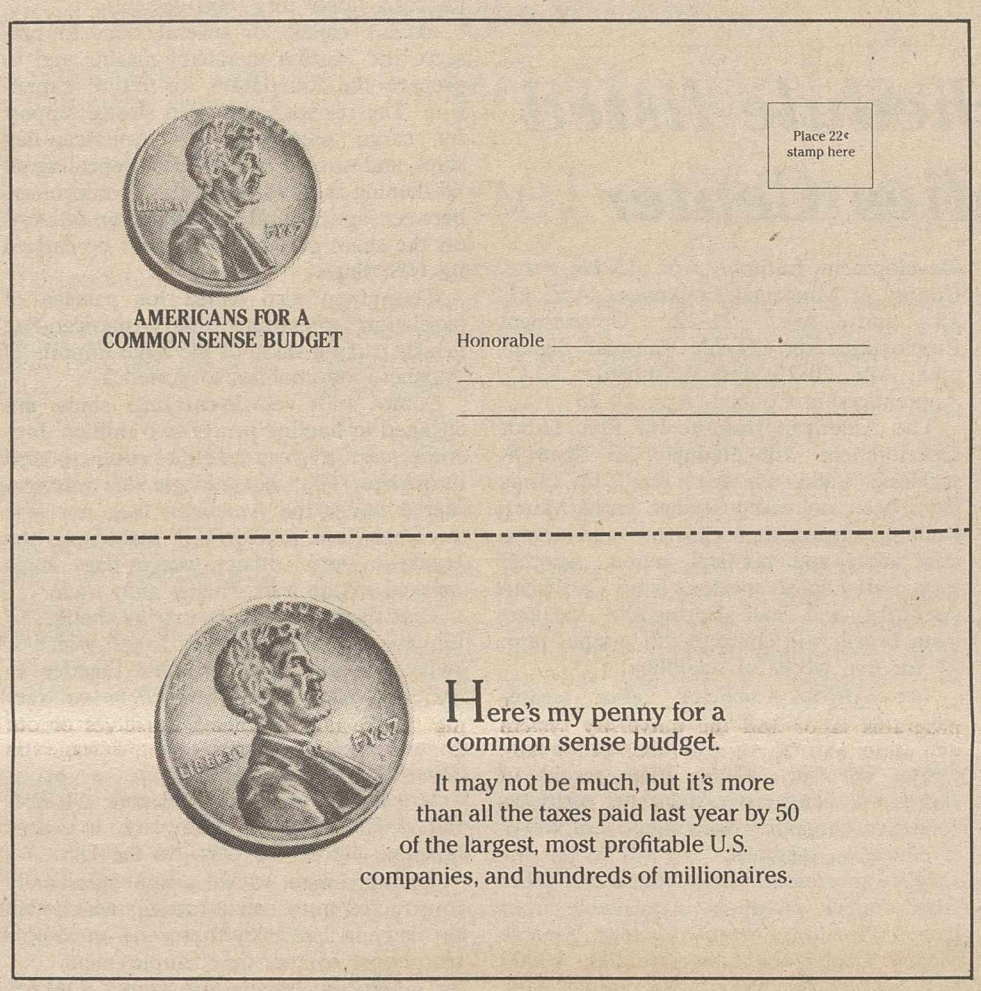
"The drug menace is certainly terrible . . . but that does not mean that we must resort to hysterical measures, particularly by a company which, while important certainly to the safety and well-being and welfare of our city and of our society, is hardly in the forefront of the danger."

'Drastic measures'

The court declared pointedly that no other organization, government or private, "has gone this far, and has sought unilaterally, without consultation or without negotiation, to impose these kinds of drastic measures."

The federal government, Greene said in his ruling, "has far more at stake in terms of drug users in its ranks," but that thus far is only "talking about" ways to deal with the problem and has not yet attempted to implement the "drastic type of measures" adopted by the utility.

Greene indicated he would follow up his action with a preliminary injunction against the company unless PEPCO agrees to expedite arbitration with the IBEW on this issue.



Front and rear panels of the "penny message" envelope.

100 organizations open drive for 'common sense budget'

More than 140 organizations, including the AFL-CIO and most of the nation's unions, have joined in the "penny campaign" launched by Americans for a Common Sense Budget to catch the attention of Congress.

Participating groups represent retirees and workers, educators and mayors, public interest and civil rights organizations, religious and farm groups. Their common denominator is the deliberately broad set of principles on which the coalition is based.

As State, County & Municipal Employees President Gerald W. McEntee expressed it at a Washington news conference, the message to Congress is that "it's nonsense to slash programs for the middle class and the poor when the largest and most profitable corporations in America don't pay a cent in taxes." The parallel message is that "the Pentagon should not be exempt" from spending cuts made by Congress, he said.

Participating groups are distributing some two million envelopes to members across the country so that concerned constituents can send their "penny for a common sense budget" along with a message to their representatives and senators.

"We're going to fill the post offices and halls of Congress with our pennies," NAACP Vice President Hazel Dukes pledged on behalf of her group.

Arthur Flemming, who served in President Eisenhower's Cabinet and has led the fight to preserve social security, stressed at the news conference that protecting essential programs from drastic cuts requires coming to grips with the basic issue of budget policy.

The grassroots message, he suggested, is that it's "good politics" to vote for revenue increases through tax reforms and to hold down the defense spending that contributed so much to the budget deficit.

Representatives of other coalition sponsors spoke of the common concerns that had brought them together, and McEntee announced plans for follow-up news conferences in cities across the country on Apr. 29 to press the grassroots message.

McEntee said the Senate Budget Committee has taken "a few steps" toward a budget that "makes some Pentagon cuts and raises some needed revenue." These are "the first halting steps and we have a long budget fight ahead of us," he said.

"There are signs that our voices are being heard," McEntee told reporters. He said polls have consistently shown that Americans think it's time that companies that have escaped taxes start paying "their fair share of the costs of government."

T.P. Van Arsdale wins N.Y. post

New York—Thomas P. Van Arsdale, a third-generation union electrician, was elected president of the 1-million-member New York City Central Labor Council in balloting by delegates from affiliated local unions.

Van Arsdale, who is treasurer of the Electrical Workers and business manager of IBEW Local 3, polled 335,434 votes to 273,284 for Victor Gotbaum, president of District Council 37 of the State, County & Municipal Employees.

He will succeed his father, Harry Van Arsdale Jr., who headed the central body from its formation after the AFL-CIO merger until his death last month and played a major role in the growth of the city's trade union movement.

Thomas Van Arsdale had served as acting president of the city central body during his father's illness. He will serve out the remainder of the current term and face election for a full two-year term in November.

Bricklayers link education plan, organizing effort

The Bricklayers have launched an education and organizing campaign to stress the skills of the union's members and strengthen its position in the construction industry.

Bricklayers President John T. Joyce announced "The Craft is Back" program, aimed at winning new members and construction projects through grassroots activities and innovative building projects. The campaign is based on the work of the Bricklayers' Project 2000 Committee, a group charged with developing long-range strategies to counter declining membership, a drop in demand for masonry work and loss of work to open-shop contractors.

A number of projects will be included under "The Craft is Back" umbrella, including study circles for union members, union development projects, an expanded role for retirees and quality of worklife programs.

The union has earmarked $7.5 million to meet its organizing goals, to be funded by a special $10-per-member assessment and income from new members.

Prelude to organizing

Joyce said the study circles, each with eight to 10 people, would function as "a prelude" to the union's comprehensive organizing campaign. He said response has been enthusiastic and noted that 49 groups have already formed, with regular meetings to begin by early summer at local union halls or members' homes.

The study circles will discuss labor and public policy issues, union history and ways to increase pride in union craftsmanship. Joyce also sees the study circle idea as a training ground for future leaders and as a means to "build up some spirit and some confidence" for next year's organizing effort.

Joyce cited a creative housing project for working families in a South Boston neighborhood that was spearheaded by the Bricklayers as another way the union could meet its members' needs and expand its construction activities.

Community project

Through the Bricklayers & Laborers Non-Profit Housing Co., union craftsmen are building 18 single-family homes on abandoned property bought from the city, to be sold at affordable prices to neighborhood residents.

Joyce said the union is encouraging locals "to form their own construction company in a cooperative format," with the international union offering legal and financial assistance.

The union also is considering establishing similar nonprofit companies or cooperative enterprises in cities where union contractors have been kept out of the construction market. Five sites are under consideration, Joyce said.

Cooperative ventures also could meet the union's aim of developing programs for retirees by matching homeowners who "need brick and tile repairs that would not be done by a contractor" and the skills of retired union members, Joyce noted.

A pilot "quality of worklife" program is planned by the union at the General Motors' Saturn plant in Tennessee.

Building legislative steam

Boilermakers from nearly 40 states focus on congressional issues at a five-day conference in Washington sponsored by the union's Legislative Education Action Program. The 300 participants devoted two full days to grassroots lobbying of senators and House members from their home states and districts. President Charles W. Jones, shown briefing the delegates, presented the union's "legislator of the year" award to Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio).

April, May schedule listed by Labor Studies Center

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies will offer 12 labor studies institutes and workshops in April and May. The schedule:

Effective Union Action for Civil Rights, Apr. 6-10—The annual conference of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights for union staffs and specialists in civil rights and women's rights.

Organizing Techniques, Apr. 13-18—A review of the elements of an organizing campaign, including targeting, house calls, picking winning issues, developing plant committees.

Union Issues for Working Women, Apr. 13-18—A seminar for women who want to upgrade their union skills and deal with such issues as maternity leave, child care, aging dependents, pay equity and training.

The Evolution of Work, Apr. 13-18—A discussion of how unions deal with the new workforce, quality of work life and employee involvement programs.

Planning and Funding Labor Education Programs, Apr. 20-25—A look at new ways of providing education and training resources and materials to increase skills of local leaders cosponsored by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Education.

Arbitration Techniques: Planning & Preparation, Apr. 27-May 2—A practice session in which mock cases are presented before professional arbitrators.

Organizing in the Construction Industry, Apr. 27-May-2—An institute, cosponsored by the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept., to develop skills and techniques.

Advanced Editing Skills, May 11-16—A workshop for union editors who have completed the newswriting course and are ready for more work on layout, photo editing and headline writing.

Negotiating Contracts with State & Local Agencies, May 11-16—An institute on preparing initial proposals, developing committee work, record-keeping procedures, opening statements, appropriate contract language and ratification.

Workers' Compensation: Proposals for Reform, May 14-16—A seminar for officers of state federations on wage loss, permanent and partial disability and rate making.

Computers for Local Unions, May 18-22—An introduction to computers for unions that are thinking of buying computers or upgrading an existing system.

Making Your Case: The Elements of Persuasion, May 18-23—An institute dealing with the subject of evidence and proof, and persuasive argumentation in grievance cases handled by union representatives before arbitrators and representation cases before the NLRB.

On Apr. 9-11, the center will conduct a briefing for site coordinators from 17 universities sponsoring sessions of the AFL-CIO teleconference on Health Care Costs, Apr. 21-22.

AFL-CIO affiliates using the George Meany Center during April for their own staff training include: East Coast Metal Trades Council, Apr. 1-4; Graphic Communications, Apr. 6-12; Human Resources Development Institute, Apr. 13-16; State, County & Municipal Employees, Apr. 13-18 and Apr. 21-22; Government Employees, Apr. 21-22; Railroad Signalmen, Apr. 20-25, and Washington, D.C., Apprenticeship Council, Apr. 24-25.

The American Institute for Free Labor Development will graduate 33 Spanish-speaking trade unionists Apr. 11. They have been on campus since early March studying organizing techniques and organized labor and political action. Another class, half English speakers from Caribbean countries and half Portuguese speakers from Brazil, will come to the campus Apr. 27 for five weeks of schooling.

The African-American Labor Center will bring 15 French speaking trade unionists from Africa to the George Meany Center on Apr. 20 for three weeks of classes on comparative industrial relations, collective bargaining techniques and worker education methods.

More information about these and other labor studies programs is available from Robert Pleasure, executive director, George Meany Center for Labor Studies, 10000 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md., 20903, telephone 301/431-6400.

At 99th convention

Marine Engineers ask merchant fleet revival

Scottsdale, Ariz.—The American merchant marine is in a "debilitated state" and a series of legislative actions is essential to restore it to economic health, delegates to the Marine Engineers' 99th convention declared.

President C. E. DeFries told the 27 delegates to the meeting of licensed maritime officers that the "state of the industry is as bad as I have seen it in my lifetime." But he added that MEBA is in a "healthy condition" and will certainly survive the present depression in the industry.

In his report to the convention, DeFries decried the apparent lack of concern by both the executive and legislative branches of government over "the continuing attrition of our merchant fleet," which now numbers fewer than 400 vessels.

MEBA called for several steps to preserve the existing merchant marine and to prepare the foundation for future expansion. The convention voiced strong support for cargo preference for American-flag ships and strong resistance to repealing or weakening the 1985 legislative compromise between agricultural and maritime interests on the share of farm exports to be carried by U.S. ships.

The union also called for passage of legislation to ensure that American-flag vessels carry a share of the huge imports of Japanese automobiles to America.

Some 400 vehicle-carrying ships are engaged in hauling nearly two million Japanese cars a year to this country, and throughout 1985 not a single one was registered under the American flag, nor was there even one job for U.S. seamen on the Japanese and other foreign-flag ships engaged in the trans-Pacific auto trade.

That situation is beginning to change. In January, Marine Transport Lines, which is under contract with MEBA's District 1-Pacific Coast District, signed a contract with Nissan Motor Co. for hauling some of its exports to America. In March, the Overseas Shipholding Group, a major American shipping firm, became the second MEBA-contract company to carry Japanese autos—Toyotas—to the U.S.

The agreement to sail a new specifically constructed auto carrier vessel, which will be ready in 1987, "will provide an important boost to maritime employment . . . for American officers and crew," DeFries said.

In other actions, MEBA called for strong support of the Jones Act, which reserves shipping between American ports for U.S.-flag vessels; called for a continued complete reservation of Alaskan oil for the American market, and urged the Navy to increase the use of civilian manning of Navy and Military Sealift Command support ships, which would free military personnel for other assignments.

Officers elected

The convention unanimously re-elected DeFries to a full four-year term. He had been named to the presidency by the national executive committee in October 1985, following the retirement of Jesse M. Calhoon. DeFries has served as president of District 1, the largest unit in MEBA, since January 1, 1985.

DeFries, a longtime marine engineer, previously was port agent in New Orleans and San Francisco and executive vice president of District 1 and served as secretary-treasurer of the national organization.

Also unanimously re-elected were the other MEBA officers: Clyde Dodson of San Francisco, secretary-treasurer; Ray McKay of Washington, executive vice president; and A. P. Sasso of New Orleans and Melvin Pelfrey of Toledo, Ohio, vice presidents.

Budget amendment rollcall

This 66-34 vote in the Senate on Mar. 25 was one vote short of the two-thirds majority needed to pass a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. The AFL-CIO strongly opposes such an amendment.

FOR LABOR'S POSITION

Democrats 24

Baucus (Mont.)	Cranston (Calif.)	Kennedy (Mass.)	Metzenbaum (Ohio)
Biden (Del.)	Dodd (Conn.)	Kerry (Mass.)	Mitchell (Me.)
Bradley (N.J.)	Eagleton (Mo.)	Lautenberg (N.J.)	Moynihan (N.Y.)
Bumpers (Ark.)	Glenn (Ohio)	Leahy (Vt.)	Riegle (Mich.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Hart (Colo.)	Levin (Mich.)	Rockefeller (W.Va.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Inouye (Hawaii)	Matsunaga (Hawaii)	Sarbanes (Md.)

Republicans 10

Chafee (R.I.)	Gorton (Wash.)	Kassebaum (Kan.)	Stafford (Vt.)
Cohen (Me.)	Hatfield (Ore.)	Mathias (Md.)	Weicker (Conn.)
Evans (Wash.)	Heinz (Pa.)		

AGAINST LABOR'S POSITION

Democrats 23

Bentsen (Tex.)	Exon (Neb.)	Johnston (La.)	Pryor (Ark.)
Bingaman (N.M.)	Ford (Ky.)	Long (La.)	Sasser (Tenn.)
Boren (Okla.)	Gore (Tenn.)	Melcher (Mont.)	Simon (Ill.)
Chiles (Fla.)	Harkin (Iowa)	Nunn (Ga.)	Stennis (Miss.)
DeConcini (Ariz.)	Heflin (Ala.)	Pell (R.I.)	Zorinsky (Neb.)
Dixon (Ill.)	Hollings (S.C.)	Proxmire (Wis.)	

Republicans 43

Abdnor (S.D.)	East (N.C.)	Laxalt (Nev.)	Rudman (N.H.)
Andrews (N.D.)	Garn (Utah)	Lugar (Ind.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Armstrong (Colo.)	Goldwater (Ariz.)	Mattingly (Ga.)	Specter (Pa.)
Boschwitz (Minn.)	Gramm (Tex.)	McClure (Ida.)	Stevens (Alaska)
Cochran (Miss.)	Grassley (Iowa)	McConnell (Ky.)	Symms (Ida.)
D'Amato (N.Y.)	Hatch (Utah)	Murkowski (Alaska)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Danforth (Mo.)	Hawkins (Fla.)	Nickles (Okla.)	Trible (Va.)
Denton (Ala.)	Hecht (Nev.)	Packwood (Ore.)	Wallop (Wyo.)
Dole (Kan.)	Helms (N.C.)	Pressler (S.D.)	Warner (Va.)
Domenici (N.M.)	Humphrey (N.H.)	Quayle (Ind.)	Wilson (Calif.)
Durenberger (Minn.)	Kasten (Wis.)	Roth (Del.)	

Trade adjustment benefits restored to import victims

Continued from Page 1

effect on Mar. 1 applied to TAA payments.

Pension insurance changes included in the bill averted a serious threat to the solvency of the labor-supported program, which protects workers from loss of earned pension benefits if their employer goes out of business or abandons a retirement program.

The Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. has incurred heavy future obligations as a result of business failures, and the premium paid by single-employer plans had remained at $2.60 a year for each person covered by a plan since 1978.

Premiums rise to $8.50 under the new legislation, which applies only to the nation's 110,000 single-employer plans. The 2,000 multi-employer plans, covering about 8 million workers, aren't affected by the premium increase or other changes.

The legislation also requires a firm that is discontinuing a pension plan but is not going out of business to fund certain earned benefits that were part of its pension plan but weren't previously guaranteed by the PBGC.

These include supplemental early retirement allowances, such as extra payments made until a worker qualifies for social security benefits. The added protection also covers plant closing benefits and pension increases adopted within five years of the plan's termination.

'Distress' provisions

Under the new legislation, a profitable firm will have to fully fund the promised benefits. A firm that is in financial distress would be allowed to fund only 75 percent of such benefits.

President Reagan's veto threat, however, forced abandonment of another labor-urged provision of the reconciliation bill, imposing a domestic-content requirement on construction of offshore oil rigs.

Reagan also insisted on deletion of provisions lifting the ceiling on the government's share of health insurance costs for federal employees and blocking states from denying Aid to Families with Dependent Children to two-parent households.

The long-delayed legislation he finally agreed to sign was supposed to make the legislative changes needed to comply with the budget targets Congress set last year for the fiscal year that started last Oct. 1. Because of the delay, some of the measure's original provisions were enacted as separate legislation. Others, including the stalled Superfund bill, were set aside and remain unfinished business.

EDITORIALS

A Fresh Start

FOR NEARLY five years, the United States government has maintained a blacklist that has barred the reemployment of some 11,000 air traffic controllers fired in 1981 for having participated in a strike.

The strike stemmed from long-festering, unresolved grievances that reflected the extreme stress of monitoring crowded skies and guiding planes into busy airports.

If air traffic controllers had been private-sector employees, as is the case in some countries, the dispute would have been resolved through the give-and-take of collective bargaining.

Another administration might have addressed the causes of the dispute. Instead, we saw on our television screens strikers being led off to jail in chains and handcuffs. Punitive mass firings, imposed as a stern "lesson" to other government workers, disrupted the nation's air transportation.

ALL THIS is history. But the problems of overburdened air traffic controllers are still what schools used to call "current events."

A recent study by the government's General Accounting Office found too few fully qualified air traffic controllers in the nation's busiest airports, and saw no likelihood of a short-term resolution of the shortage.

It found controllers and their supervisors complaining of overwork and overstress. Can anyone doubt that safety standards suffer under such conditions?

Has five years of dismissal from their trained profession—in a field in which no comparable jobs exist in the private sector—been sufficient punishment for the "crime" of striking against near-intolerable conditions?

Has the American public and the air transportation industry been sufficiently punished?

Do we want to drive a new generation of air traffic controllers to the breaking point to perpetuate a penalty that was harsh to start with and now serves no valid purpose?

SOME MEMBERS of Congress from both political parties think not, and have introduced a very modest bill to address this problem.

It would merely remove the bar that has prevented the fired air traffic controllers from being considered for employment, regardless of their qualifications and the nation's needs.

Our country is demeaned when disciplinary action is prolonged beyond any rational purpose and becomes mere vindictiveness. The legislation co-sponsored by 100 members of the House is in the nation's interest and should be quickly enacted.

Reducing Diet

AMERICAN WORKERS, management keeps telling us, must get leaner and hungrier so that U.S. firms can compete more effectively with Japanese companies. But a comparison of executive pay suggests that it may be management that needs some slimming.

A UAW publication notes the finding by a University of Michigan professor that a Japanese executive's pay is considerably closer to that of the company's workers than is the case in the United States.

The head of a Japanese firm may make seven times the pay of a skilled blue-collar worker. But his American counterpart will more likely make 15 times the blue-collar wage. And with bonuses, the U.S. executive might collect 40 to 50 times as much.

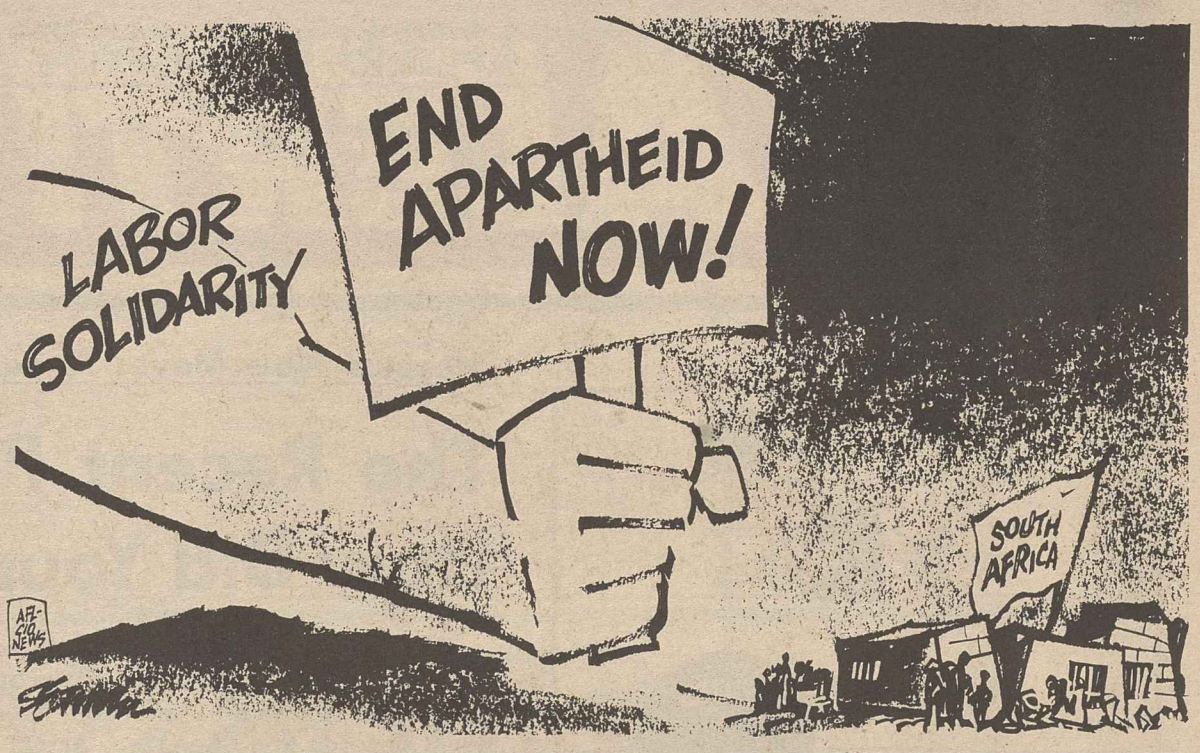
Weight watchers, anyone?

Round Two

THE SENATE wisely rejected the dangerous and dumb proposal to write a balanced budget requirement into the Constitution. Unfortunately, this isn't the last word.

The White House has already served notice that President Reagan will press for additional states to summon a constitutional convention if Congress continues to reject the amendment.

This is no time to let down our guard.



Washington Window

White-collar workplaces feel automation pressure

By Press Associates Inc.

In the silent movie "Modern Times," Charlie Chaplin played the part of a factory worker whose sole job all day was to tighten one bolt on an assembly line.

After some time on the job, Chaplin cracked as the conveyor belt accelerated. Everything he saw became the object bolt, and he tore around the factory trying to tighten bolt-like things.

Chased by supervisors, he broke loose to the street and was dragged away trying to tighten a large button on a female pedestrian's bodice.

Chaplin translated with his comic genius the nightmare of the new automation for the factory worker, whose job was reduced to a tedious, repetitive, unchallenging task without any control over assembly line speedups.

Since the era of "Modern Times," factory automation is beginning to come full circle in the United States through hard-learned lessons.

The newest segment of the U.S. workforce to face automation pressures is made up of office workers. According to a new report by the congressional Office of Technology Assessment, the widespread restructuring of office work spurred by computers is now at a cross-roads.

Taking the low road

Unfortunately for the some 45 percent of American workers who hold office jobs, employers seem to be taking the low road as the pace of office automation accelerates.

In "Automation of America's Offices, 1985-2000," the OTA corroborated earlier reports by the Service Employees and 9to5, National Association of Working Women, to find:

- Office automation is eliminating, merging and simplifying traditional tasks, quickening the pace of work, and decreasing workers' personal control over the work.
- Productivity gains from office automation are likely to be large and increase over time through substitution of capital investments in equipment for labor, which can reduce time and labor by 15 to 85 percent.
- Consequently, office automation is likely to produce slowed growth in office employment over the next decade, compared to the explosion of office jobs in previous decades.
- Slowing growth and job restructuring will have the most negative effect on clerical employment levels and jobs, especially lower level clerical positions.
- Although "access to training and the ability to learn new skills is essential," office workers increasingly must rely on their own resources for basic training and retraining, especially with cutbacks in federal aid for vocational education and job retraining.
- Office automation may strengthen the shift toward part-time work and home-based work as employers seek to reduce health insurance, vacation, sick leave and retirement plan costs, thus leaving a growing proportion of the workforce without essential protections.
- Despite mounting evidence of acute and chronic diseases linked to increased stress caused by office automation, including eyestrain and musculoskeletal problems among video display terminal operators, health and safety protections for office workers have lagged behind those for blue-collar workers.

Karen Nussbaum, president of SEIU's District 925 and director of 9to5, said that despite the increased productivity and skill levels produced by office automation, clerical wages actually decreased nationally between 1983 and 1984 by 1.5 percent, after adjustment for inflation. She called this trend "upskilling and downwaging."

The OTA said that because office automation will affect every sector of the economy, these emerging problems may require policy intervention. But the government's current ability to forecast technology-based structural shifts in the economy is so poor that it may be difficult to design and implement timely interventions.

"If taken too late," the OTA said, policy interventions "may be ineffective and allow unnecessary damage to the welfare and stability of people, families and whole communities that are left behind as the economy changes."

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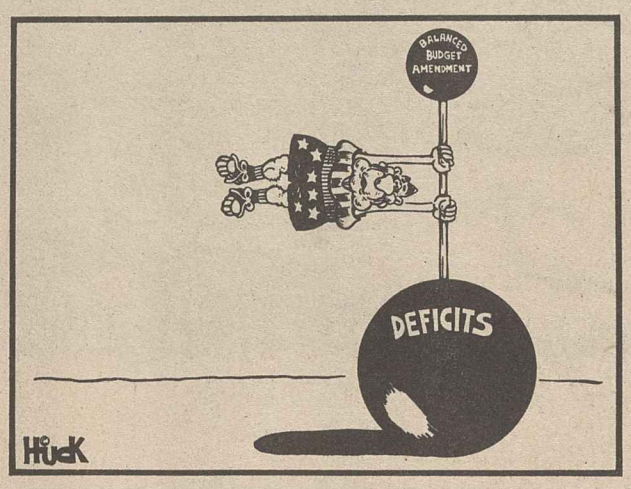

Senate Tax Package Heads In The Wrong Direction

The Senate Finance Committee has begun drafting its version of tax reform and already indications are they want to give more tax breaks to wealthy and big business while draining middle-income taxpayers. A preliminary package drawn up by Chairman Robert Packwood (R-OR), with a nod from the President, protects employee benefits from taxation but cuts back on the deduction for state and local taxes. At the same time, it lowers the top tax for wealthy individuals and corporations.

A huge lobbying effort on the part of workers has reinforced the position taken in the draft package that there should be no tax on employee benefits, but the draft is still a serious weakening of the House-passed tax reform bill. The repeal of the corporate excise tax deduction amounts to a kind of "back door" increase of consumption taxes, which are regressive and weigh heaviest on low and middle-income Americans. Simply put, the measure would take hard-earned money out of the pockets of individuals to help reduce the top corporate tax rate and to provide other tax loopholes.

What You Can Do This Week To Protect Your Interests:

Hobbs Act Threat: The right-wing campaign to put strikers in federal prison for up to 20 years will come to a head very soon. A full Senate vote on S. 1774 is imminent so contact your senators today, urging them to vote against this dangerous legislation in any form.

Polygraph Bill: After an important victory for workers in the House, the Senate will soon begin consideration of its own legislation to stop employer polygraph testing. Urge your two senators to support this important bill.

Double Breasting Bill: One of the keystones of labor's agenda for 1986, H.R. 281, the double breasting bill, is expected to be voted on by the full House in the next couple of weeks. Make sure your representative supports this important measure.

Send your correspondence to The Honorable _____, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510 and The Honorable _____, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515. Do it today!

Measure Now Moves To Senate

The Recent Polygraph Victory: How Did Your Own Member Vote?

The polygraph protection bill, an important piece of legislation to protect the individual rights of American workers, is now before the Senate, after winning House approval March 12. The Senate Labor Committee is slated to begin hearings April 23 on the legislation. It has a good chance of reaching the Senate floor by mid-summer and should benefit from the momentum of an important House win behind it.

The fight leading up to the House vote was fierce and there were repeated attempts to either weaken or kill the bill, which was sponsored by Rep. Pat Williams (D-MT) and cosponsored by Rep. Jack Kemp (R-NY). The final vote was 236 to 176 on the measure which would bar most private companies from using polygraph devices to interrogate employees or job applicants.

The first major threat came from a substitute bill sponsored by Reps. George Darden (D-GA) and C. W. Young (R-FL) that would have largely gutted the bill. It lost on a vote of 241 to 173. A second threat came in the form of an amendment from Rep. Bill McCollum (R-FL) to exempt all employees of virtually any kind of financial institution, but members voted down the amendment 216 to 194.

The complete roll call for all three votes follows. Vote #1 is for final passage, vote #2 is on the Darden-Young substitute bill and vote #3 is on the McCollum amendment: (R = Right, W = Wrong)

ALABAMA			
1. Callahan (R)	W	W	W
2. Dickinson (R)	R	W	W
3. Nichols (D)	R	W	W
4. Bevill (D)	R	W	R
5. Flippo (D)	R	W	R
6. Erdreich (D)	R	R	W
7. Shelby (D)	R	R	R
ALASKA			
AL Young D. (R)	R	R	W
ARIZONA			
1. McCain (R)	W	W	W
2. Udall (D)	R	R	R
3. Stump (R)	W	W	W
4. Rudd (R)	W	W	A
5. Kolbe (R)	W	W	W
ARKANSAS			
1. Alexander (D)	R	R	R
2. Robinson (D)	R	R	R
3. Hammerschmidt (R)	W	W	W
4. Anthony (D)	R	R	R
CALIFORNIA			
1. Bosco (D)	R	R	R
2. Chappie (R)	W	W	W
3. Matsui (D)	R	R	R
4. Fazio (D)	R	R	R
5. Burton S. (D)	R	R	R
6. Boxer (D)	R	R	R
7. Miller G. (D)	R	R	R
8. Dellums (D)	R	R	R
9. Stark (D)	R	A	R
10. Edwards D. (D)	R	R	R
11. Lantos (D)	R	R	R
12. Zschau (R)	W	R	W
13. Mineta (D)	R	R	R
14. Shumway (R)	W	W	W
15. Coelho (D)	R	R	R
16. Panetta (D)	R	R	W
17. Pashayan (R)	R	R	W
18. Lehman R. (D)	R	R	R
19. Lagomarsino (R)	W	W	W
20. Thomas W. (R)	W	W	W
21. Fiedler (R)	W	W	W
22. Moorhead (R)	W	W	W
23. Beilenson (D)	R	R	R
24. Waxman (D)	R	R	R
25. Roybal (D)	R	R	R
26. Berman (D)	R	R	R
27. Levine (D)	R	R	R
28. Dixon (D)	R	R	R
29. Hawkins (D)	R	R	R
30. Martinez (D)	R	R	R
31. Dymally (D)	R	R	R
32. Anderson (D)	W	W	W
33. Dreier (R)	W	W	W
34. Torres (D)	R	R	R
35. Lewis J. (R)	W	W	W
36. Brown G. (D)	R	A	A
37. McCandless (R)	W	W	W
38. Dornan (R)	A	A	A
39. Dannemeyer (R)	W	W	W
40. Badham (R)	W	W	W
41. Lowery (R)	W	W	W
42. Lungren (R)	W	W	W
43. Packard (R)	W	W	W
44. Bates (D)	W	R	R
45. Hunter (R)	W	W	W
COLORADO			
1. Schroeder (D)	R	R	W
2. Wirth (D)	R	R	R
3. Strang (R)	W	R	R
4. Brown H. (R)	W	W	W
5. Kramer (R)	W	W	W
6. Schaefer (R)	W	W	W
CONNECTICUT			
1. Kennelly (D)	R	R	R
2. Gejdenson (D)	R	R	R
3. Morrison B. (D)	R	R	R
4. McKinney (R)	R	R	R
5. Rowland J.G. (R)	R	R	W
6. Johnson (R)	R	R	R
DELAWARE			
AL Carper (D)	R	R	W
FLORIDA			
1. Hutto (D)	W	W	W
2. Fuqua (D)	W	W	W
3. Bennett (D)	W	W	W
4. Chappell (D)	W	W	W
5. McCollum (R)	W	W	W
6. MacKay (D)	W	W	W
7. Gibbons (D)	W	R	R
8. Young C. (R)	W	W	W
9. Bilirakis (R)	W	W	W
10. Ireland (R)	W	W	W
11. Nelson (D)	W	W	W
12. Lewis T. (R)	W	W	W
13. Mack (R)	W	W	W
14. Mica (D)	R	R	R
15. Shaw (R)	W	W	W
16. Smith L. (D)	R	R	R
17. Lehman W. (D)	R	R	R
18. Pepper (D)	R	R	R
19. Fascell (D)	R	R	R
GEORGIA			
1. Thomas L. (D)	W	W	W
2. Hatcher (D)	A	A	A
3. Ray (D)	W	W	W
4. Swindall (R)	W	W	W
5. Fowler (D)	W	W	R
6. Gingrich (R)	W	W	W
7. Darden (D)	W	W	W
8. Rowland (D)	W	W	W
9. Jenkins (D)	W	W	R
10. Barnard (D)	W	W	W
HAWAII			
1. Heftel (D)	R	R	W
2. Akaka (D)	R	R	R
IDAHO			
1. Craig (R)	W	W	W
2. Stallings (D)	R	R	R
ILLINOIS			
1. Hayes (D)	R	R	R
2. Savage (D)	R	R	R
3. Russo (D)	R	R	R
4. O'Brien (R)	W	R	W
5. Lipinski (D)	R	R	R
6. Hyde (R)	W	W	W
7. Collins (D)	R	R	A
8. Rostenkowski (D)	R	R	R
9. Yates (D)	R	R	R
10. Porter (R)	W	W	W
11. Annunzio (D)	R	R	R
12. Crane P. (R)	W	W	W
13. Fawell (R)	W	W	W
14. Grotberg (R)	A	A	A
15. Madigan (R)	A	W	A
16. Martin L. (R)	R	R	R
17. Evans L. (D)	R	R	R
18. Michel (R)	W	W	W
19. Bruce (D)	R	R	R
20. Durbin (D)	R	R	R
21. Price (D)	R	R	R
22. Gray K. (D)	R	R	R
INDIANA			
1. Visclosky (D)	R	R	R
2. Sharp (D)	R	R	R
3. Hiler (R)	W	W	W
4. Coats (R)	W	R	W
5. Hillis (R)	W	W	W
6. Burton D. (R)	W	R	W
7. Myers (R)	W	W	W
8. McCloskey (D)	R	R	R
9. Hamilton (D)	R	R	R
10. Jacobs (D)	R	R	R
IOWA			
1. Leach (R)	R	R	R
2. Tauke (R)	R	R	R
3. Evans C. (R)	W	A	W
4. Smith N. (D)	R	R	R
5. Lightfoot (R)	W	W	W
6. Bedell (D)	R	R	R
KANSAS			
1. Roberts (R)	W	W	W
2. Slattery (D)	R	R	R
3. Meyers (R)	W	R	W
4. Glickman (D)	R	R	R
5. Whittaker (R)	W	W	W
KENTUCKY			
1. Hubbard (D)	R	R	R
2. Natcher (D)	R	R	R
3. Mazzoli (D)	R	R	W
4. Snyder (R)	W	W	W
5. Rogers (R)	W	W	W
6. Hopkins (R)	W	W	W
7. Perkins (D)	R	R	R
LOUISIANA			
1. Livingston (R)	W	W	W
2. Boggs (D)	R	R	R
3. Tauzin (D)	R	W	W
4. Roemer (D)	R	W	W
5. Huckaby (D)	W	W	W
6. Moore (R)	W	W	W
7. Breaux (D)	R	R	R
8. Long G. (D)	R	R	R
9. Long (D)	R	R	R
MAINE			
1. McKernan (R)	W	W	W
2. Snowe (R)	R	R	R
MARYLAND			
1. Dyson (D)	R	R	R
2. Bentley (R)	R	W	R
3. Mikulski (D)	R	R	R
4. Holt (R)	W	W	W
5. Hoyer (D)	R	R	R
6. Byron (D)	R	W	W
7. Mitchell (D)	W	R	R
8. Barnes (D)	R	R	A
MASSACHUSETTS			
1. Conte (R)	R	R	R
2. Boland (D)	R	R	R
3. Early (D)	R	R	R
4. Frank (D)	R	R	R
5. Atkins (D)	R	R	R
6. Mavroules (D)	R	R	R
7. Markey (D)	R	R	R
8. O'Neill (D)	S	S	S
9. Moakley (D)	R	R	R
10. Studds (D)	R	R	R
11. Donnelly (D)	R	R	R
MICHIGAN			
1. Conyers (D)	R	R	R
2. Pursell (R)	W	R	W
3. Wolpe (D)	R	R	R
4. Siljander (R)	W	W	W
5. Henry (R)	W	W	W
6. Carr (D)	R	R	R
7. Kildee (D)	R	R	R
8. Traxler (D)	R	R	R
9. Vander Jagt (R)	W	W	W
10. Schuette (R)	W	W	W
11. Davis (R)	R	R	R
12. Bonior (D)	R	R	R
13. Crockett (D)	R	R	R
14. Hertel (D)	R	R	R
15. Ford W. (D)	R	R	R
16. Dingell (D)	R	R	R
17. Levin (D)	R	R	R
18. Broomfield (R)	W	W	W
MINNESOTA			
1. Penny (D)	R	R	R
2. Weber (R)	R	R	R
3. Frenzel (R)	W	W	W
4. Vento (D)	R	R	R
5. Sabo (D)	R	R	R
6. Sikorski (D)	R	R	R
7. Stangeland (R)	R	R	W
8. Oberstar (D)	R	R	R
MISSISSIPPI			
1. Whitten (D)	W	W	R
2. Franklin (R)	W	W	W
3. Montgomery (D)	W	W	W
4. Dowdy (D)	W	W	W
5. Lott (R)	W	W	W
MISSOURI			
1. Clay (D)	R	R	R
2. Young R. (D)	R	R	R
3. Gephardt (D)	A	A	A
4. Skelton (D)	R	R	R
5. Wheat (D)	R	R	R
6. Coleman E. (R)	W	W	W
7. Taylor (R)	W	W	A
8. Emerson (R)	W	W	W
9. Volkmer (D)	R	R	R
MONTANA			
1. Williams P. (D)	R	R	R
2. Marlenee (R)	W	W	W
NEBRASKA			
1. Bereuter (R)	R	W	W
2. Daub (R)	W	W	W
3. Smith V. (R)	W	W	W
NEVADA			
1. Reid (D)	R	R	R
2. Vucanovich (R)	W	W	W
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
1. Smith R. (R)	W	W	W
2. Gregg (R)	R	R	W
NEW JERSEY			
1. Florio (D)	R	R	R
2. Hughes (D)	R	R	W
3. Howard (D)	R	R	R
4. Smith C. (R)	R	R	R
5. Roukema (R)	W	W	W
6. Dwyer (D)	R	R	R
7. Rinaldo (R)	R	R	R
8. Roe (D)	R	R	R
9. Torricelli (D)	R	R	W
10. Rodino (D)	R	R	R
11. Gallo (R)	R	R	W
12. Courter (R)	R	R	R
13. Saxton (R)	R	R	W
14. Guarini (D)	R	R	R
NEW MEXICO			
1. Lujan (R)	W	W	W
2. Skeen (R)	W	W	W
3. Richardson (D)	R	R	R
NEW YORK			
1. Carney (R)	W	W	W
2. Downey (D)	R	R	R
3. Mrazek (D)	R	R	R
4. Lent (R)	A	W	W
5. McGrath (R)	W	W	W
6. Addabbo (D)	A	A	A
7. Ackerman (D)	R	R	R
8. Scheuer (D)	R	R	R
9. Manton (D)	R	R	R
10. Schumer (D)	R	R	R
11. Towns (D)	A	R	A
12. Owens (D)	R	R	R
13. Solarz (D)	R	R	R
14. Molinari (R)	W	W	W
15. Green (R)	R	R	W
16. Rangel (D)	R	R	R
17. Weiss (D)	W	R	R
18. Garcia (D)	R	R	R
19. Biaggi (D)	R	R	R
20. DioGuardi (R)	W	W	W
21. Fish (R)	W	W	W
22. Gilman (R)	R	R	R
23. Stratton (D)	R	W	W
24. Solomon (R)	W	W	W
25. Boehlert (R)	R	R	R
26. Martin D. (R)	W	W	W
27. Wortley (R)	W	W	W
28. McHugh (D)	R	R	R
29. Horton (R)	R	R	R
30. Eckert (R)	W	W	W
31. Kemp (R)	R	R	R
32. LaFalce (D)	R	R	A
33. Nowak (D)	R	R	R
34. Lundine (D)	R	R	R
NORTH CAROLINA			
1. Jones W. (D)	W	W	R
2. Valentine (D)	W	W	W
3. Whitley (D)	W	W	W
4. Cobey (R)	W	W	W
5. Neal (D)	R	R	R
6. Coble (R)	W	W	W
7. Rose (D)	W	W	W
8. Hefner (D)	W	W	R
9. McMillan (R)	W	W	W
10. Broyhill (R)	W	W	A
11. Hendon (R)	W	W	W
NORTH DAKOTA			
AL Dorgan (D)	R	R	R
OHIO			
1. Luken (D)	R	R	R
2. Gradison (R)	W	W	W
3. Hall T. (D)	W	W	W
4. Oxley (R)	W	W	W
5. Latta (R)	A	A	A
6. McEwen (R)	W	W	W
7. DeWine (R)	W	W	W
8. Kindness (R)	A	W	W
9. Kaptur (D)	R	R	R
10. Miller C. (R)	W	W	W
11. Eckart (D)	R	R	R
12. Kasich (R)	W	R	W
13. Pease (D)	R	R	R
14. Seiberling (D)	R	R	R
15. Wylie (R)	A	W	A
16. Regula (R)	R	W	W
17. Traficant (D)	R	R	R
18. Applegate (D)	R	R	R
19. Feighan (D)	R	R	R
20. Oakar (D)	R	R	R
21. Stokes (D)	R	R	R
OKLAHOMA			
1. Jones J. (D)	R	R	W
2. Synar (D)	R	R	R
3. Watkins (D)	R	R	W
4. McCurdy (D)	A	A	A
5. Edwards M. (D)	W	R	W
6. English (D)	R	R	W
OREGON			
1. AuCoin (D)	R	R	R
2. Smith R. (R)	W	W	W
3. Wyden (D)	R	R	R
4. Weaver (D)	R	R	A
5. Smith D. (R)	W	W	W
PENNSYLVANIA			
1. Foglietta (D)	R	R	R
2. Gray (D)	R	R	R
3. Borski (D)	R	R	R
4. Kolter (D)	R	R	R
5. Schulze (R)	W	W	W
6. Yatron (D)	R	R	R
7. Edgar (D)	A	R	R
8. Kostmayer (D)	R	R	R
9. Shuster (R)	W	W	W
10. McDade (R)	R	R	R
11. Kanjorski (D)	R	R	R
12. Murtha (D)	R	R	R
13. Coughlin (R)	R	R	R
14. Coyne (D)	R	R	R
15. Ritter (R)	R	R	W
16. Walker (R)	W	W	W
17. Gekas (R)	R	W	W
18. Walgren (D)	R	R	R
19. Goodling (R)	W	W	W
20. Gaydos (D)	R	R	R
21. Ridge (R)	R	R	R
22. Murphy (D)	R	R	R
23. Clinger (R)	R	R	R
RHODE ISLAND			
1. St. Germain (D)	R	R	W
2. Schneider (R)	R	R	W
SOUTH CAROLINA			
1. Hartnett (R)	W	W	W
2. Spence (R)	W	W	W
3. Derrick (D)	W	W	W
4. Campbell (R)	W	W	A
5. Spratt (D)	W	W	R
6. Tallon (D)	W	W	W
SOUTH DAKOTA			
AL Daschle (D)	R	R	R
TENNESSEE			
1. Quillen (R)	R	R	W
2. Duncan (R)	W	W	W
3. Lloyd (D)	W	W	W
4. Cooper (D)	R	R	R
5. Boner (D)	R	R	R
6. Gordon (D)	R	R	R
7. Sundquist (R)	W	W	W
8. Jones E. (D)	W	W	W
9. Ford H. (D)	R	R	R
TEXAS			
1. Hall S. (D)	R	R	R
2. Chapman (D)	W	W	W
3. Wilson (D)	R	R	R
4. Bartlett (R)	W	W	W
5. Hall R. (D)	A	A	A
6. Bryant (D)	R	R	R
7. Barton (R)	W	W	W
8. Archer (R)	W	W	W
9. Fields (R)	W	W	W
10. Brooks (D)	R	R	R
11. Pickle (D)	R	W	R
12. Leath (D)	W	W	W
13. Wright (D)	A	R	R
14. Boutler (R)	W	W	W
15. Sweeney (R)	W	W	W
16. De la Garza (D)	W	R	W
17. Coleman R. (D)	W	R	R
18. Stenholm (D)	W	W	W
19. Leland (D)	R	R	R
20. Combest (R)	W	W	W
21. Gonzalez (D)	R	R	R
22. Loeffler (R)	W	W	A
23. DeLay (R)	W	W	W
24. Bustamante (D)	R	R	R
25. Frost (D)	A	W	W
26. Andrews M. (D)	R	R	R
27. Armey (R)	W	W	W
28. Ortiz (D)	W	R	R
UTAH			
1. Hansen J. (R)	W	W	W
2. Monson (R)	W	W	W
3. Nielson (R)	R	R	R
VERMONT			
AL Jeffords (R)	R	R	A
VIRGINIA			
1. Bateman (R)	W	W	W
2. Whitehurst (R)	W	W	W
3. Bliley (R)	W	W	W
4. Sisisky (D)	W	W	W
5. Daniel (D)	W	W	W
6. Olin (D)	R	R	R
7. Slaughter (R)	W	W	W
8. Parris (R)	W	W	W
9. Boucher (D)	R	R	R
10. Wolf (R)	W	W	W
WASHINGTON			
1. Miller J. (R)	R	R	R
2. Swift (D)	R	R	R
3. Bonker (D)	R	R	R
4. Morrison S. (R)	W	W	W
5. Foley (D)	R	R	R
6. Dicks (D)	R	R	R
7. Lowry (D)	R	R	R
8. Chandler (R)	W	W	W
WEST VIRGINIA			
1. Mollohan (D)	R	R	R
2. Staggers (D)	R	R	R
3. Wise (D)	R	R	R
4. Rahall (D)	R	R	R
WISCONSIN			
1. Aspin (D)	A	A	A
2. Kastenmeier (D)	R	R	R
3. Gunderson (R)	W	R	W
4. Kleczka (D)	R	R	R
5. Moody (D)	R	R	R
6. Petri (R)	W	W	W
7. Obey (D)	R	R	R
8. Roth (R)	W	W	W
9. Sensenbrenner (R)	W	W	W
WYOMING			
AL Cheney (R)	W	W	W

Lyndon LaRouche's nightmare world

By David L. Perlman

It is hard to take Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr. seriously, but it can be dangerous to ignore him. That's the the hard lesson of the Illinois primary, where a mix of demagoguery, prejudice and voter apathy demolished the Democratic Party's statewide ticket.

It's easy to laugh at the LaRouche cult, which swims in its own nightmare world in which conspirators and assassins lurk behind each bush.

There's the Queen of England and a cabal of international bankers determined to kill LaRouche because he designed a "new, gold-based monetary system."

The list of co-conspirators includes Henry Kissinger, the Rockefeller family, "big-time Zionist mobsters," and the ubiquitous "British agents." It embraces the International Red Cross, and such odd bedfellows as the Ku Klux Klan and B'Nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League.

But then not many people took Adolph Hitler seriously when he wrote his twisted manifesto, Mein Kampf.

The AFL-CIO started taking LaRouche seriously more than a decade ago when his storm troopers of the self-styled U.S. Labor Party tried to break up union meetings and distributed obscene leaflets describing local union leaders as "homosexuals" or "perverts."

That was in his ultra-left period, although left and right have no conventional meaning in the LaRouche political lexicon. Those who challenge him are routinely described as sexual deviants and drug dealers. Personal harassment and threats are the weapons of his followers.

When columnist Mike Royko exposed one of the LaRouche front groups, handbills and posters appeared claiming he had undergone a sex change operation. His assistant found pinned to her apartment door a warning, "We will kill your cat."

New Hampshire reporter Jon Prestage, who wrote a series of three articles critical of LaRouche for the Manchester Union Leader, could never prove that LaRouche supporters killed his three cats. But a dead cat appeared on his doorstep the day after each of the articles was published.

In another case, reported by the Wall Street Journal, neighbors of a reporter who wrote articles critical of LaRouche received leaflets inviting them to "a gay coming out party" at his house.

When Polly Girvin opposed LaRouche's proposal to build a "summer camp" for his followers in Loudoun County, Va., where she lived and where the 63-year-old LaRouche has a fortress estate patrolled by armed guard, pamphlets appeared in the county calling her a drug dealer and a Soviet agent.

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Economy sluggish despite welcome dip in U.S. trade deficit

By Gene Zack

The AFL-CIO welcomed government reports showing that the foreign trade deficit declined from January's record-smashing high and that the leading economic indicators took an upward turn, but cautioned against "undue optimism" based on one month's performance.

"Naturally, we're pleased at any good economic news," Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald said, "even when some of the improvement results from factors which provide no direct benefits to workers, consumers and farmers, and when they leave us with an array of serious problems that demand action."

Oswald pointed out that while the gaping deficit in the nation's foreign trade shrank by $4 billion from January's peak, the February figure of $12.5 billion was a staggering 25 percent above the level of the same month in 1985, and higher than the monthly average for all of last year.

"If that monthly rate continues," he said, "we'll end up this year with a trade deficit in the $150-billion range—higher than last year's all-time record of $148.5 billion."

Bull market

As for the leap of seven-tenths of 1 percent in the leading economic indicators, the federation pointed out that it resulted largely from two of its financial components—the raging bull market on Wall Street and an increase in the money supply. "Neither of these directly benefits workers and their families," Oswald pointed out.

On the other side of the coin, indicators that do affect the average American declined last month. They included a drop in the average workweek, new factory orders and building permits, and an increase in the number of new claims for unemployment compensation.

"These add up to a substantially mixed economic performance, and signal a continued pattern of sluggish economic growth," Oswald asserted, adding:

Job problems persist

"We continue to have workers losing their jobs, and industries losing their markets, because of unrestrained foreign imports. Unemployment is inching back up and remains at recession levels. We have a $2 trillion national debt and devastating federal budget deficits. And the family farmer continues to suffer.

"These cold realities hardly call for the kind of rejoicing that the Reagan Administration is indulging in."

Meanwhile, the Commerce Dept. reported that factory orders in March dropped to a $2.8-billion level—1.4 percent below February's performance and the largest decline in more than a year.

The narrowing of the trade deficit in February was triggered by tumbling world oil prices, the result of the rift within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and vigorous price competition

Continued on Page 2

CWA's chief negotiator John C. Carroll greets AT&T's Robert Livingston, left, at start of nationwide negotiations. The IBEW also opened contract talks in Washington with the telecommunications firm.

Job security, wages head bargaining goals at AT&T

By Candice Johnson

Job security and wage increases topped the list of bargaining concerns as the Communications Workers and the Electrical Workers opened contract negotiations with the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. The two unions, representing 205,000 AT&T employees, are holding separate talks with company negotiators for contracts that expire May 31.

This is the first round of contract negotiations since the industry was deregulated in 1984. Some 50,000 IBEW members and 155,000 CWA members are covered by the expiring agreements.

Contracts covering another 373,000 workers at the seven regional telephone companies, spun off from the Bell system, expire Aug. 9, with negotiations to get underway later this spring.

CWA President Morton Bahr summarized his union's bargaining position as seeking a fair settlement and "meaningful employment security for highly productive workers who have helped make their employers profitable." Bahr pointed out that AT&T and the seven regional telephone companies are profitable and can afford fair pay raises, adding that the union's top priority is job security.

Exchange offered

In exchange for employment security, worker retraining and wage increases that more than keep pace with inflation, CWA has said it would ease some job classification and work rules.

Job security for members affected by layoffs and company "down-sizing" is the IBEW's chief bargaining goal, said Art Perry, director of the union's Telephone Oper-

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OSHA imposes record fine for Carbide safety violations

By Arlee C. Green

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration's record $1.4 million proposed fine against Union Carbide Corp. for 221 safety violations is a hopeful sign that "marks a change in Reagan Administration policy and a commitment to vigorous enforcement of the law," the AFL-CIO said.

Margaret Seminario, the federation's job safety specialist, termed the action a clear indication "that strong enforcement is possible." She noted that the agency in this case returned to a more effective policy of fining firms for each instance of a violation, rather than ganging them together under one violation, which tended to minimize penalties.

Seminario stressed, however, that OSHA again acted "after the fact." The first "wall-to-wall" inspection of Union Carbide's plant in Institute, W.Va., came only after a release of a toxic cloud last Aug. 11 injured 135 residents and six employees, members of the Machinists. Earlier, more than 2,500 persons were killed and 200,000 injured in Bhopal, India, in the worst industrial accident in history when a deadly cloud of methyl isocyanate gas was released from a Union Carbide plant.

Labor Sec. William E. Brock stressed in announcing the OSHA action that a six-month inspection of the plant showed a "situation characterized by complacency and what we believe to be a willful disregard for health and safety."

Brock said the agency found "very serious problems" with the company's "safety systems, its recordkeeping, its safety and health programs, and its safety management systems." The OSHA team completed its inspection of just five of the 18 units at the Institute plant.

OSHA cited the company for 221 instances where 55 health and safety regulations were violated. Of these, there were 130 instances of "willful" violations, each with a proposed penalty of $10,000. There were 72 instances of "serious" violations with a penalty of $1,000 each. Nineteen "other-than-serious" violations were assessed at a total of $5,700.

Union Carbide President Robert D. Kennedy charged that OSHA "grossly dis-

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Endowment funds cited as freedom spur

The AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute has used funds from the National Endowment for Democracy to strengthen the cause of freedom in ways that would not otherwise be possible, its executive director testified.

Eugenia Kemble told a House Appropriations subcommittee that the assistance the AFL-CIO gives to emerging or oppressed free trade union movements in other countries "is private work that serves the public interest."

Labor's role in the Philippines may be "the great untold story of the democratic revolution now unfolding there," she testified. While the AFL-CIO's support for democratic trade union forces in the Philippines goes back many years, Endowment for Democracy funding made possible "the extraordinary mobilization of union members" to protect the integrity of the voting process and serve as "the unarmed footsoldiers of the democratic revolution."

Kemble expressed concern that budget cuts are now forcing a retrenchment in such labor-assisted programs in the Philippines as basic organizing, nurse practitioner health care and union newsletters.

She told the panel that financial help from the Free Trade Union Institute has helped keep alive a struggling union organization in Nicaragua that has resisted government control under both the Somoza and Sandinista regimes.

Human rights struggle

Assistance has also gone to a committee of Latin American trade unionists supporting trade union and human rights. The committee helped substantiate a protest by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to the International Labor Organization against the jailing of 16 trade unionists by the Nicaraguan government.

The House panel is looking into the uses of Endowment for Democracy funds in Central America and the Philippines, and the federation's testimony focused on those areas. Endowment funds are allocated to private organizations that conduct programs to strengthen democratic institutions abroad.

IUE ratifies pact ending strike at three GE plants

Lynn, Mass.—The Electronic Workers at three General Electric plants in Massachusetts ratified an agreement covering the handling of shop floor disputes, ending a 27-day strike.

"It's a good agreement and we're very well satisfied with it," IUE Local 201 Business Agent Ron Malloy said. He noted the members strongly backed the strike, and praised their handling of the day-to-day strike duties, which permitted the local officers to work on a settlement.

A backlog of more than 300 grievances and management treatment of shop stewards were the key issues in the walkout Feb. 21 by 3,700 workers at the Lynn plant. The job action spread on Mar. 3 to the engine plants in Everett and Medford that employ 1,700 workers. Two days later, 2,600 IUE members at the steam turbine division in Lynn struck the company.

The agreement establishes a joint labor-management educational program on resolving disputes with the goal of improving mutual understanding of the roles of shop stewards and foremen.

It will prohibit foremen from issuing an immediate suspension of a steward—an action that precipitated the strike.

Sending a message

News conference by leaders of the coalition of Americans for a Common Sense Budget opens campaign to send a "penny message" to Congress urging revenue increases through tax reform and a curb on defense spending. Arthur Flemming, who served in the Eisenhower Cabinet, outlines the group's program. Shown seated are NAACP Vice President Hazel Dukes and State, County & Municipal Employees President Gerald W. McEntee.

Open-shop contractors fail to stop Saturn project accord

Memphis—The National Labor Relations Board regional director here threw out a complaint by the non-union Associated Builders & Contractors accusing the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. and the Morrison-Knudsen Co. of unfair labor practices in the agreement for construction of General Motors Corp.'s Saturn production plant.

NLRB Regional Director Gerald P. Fleischut rejected the ABC's claims of labor law violations by the BCTD and the Idaho-based builder and ruled that further proceedings are "not warranted." The NLRB general counsel in Washington recommended dismissal of the complaint.

Morrison-Knudsen was selected by General Motors to oversee construction at the $3.5 billion Saturn plant in Spring Hill, Tenn. The contractor then negotiated a project agreement with the BCTD that will require contractors and subcontractors to hire workers through a union hiring hall, follow union work rules, contribute to health and benefit funds and sign the agreement.

The non-union contractors group objected to these provisions and filed a complaint with the NLRB, contending that they were illegal.

The ABC insisted that even though Morrison-Knudsen was named construction manager by Saturn, the company technically was not a "construction employer" and had "illegally entered into a pre-hire agreement."

But Fleischut did not agree, ruling that Morrison-Knudsen clearly was in fact the construction employer and was thereby entitled under federal labor law to enter into a pre-hire agreement.

Morrison-Knudsen's role on the construction project "is more than sufficent to invoke the protection of the construction industry proviso," Fleischut said, terming the project agreement between the BCTD and Morrison-Knudsen valid and legal.

The company is a "major general contractor with construction contracts throughout the United States," Fleishut said, adding, "no further analysis is necessary in order to deem it 'an employer in the construction industry' " as required by section 8(e) of the National Labor Relations Act.

BCTD President Robert A. Georgine said he was "delighted" with the decision and called the ABC suit "purely a publicity and political move in line with their usual practices."

"As we knew all along, there was no merit to the charges filed by the Associated Builders & Contractors," Georgine said.

Essential point

Fleischut said that while it appeared that "Saturn made the decision that the Spring Hill facility would be constructed pursuant to a project agreement and Saturn has the final authority as to which contractors will actually be awarded the project bids. . . the essential point is that Morrison-Knudsen and not Saturn is the signatory to the project agreement."

Still pending before the NLRB are unfair labor practice charges brought by the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation against Saturn and the Auto Workers. The "right-to-work" group claims that an agreement between Saturn and the UAW covering plant operations is illegal because it gives the UAW recognition and representation rights.

Economic data finds workers still hurting

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from non-OPEC nations. The falling U.S. dollar also made a modest contribution.

But even as oil prices skidded to mid-1970's levels, the Reagan Administration was trying to put a prop under the industry, with Vice President George Bush and Energy Sec. John S. Herrington urging Saudi Arabia to put a brake on its soaring output and stabilize prices.

The government reported imports totaled $30.2 billion in February, down from January's $33.5-billion mark, but still considerably above the $26.5 billion worth of imports in the same month last year.

Steel imports, however, shot above the 2-million-ton mark despite a 17-month-old promise by President Reagan to impose limits on foreign steel entering the country. The American Iron & Steel Institute said that imports last month took a 26.4-percent chunk of domestic sales.

And shoe imports continued their record-breaking climb in February, soaring 40 percent above year-ago levels. For the first two months of 1986, footwear imports rose 35 percent. The 87.5 million pairs of foreign-made shoes that entered the United States last month was the second highest monthly level ever recorded, topped only by January's 90 million pairs.

Declaring that "this invasion of foreign-made shoes is literally trampling our industry to death," the Food & Commercial Workers and the Clothing & Textile Workers expressed confidence that Congress will vote later this year to override Reagan's veto of a bill to protect the industry and its workers.

Exports inch up

February's exports totalled $17.7 billion, up only marginally from January's $17 billion, and still $300 million below the level for the same month in 1985.

In other economic developments:

- New machine tool orders in February totaled $211 million, up 10.7 percent from January, when orders stood at $190.8 million. But the National Machine Tool Builders' Association took little comfort from the figures, pointing out that orders lagged 11 percent behind the same month a year ago.

Industry sources reported that Japanese manufacturers are pouring machine tools into the American market and charged them with engaging in intentional dumping in anticipation of the imposition of a quota system by the U.S. government.

- Sales of new single-family homes took an unexpected 3.8-percent nosedive in February, to an annual rate of 685,000 units after reaching a level of 712,000 units a month earlier. The drop in new-home sales followed on the heels of a report of a decline of 3.5 percent in last month's housing starts.

- Orders for durable goods, the most expensive category of manufactured products, tumbled 1.2 percent to $107.2 billion in February, following an increase of nine-tenths of 1 percent the previous month.

FAA technicians cite budget hazard

The Federal Aviation Administration has conceded that a "critical" shortage of technicians who repair and maintain air traffic control equipment has "seriously eroded" the ability to maintain safety in the nation's air corridors—a charge the Professional Airways Systems Specialists has been making for more than three years.

"We are pleased that the FAA has finally admitted this problem exists," said President Howard Johannssen of PASS, an affiliate of the Marine Engineers and bargaining representative of most of the 7,200 FAA computer repair and electronics specialists.

Safety imperiled

Internal FAA documents reinforce the union's warnings that budget cuts mandated by Gramm-Rudman could endanger air safety. The FAA conceded that, because of past budget reductions, "staffing has diminished to a critical level," impairing the ability to keep air traffic facilities operating safely.

Unless action is taken to bring staffing up to required levels, the FAA conceded, continued maintenance of the sophisticated radar, computer, radio and other systems "will soon be impossible," and it may become necessary to close some air traffic facilities when technicians are not available.

Congress has already knocked $55 million from the FAA's current budget, Johannssen pointed out, and the additional $135-million reduction under Gramm-Rudman poses an "intolerable" threat to passenger safety.

Now that the federal agency agrees about the urgency of the problem, Johannssen said, "we hope they will join with us in convincing Congress that not only would it be irresponsible to make any further reductions in staffing, but that additional funds are required to bring the agency back to its necessary strength," to insure air traffic safety.

Workloads have grown while the size of the workforce has shrunk steadily, the PASS official declared.

In 1979, he said, there were 11,000 technicians to service 18,000 air traffic facilities and electronic systems. Today, 6,500 technicians are responsible for maintaining 22,000 systems.

Even if Congress reverses itself on Gramm-Rudman, Johannssen said, "correcting the problems that exist will not be an easy task," since it takes three to six years of training to produce a qualified technician.

Office Employees elect Beauregard to key post

Gilles Beauregard has been elected by the executive board of the Office & Professional Employees as secretary-treasurer to serve out the term of Romeo Corbeil, who will retire Apr. 30.

Beauregard, 48, the OPEIU Canadian vice president since 1980, will assume his new duties on May 1 and will serve in the new post until the union's triennial convention in Montreal in June.

He joined OPEIU Montreal Local 57 in 1958, was elected local president a year later and was appointed business representative in 1969. He served in various regional posts before being named the Ontario regional director in 1978.

Corbeil, 61, was a representative for the Chemical Workers from 1951 to 1956 when he joined OPEIU in the same capacity. He served as regional director in eastern Canada from 1968 to 1974, when he was named Canadian director. He was elected an international vice president in 1971 and secretary-treasurer in May 1983.

Schiller Institute carries cult's message abroad

The LaRouche cult isn't confined to the United States. It has contaminated politics worldwide, especially in Europe and Latin America. Abroad as at home, the LaRouche phenomenon bewilders people with a mix of economic gibberish, populist rhetoric and the vicious smearing of opponents.

Its Schiller Institute, the special project of Helga Zepp-LaRouche, the German-national wife of the movement's founder, has spawned such political oddities as the European Workers Party, which warns of the "dangers" of a world language. The institute's Latin-American offshoots include the Ibero-American Trade Union Commission and Colombia's Andean Labor Party.

Colombia has been a target of the LaRouche movement, and it has given the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development a place alongside the International Monetary Fund, the Rockefellers, international bankers and the British as a source of evil.

A recent issue of the LaRouche magazine, Executive Intelligence Review, purports to expose "AIFLD's collaboration with the drug mafia . . . and with the Communist-terrorist networks."

LaRouche's International Press Service distributes an article with the startling assertion: "Organized crime elements operating partially through Irving Brown's International Division of the AFL-CIO were proved to have successfully penetrated the diplomatic service of the United States and one additional NATO government in operations peripheral to the projected assassination of Helga Zepp-LaRouche."

Henry Kissinger and Roy M. Cohn are identified as the chief organizers of the "plot" against Mrs. LaRouche. Brown is of course the director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of International Affairs. But according to the article, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland has been proved "complicit in every phase of the dirty operation but the assassination project as such."

Assassination obsession

Assassination is an obsession of the LaRouche cult, and the Swedish fanatic who was arrested and released in connection with the slaying of Prime Minister Olof Palme was at least a former member of the LaRouche European Labor Party. Swedish newspapers reported that his apartment included LaRouche literature describing Palme as "a raging beast" and "the devil incarnate."

The hate literature came from an offshoot of the Schiller Institute for a New German-American Alliance, the full name of the organization the LaRouches set up in 1984. Ironically, it purports to reflect the idealistic concepts of the 18th century German poet whose Ode to Joy is the choral climax of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. The camouflage was good enough to rope in some unsuspecting participants in its international conferences.

A sampling of articles in several recent issues of New Solidarity, the LaRouche newspaper, illustrates how meaningless conventional political terms are in dealing with the LaRouchian view of the world.

A lead story praises South Africa's President P.W. Botha for his promise of "constitutional reform" and claims that international bankers led by David Rockefeller plotted with Moscow "to turn southern Africa into a Soviet stronghold."

Another story denounces the State Dept. for "destabilizing" the Philippines by opposing the Marcos regime. Filipino Army Chief of Staff Fabian Ver, who accompanied Marcos into exile, is hailed as the leader of a "war on drugs." In the LaRouche world, his foes are drug peddlers; those he admires are enemies of the drug trade.

The State Dept. is accused in a front page story of trying to "strangle" the government of Honduras. The conservative American Enterprise Institute is charged with trying to dismember the NATO alliance. And an article starting with a "report" that the valet of Britain's Prince Charles died of AIDS concludes snidely, "There are certain perils to being a gentleman's gentleman."

Thailand connection

A news item reports the Schiller Institute's expansion to Thailand, with a claim that the deputy prime minister will serve as president of the institute's advisory board. No drug dealer, he.

Dennis King, whose League for Industrial Democracy pamplet on LaRouche is titled Nazis Without Swastikas, finds in LaRouche writings a dream of world conquest that would use America rather than Germany as its base.

"The purpose of war is to end war by finally securing the permanent hegemony of the Neoplatonic-humanist forces over the globe," LaRouche wrote during his 1980 presidential campaign.

If that's too murky, another LaRouche article explains more simply that American military might "must crush forces of evil" and bring them under "firm-handed" rule.

World of Lyndon LaRouche a nightmare of conspiracies

Continued from Page 1

But the LaRouche movement is not all theater of the absurd.

The innocently named National Democratic Policy Committee, the LaRouche political front, fields candidates who speak in a populist political tradition of the evils of banking and the banking system, not of murky assassination plots.

In Illinois, and in scores of states where "LaRouchies" are running in Democratic primaries for offices ranging from school boards to the U.S. Senate, this year's campaign appeal is an oddball mixture. LaRouche candidates call for repeal of the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction law, praise President Reagan's "Star Wars" strategic defense initiative, and demand universal blood testing and the quarantining of everyone with the AIDS virus until a cure is found. Somehow, the International Monetary Fund gets blamed for the spread of AIDS.

The stories are legion of the many times LaRouche operatives have masqueraded under false colors to gain access to news sources and political leaders in this country and abroad. Reporters for reputable newspapers have been embarrassed and outraged by persons later linked to LaRouche fronts who assumed their identities.

Fund-raising scam

At airports, well-dressed LaRouche disciples have solicited funds for anti-drug campaigns and for subscriptions to publications such as Fusion, a magazine that promotes nuclear energy.

Some people who thought they were donating to anti-drug campaigns found themselves listed as contributors to one of LaRouche's presidential campaigns, unwittingly helping him to qualify for matching federal funds.

LaRouche's high-priced Executive Intelligence Review has taken in the unwary, despite such gibberish as this excerpt from an economic treatise by LaRouche:

"Ideal economies, like healthy organisms, are negentropic processes . . . .It is the thermodynamic characteristic of negentropic processes, that in a continuous negentropic function, the energy-flux density increases with time. Energy-flux-density signifies a measurement consistent with kilowatts per square meter, of throughput."

Selective listening

In political campaigns, people often have selective hearing. A farmer pressed for mortgage payments can relate to an attack on the banking system. A parent concerned about drugs hears a young person denounce drug dealers. LaRouche followers aren't the first to see a world of conspiracies.

The LaRouche follower who won the Democratic Party nomination for Secretary of State in Illinois, Janice A. Hart, was arrested last May on a disorderly conduct charge. She allegedly tried to disrupt a speech by Milwaukee's Catholic Archbishop Rembert Weakland at a Glencoe, Ill., synagogue. Her incredible explanation was that the archbishop was praising Adolph Hitler.

The early background of LaRouche was covered by the AFL-CIO news in a series of articles in 1982 by Wesley McCune, director of Group Research, and still available in pamphlet form under the title, Lyndon LaRouche's Strange Cult.

Larouche was born to a Quaker family and joined a communist splinter group in the 1940s. He later aligned himself with a wing of Students for a Democratic Society to launch the National Caucus of Labor Committees, later to become the U.S. Labor Party, with the newspaper New Solidarity as its organ. As he swung across the political spectrum, the tax-exempt Fusion Energy Foundation was to become one of his principal fronts.

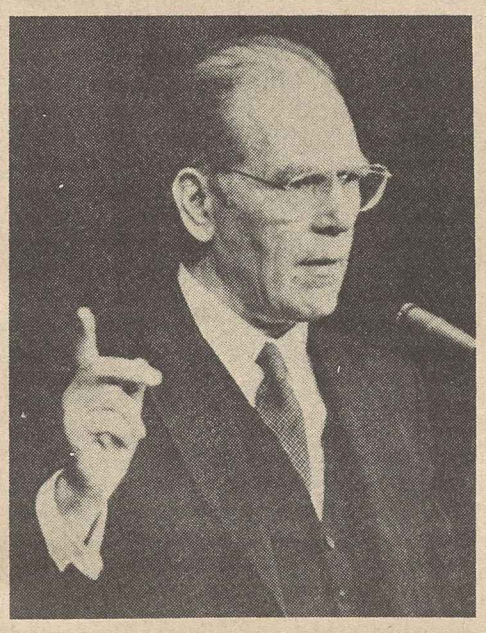
Attack on Solidarnosc

Anti-Semitism, disguised in Russian style as anti-Zionism, has been a part of the LaRouche propaganda. When Polish workers rallied to the banner of Solidarnosc, LaRouche was denouncing it and praising the repression of Poland's military ruler, Gen. Jaruzelski.

On an NBC expose of LaRouche, Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.), was asked why the LaRouche movement "shouldn't just be ignored," since it clearly was miles removed from the nation's political mainstream.

"They drop little bits of poison into the political bloodstream," Moynihan replied. "Any lie that is vicious enough, somebody will believe it. Any slander that is cruel enough, somebody will half enjoy it and be tempted to take it in. You have to fight them."

After the Illinois primary, a lot of people are saying "amen."



Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr.

Red-faced but wiser

This is a true story of how a good union member learned to her dismay that she had unwittingly contributed to the Lyndon LaRouche cause. It's from a letter that a retired but still active union member in Texas wrote to Lorraine Swerdloff, communications director of the Letter Carriers.

The writer said she was "red-faced" when she found out that the contribution she had made to an airport solicitor for the Fusion Energy Foundation made her a "member" of LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee.

She does believe in "the proper use of nuclear energy," but with better handling of waste materials. And she is very much for space exploration. So she could quite agree with the young man at the contribution table who expressed concern that some people wanted to shut down NASA after the shuttle tragedy.

Later, she wrote, came telephone calls on subjects such as "banks going broke, Russia's military dominance, and the Gramm-Rudman bill's terrible effect on the economy." To a public sector union person, the Gramm-Rudman issue "hit home." There was even a suggestion, flattering although she didn't take it seriously, that she consider running for public office.

It wasn't until the fifth call that the name LaRouche came into the conversation, and she realized "they had gotten money out of me for their darned screw-loose program."

Now she's "one red-faced lady, still spitting fire over my senseless contribution to an organization of which I had never heard. How totally stupid can one supposedly sane and sensible woman get?" she wrote Swerdloff.

Unique coalition challenges Justice Dept. court policy

National organizations spanning the political spectrum—including the AFL-CIO and the principal employer associations—joined in urging the Supreme Court to reject a legal doctrine put forth by the Reagan Administration that would severely limit the ability of organizations to represent their members in the courts.

The issue reached the Supreme Court through a suit brought by the Auto Workers to remedy what it considered a misinterpretation of the Trade Adjustment Act that deprived some UAW members in California of benefits.

The UAW won in federal district court, but a divided appellate court ruled that the union didn't have standing to bring the suit because the relief it sought on behalf of its members was retroactive in nature.

The Justice Dept., which acts as the lawyer for the Labor Dept. and other government agencies in court proceedings, is now asking the Supreme Court to go a big step further. It wants the Supreme Court to reverse its own established precedents and deny or severely restrict the right of organizations to use the court system to defend the interests of their members.

Under the Justice Dept. doctrine, individual workers would have to initiate a suit to establish their rights or else go through a complex procedure of linking their suits into a class action proceeding.

Besides the AFL-CIO, organizations joining in a challenge to the Justice Dept. position are the Chamber of Commerce, NAACP, National Association of Manufacturers, Chemical Manufacturers Association, Sierra Club, and the Alliance for Justice.

There is no reason for the Supreme Court even to consider reversing a line of precedents dating back to 1918, the eight organizations asserted in their joint brief.

To do so, they contended, would "seriously impair" the ability of associations to protect the rights of their members.

Access to courts

The brief noted the need for the various organizations to have access to the courts to carry out their functions—the business groups to represent employer interests, the NAACP to pursue civil rights protections, the chemical manufacturers and the Sierra Club to address regulatory concerns, often on opposing sides of the issues.

While addressing the specifics of the case, the UAW's own brief to the Supreme Court strongly asserted the right of a union to assure that its eligible members receive the benefits Congress said should be provided to persons who lose their jobs because of import penetration.

"In practical terms," the UAW said, the union is "the most appropriate litigant to bring these claims before the court."

The UAW brief stressed that unions "were formed in the first place so that individual workers could enhance their economic security by pooling their economic strength."

Hospital profiteering boosts health care costs

For-profit hospitals constitute a "growing danger" to the nation's health care system because they "rarely serve the useful medical or social purposes of non-profit hospitals," the National Council of Senior Citizens warned.

For-profit hospitals have higher patient charges than non-profit hospitals, they contribute less to the community in the form of free care for the poor, and they make little or no contribution to medical research and education, the NCSC charged.

In a report titled "For-Profit Hospital Care: Who Profits? Who Cares?" the senior citizens group declared that for-profit hospitals take a "McDonald's approach to health care, viewing a hospital as no more than a money-making franchise."

The AFL-CIO hailed release of the study, pointing out that it reinforced labor's long-standing contention that the mushrooming of for-profit hospitals "has not led to any improvement in the quality of health care—and may, in fact, contribute to a decline in quality."

Footing the bill

"The American people are not getting better treatment because of the emergence of the for-profits," said Karen Ignagni, the federation's health care specialist. "Instead, the taxpayers are footing the bill because so much of the responsibility for caring for the poor is being shifted to already overburdened public and non-profit institutions."

The NCSC study expressed concern over the rapid growth of for-profit chains. From 1978 to 1983, it said, the number of such hospitals grew from 437 to 767, a 76-percent increase. In that same period, the number of non-profit hospitals taken over by the for-profit chains rose from 191 to 282, an increase of 48 percent.

Most of the increase was centered in nine Sunbelt states: Texas, California, Florida, Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia and Kentucky.

When a non-profit hospital is taken over by a for-profit hospital, the report charged, "costs and charges to patients increase rapidly."

Burden on non-profits

At the same time, the uninsured and the indigent are thrust on the community's remaining non-profit and public hospitals, forcing them to shift costs of such care to paying patients, insurance companies and, in the case of Medicare or Medicaid, to the government. This, in turn, puts the non-profits in the position of either limiting services to the poor or selling out to the for-profits.

To prevent this pattern from spreading, the council urged state governments to make such takeovers a public policy issue and to enact laws barring these transfers of control unless "it is clearly shown that the public interest is served."

The NCSC charged that for-profit hospitals are making a "sizable profit" on medical supplies or drugs provided by companies in which they have a financial interest or with whom they enjoy a cooperative arrangement.

The report listed such major international drug corporations as Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Baxter, Merck, Ciba, Abbott and Upjohn as being among those having "interlocking" arrangements with the biggest for-profits—Humans, Hospital Corporation of America, National Medical Enterprises and Beverly Enterprises.

This kind of relationship "raises ethical and moral questions," the council said, adding that "the over-prescribing of drugs for patients is one of the more dangerous consequences of such tie-ins."

The NCSC report highlighted these other problems:

- The indigent who lack hospital insurance are commonly refused admission or, if admitted on an emergency basis, are quickly "dumped in a community or non-profit hospital." Many ill or injured patients have been transferred even when the move and the delay in treatment has "seriously jeopardized their health and, at times, their lives."
- For-profit chains offer doctors exorbitant guaranteed annual incomes, fully furnished offices with staff, and country club memberships. These inducements insure "a steady flow of hospital patients recommended by the grateful physicians," and create "a conflict of interest that inevitably strains the commitment of the physician to the patient."
- Non-profit hospitals built with federal funds under the Hill-Burton Act are required to reimburse the government when they switch to a profit-making status. To date, the report said, "the federal government has recovered only a fraction" in reimbursements, and "millions of taxpayers' dollars have been lost."
- The rapid growth of for-profit hospitals denies communities the facilities that are "desperately needed to care for low-income residents."
- Taxes paid to the community by the for-profit chains are less than the expenses incurred by non-profit and public hospitals in providing free care to the poor and in writing off unpaid hospital bills.

The council cited studies in five states to buttress its charges against the non-profit hospitals:

Georgia—In 1978, Habersham County hospital experienced a 7.8 percent loss and hired HCA to manage the institution. Between 1978 and 1983, charges to patients increased 235 percent, while the county Hospital Authority's long-term debt rose 319 percent. The operation of the hospital by HCA has been the subject of a grand jury investigation.

California—The state accounts for more than 20 percent of all for-profit chain hospitals. Their profits on clinical laboratories, supplies, pharmacies and inhalation therapy units average 56 percent, compared to 13.8 percent for non-profit facilities.

North Carolina—A Blue Cross/Blue Shield study showed that total charges for three surgical procedures in for-profit hospitals ran as high as 58 percent above those in the non-profits, and concluded that the higher charges were primarily for pharmacy and medical/surgical supplies.

Tennessee—For-profit hospitals' daily charges per patient were 30 percent higher than the non-profits, due largely to administrative and management fees. In addition, while non-profit institutions generally are community based, the for-profits shift a major share of their income out of the community in the form of fees paid to a chain's national offices and dividends paid to stockholders.

Florida—The indigent case load is unevenly distributed, with 32 percent of the state's public hospitals providing free care to such patients, compared with 14.6 percent for non-profit hospitals and only 7.4 percent for the for-profit chains.

Leo Perlis dies, led community services effort

Miami Beach, Fla.—Leo Perlis, who served as director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Community Services from merger until 1980, died Mar. 30 of an aneurysm at the Miami Heart Institute. He was 74.

In a letter to his wife Betty, Federation President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue said, "Leo's work served the neediest in our nation, and he performed those tasks with distinction. His work in developing the community services department has given the AFL-CIO a now-proven mechanism for responding quickly and effectively to human suffering and deprivation."

Perlis served as the director of community services for the CIO for the decade prior to the federation's creation in 1955. He began his trade union career in 1936 as an organizer with the United Textile Workers.

During the 1940s, he was a labor consultant to the federal War Production Board and headed the CIO War Relief Committee prior to becoming the national community services director.

Under his leadership, the number of full-time AFL-CIO community services representatives serving with voluntary agencies grew to 250 with offices in 170 cities.

He helped found CARE and the United Way of America's Labor Participation Dept. and guided the development of scores of AFL-CIO/CSA United Labor Agencies around the country.

Perlis served on the governing boards of numerous voluntary organizations active in health, welfare, education and foreign relief, and received many citations, awards and honorary degrees.

Besides his wife, he is survived by two sons, Michael and William, and four grandchildren. Funeral services were held Apr. 1 at Riverside Chapel in Miami, with burial at Lakeside cemetery.

An 'all-heart' company

Pine River, Minn.—Collin Swift was on the job at the Baker Industries-Durkee plant when he received a call for help from the local ambulance service. As a volunteer emergency medical worker, Swift was asked to help transport an elderly couple suffering simultaneous heart attacks to a medical center about 30 miles away in Brainerd.

Swift didn't think twice and responded to the emergency call. But for his good samaritan efforts, he was fired, after nearly 18 years of service, because he failed to get a written leave slip as company rules require.

"I thought someone's life was worth more than going through the ritual of hunting up a supervisor," Swift said, adding, "I would do the same thing again." Both patients survived, thanks in part to his quick response.

Swift did tell a co-worker where he was going and signed a "return-to-work" slip for the hour and a half he was absent, but company officials weren't satisified. He was fired three days later.

A member of Carpenters Local 951, Swift has filed a grievance to get his job back. He is being assisted by Bert Dally, secretary-treasurer of the Minnesota Carpenters Council, and union attorneys.

So far, Baker Industries has refused to comment on Swift's firing. But it did contest his unemployment compensation claim and Swift, who is married and has two daughters, was denied jobless benefits pending a hearing sometime in April.

Job security, wages head bargaining goals at AT&T

Continued from Page 1

ations division. Perry heads the IBEW negotiating team which includes union officers who represent telephone locals and are members of the IBEW's Telephone Coordinating Council.

Both the IBEW and CWA will hold separate "spin-off" bargaining sessions in New Jersey beginning next week for contracts covering workers at AT&T's Communications and Information Systems divisions. The Washington negotiations focus on contract provisions affecting members nationwide.

Since divestiture, AT&T workers have been hit with temporary and permanent layoffs, relocations and pay cuts resulting from downgraded jobs. Increasing numbers of technicians, operators and service workers across the country are termed "surplus" and face job termination or transfer, often to sites hundreds of miles from their homes. Since the breakup, nearly 35,000 jobs at AT&T have been eliminated and some 20,000 workers have been transferred.

While AT&T claims that workers scheduled for layoff are offered other jobs within the company, Bahr termed some of the job offers "ludicrous." He said it is the company's "moral role" to resolve this problem by working with the union.

AT&T officials said the company has no interest in discussing job security provisions, but will pursue a number of cost-cutting measures, including a two-tier wage system. CWA refused to consider a management proposal for such a dual wage system last year.

Leadership posts filled by Actors & Artistes

The Actors & Artistes, which represents nine unions with members in the performing arts, elected two new officers to fill vacancies.

John C. Hall, Jr., executive secretary of the Television & Radio Artists, was elected executive secretary of the 4As, and Martin W. Sokup, executive secretary of the Screen Extras Guild, was elected fourth vice president. They will serve until the regular elections at the 4As' biennial convention in June 1987.

Hall replaces Sanford I. Wolff, who stepped down as AFTRA's executive secretary last year. Sokup replaces David R. Miller, also of the Screen Extras Guild.

The unions making up the Actors & Artistes, besides the Television & Radio Artists and the Screen Extras, are Actors' Equity Association, Musical Artists, Variety Artists, Screen Actors, Hebrew Actors, Italian Actors and Puerto Rican Artists & Technicians.

Sanctions levied against UTU in Article XX case

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland has notified all affiliates that the United Transportation Union has been found to be in non-compliance with the decision of an impartial umpire under the federation's internal disputes procedures and is therefore subject to sanctions under the AFL-CIO constitution.

The finding was reached by a subcommittee of the Executive Council consisting of Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue and Vice Presidents Gerald W. McEntee and William W. Winpisinger.

The finding, Kirkland said, follows from a decision by the impartial umpire and the Article XX Appeals Committee that the UTU violated Article XX by refusing "to withdraw from a raid at AMTRAK."

In his notification to affiliates, Kirkland said the union, effective Mar. 25, 1986, will be subject to the following provisions of Section 15 of Article XX of the AFL-CIO Constitution:

"1. The non-complying affiliate shall not be entitled to file any complaint or appear in a complaining capacity in any proceeding under this article until such non-compliance is remedied or excused as provided in Section 16;

"2. The federation shall, upon request, supply every appropriate assistance and aid to any organization resisting the action determined to be in violation of this Article;

"3. The federation shall appropriately publicize the fact that the affiliate is not in compliance with the constitution;

"4. No affiliate shall support or render assistance to the action determined to be in violation of this Article."

In addition to the UTU, three other affiliates remain in non-compliance with an impartial umpire's decision and subject to Article XX sanctions: Hospital & Health Care Employees, International Typographical Union and National Association of Broadcast Employees & Technicians.

Double-digit jobless rates

Double-digit jobless rates were recorded in six states and Puerto Rico during January, the Labor Dept. reported.

West Virginia topped the list of states with 13.4 percent unemployment. The others were Louisiana, 12.7 percent; Kentucky, 11.6 percent; Alaska, 11.5 percent; Mississippi, 11.1 percent; Wyoming, 10.3 percent, and Puerto Rico 19.9 percent.

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WOMEN AT WORK

Women are entering the workplace in record numbers. Even so, the fastest growing place for women is in the ranks of the poor.

Today, they face many of the same challenges that confronted women who entered the workforce a decade ago: the continuing struggle for pay equity, finding work in jobs traditionally filled by males, guaranteeing job safety, and balancing home obligations with work.

And union women, whom AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland described as the people "who are really drawing the water and hewing the wood" in the labor movement, continue to strive for wider representation in elected positions in unions in proportion to their ranks in organized labor.

Since the mid-1970s, the U.S. civilian labor force has grown 21 percent. Working women account for more than 62 percent of the total growth, as their numbers have risen from 37 million to 50 million. In 1985, women comprised nearly 44 percent of the civilian labor force, compared with 40 percent in 1975. The only industrialized country whose female labor force participation rate surpasses America's is Sweden, where the rate is 80 percent.

A record 54.5 percent of U.S. women over age 15 were working or looking for work in 1985. In the prime working age group 25 to 54, nearly 70 percent were in the labor force.

"By the end of the next decade fully 60 percent of all working women are expected to be in the labor force, including almost 80 percent of those aged 25 to 54," the Women's Bureau of the Labor Dept. predicted.

"Women work because it is a permanent economic necessity," said President Joyce Miller of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. "Now it takes two incomes to support a family."

However, many working women are the sole providers for their families. The number of families maintained by women grew more than 84 percent between 1970 and 1984. This is a result of more marriages ending in divorce and more women having children without marrying.

In March 1984, 10.3 million families—16 percent of all U.S. households—had as their principal support women who were divorced, separated, widowed or never married. The single female heads of households have higher unemployment, lower educational attainment, more dependent children and lower earnings than other labor force groups. These factors help explain why there is a high incidence of poverty in these families.

Last year, government statistics showed that 13 million women, of whom 4.2 million are non-white, were living in poverty. In 1983 more than 40 percent of the people in families headed by women—12 million mothers and children—were poor, up from 8.2 million in 1973. The number of poor people in families headed by women jumped by 25 percent in the past four years.

Diana M. Pearce, director of research at Catholic University's Center for National Policy Review, noted that "the trend is that women, particularly those maintaining families, are disproportionately poor at the same time other groups are moving out of poverty."

The notion that women work for "pin money" is a myth. The fact that women remain in the workforce for an average of 34 years and typically hold full-time jobs, should convince skeptics that most women workers aren't temporary employees.

Carolyn J. Jacobson is managing editor of the BC&T News, a publication of the Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers. She also is president of the International Communications Association. Emilie Stoltzfus assisted her on this article.

Meeting the Challenge of Job and Family

By Carolyn J. Jacobson

Women have made considerable progress through legislation over the decade. Yet many gains were set in motion before "the Reagan counter-revolution" began in 1981.

These advances include passage of the pregnancy disability law, active enforcement of anti-discrimination laws and aggressive federal affirmative action programs. The Carter Administration endorsed many goals and priorities of the women's movement, including the campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment.

In contrast, the Reagan Administration has not only rejected the legitimacy of the women's movement, but holds its agenda in contempt. In its place, the Administration embraces the right-wing issues of Phyllis Schlafly and the Moral Majority.

President Reagan's approach to women's rights is "the big show." To date, his only visible contribution to furthering women's rights has been his appointment of Sandra Day O'Connor to the Supreme Court and other prominent conservative Republican women to key posts. Yet, even former United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick publicly complained of the sexism that greeted such appointments and her own discomfort at Cabinet meetings dominated by males.

While the President's policies have produced

substantial tax reductions for the wealthy a House Ways & Means study last year found that taxes for a single-parent family of three, living at the poverty level, had risen $500 since 1980 even after adjustment for inflation.

Because women comprise three-fourths of the elderly poor in the United States, deep Reagan cuts in food stamps and Medicare are particularly hard on those who are old and female.

In 1984 more than three out of five women maintaining families had children under 18. Where both parents work, the primary child/home responsibilities still lie with the women.

Reagan has consistently sought to require all recipients of Aid For Families with Dependent Children to seek employment. At the same time, he has seriously hampered their ability to work by cutting funds for inexpensive child care and for job training.

Today, child care must compete with programs for the elderly and services for battered women for a share of state block grant money. In 1981, the largest federal program providing money to states for child care was cut 21 percent. The Administration has pushed through additional reductions in related programs. Further cutbacks will come this year under the Gramm-Rudman law.

By reducing AFDC funds for job training, the Administration ignores the significant fact that most AFDC households are headed by single women, two-thirds of whom are high school dropouts usually without job skills or work experience. Also, for the past five years the Administration has proposed the elimination of the Work Incentive Program that was established in 1967 to provide job counseling, training, job placement and support services to AFDC recipients seeking permanent employment.

The Administration has succeeded in making even part-time work less attractive, and often economically unfeasible to AFDC recipients, by cutting provisions that enable women to maintain benefits while they work. A not uncommon situation exists in Kentucky where a mother with two children is disqualified for AFDC financial aid if she works more than 25 hours a week at the minimum wage.

In mid-1985, the unemployment rate for women over age 19 was 6.7 percent, or 3,148,000, as compared to 6.5 percent or 3,891,000 for males over age 19.

Minority women face even higher unemployment rates and have a greater employment disparity than do their male counterparts. The unemployment rate for minority women over age 19 is 12.8 percent; for minority men in the same age group, the rate is 11.1 percent. These numbers do not include people who have been discouraged from seeking employment or are underemployed.

Women with children under age three, many of whom are the sole supporters of their families, are twice as likely to be unemployed.

Because working women are concentrated in the service sector or soft industry jobs, they are less susceptible to the boom or bust trends of business. While women were not noticeably affected, many men in heavy industry lost their jobs in the 1982 recession. This resulted in the unemployment rate for women dropping to slightly below the male unemployment rate.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s women's groups spearheaded many state ratifications of the federal Equal Rights Amendment. Although 35 states ratified ERA, it fell short of final passage by three states before the June 1982 deadline. The Reagan Administration provided no support for the ratification drive.

The Reagan approach to equal rights for women is a statute-by-statute approach that effectively weakens the drive for women's equality. Commenting on this approach, author Gloria Steinem charged that "Ronald Reagan is the most anti-equality President in history."

The Administration is now attempting to water down or abolish a 1965 Executive Order that established the Office of Federal Contract Compliance. The order forbids job discrimination by federal contractors and sets guidelines for affirmative action.

The EEOC, established in 1965 to investigate complaints brought under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, has radically changed its mission. The Reagan EEOC has said it will move away from class action suits on employment discrimination. In 1980 the commission accepted 322 suits on employment discrimination; in 1984 the number decreased to 216. The rate of settlements also has declined from 32 percent in 1980 to 14.4 percent in 1985.

Concerned that a backlash is brewing, the Administration has made some efforts in recent months to reverse the declines.

Since it began work in 1981, the Reagan EEOC has successfully completed litigation of class action suits brought to court by the Carter Administration. But similar cases filed with the commission now are being denied because like the previous suits, they are based on statistical evidence of discrimination, which the EEOC is reluctant to accept as legally valid.

Reagan's EEOC chairman, Clarence Thomas, said: "I personally have problems with cases that rely on statistical evidence of discrimination." In an attempt to move away from class action suits, the commission has said it favors smaller cases with easily identifiable victims and tangible evidence beyond statistics.

It is this sort of reluctance to act that prompted AFL-CIO General Counsel Laurence S. Gold to characterize the Reagan approach to discrimination as "no enforcement of the laws on the books. In the past, federal enforcement pushed the law along and provided real protections for women and minorities. That's not true anymore."

Although the Administration has placed a high priority on scrapping affirmative action plans across the country, it is far from reaching its goal.

The chief proponent of this policy is William Bradford Reynolds, head of Justice Dept.'s Civil Rights Division. Reagan had nominated Reynolds to the third highest spot in the department, associate attorney general, but he was rebuffed by the Senate Judiciary Committee for laxity in enforcing civil rights laws.

Reynolds and the Administration suffered another defeat earlier last year when dozens of states and cities rejected his request to dismantle their affirmative action plans. The Administration is, no doubt, less than pleased that private industry, with the exception of small firms, also has not dismantled such programs that were put into place in the 1970s.

The so-called independent U.S. Commission on Civil Rights under Reagan has become nothing more than a mouthpiece for the President's social agenda. In addition to opposing school busing and affirmative action, last April the commission urged Congress and government agencies to disavow the principle of pay equity, which calls for all workers to be paid equally for work of comparable value even if the jobs are quite different.

The two Carter holdovers on the commission dissented, accusing the majority of preparing a "distorted" report that based its conclusion on inaccurate data and the use of faulty terminology.

The dissenters asked for an audit of the report by the General Accounting Office, a standard procedure. The GAO agreed with the dissenters. It found the report filled with "inaccuracies" and "errors" and noted that the commission had defined the concept of "comparable worth" differently than do its supporters in concluding the idea could not work.

The commission subsequently rejected the GAO audit.

One area where the Administration has been sensitive to women is in its actions on sexual harassment.

Surveys have shown that well over half the female workforce has experienced sexual harassment at some time during their careers.

The Reagan EEOC continues to uphold the position that such harassment constitutes sex discrimination under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. To its credit, the Reagan commission has held firm to the principle established by its predecessor and continues to actively pursue and litigate sexual harassment cases.

With about 44 percent of the workforce made up of women, safety and health issues that affect them have gained much attention in recent years.

Women who entered nontraditional jobs especially in heavy industry or those involving use of chemicals, prompted increased research into health hazards.

However, in the first sexual harassment case that has reached the Supreme Court, the Justice Dept.'s brief supports a narrow view of employers' strict liability. Unfortunately, women have at times become victims of the very research that set out to protect them against workplace hazards. Employers, seeking to insure themselves against lawsuits charging birth defects or miscarriages due to workplace hazards, began creating policies that automatically excluded hiring women of childbearing age or terminated their jobs when they became pregnant.

In a 1984 case, Hayes v. Shelby Memorial Hospital, the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals court ruled that an x-ray technician who became pregnant could not be fired because of her pregnancy unless the hospital could prove substantial risk to the fetus. Conversely, the court said the hospital must be able to prove that a male x-ray technician is not at a health risk as well.

The danger of birth defects from workplace sex mutagents, such as radiation or lead, is real for both sexes because sex mutagents can harm both the female egg and male sperm. Preconception sex mutagents can cause birth defects and miscarriages just as readily as post-conception fetal damage.

Where women are at a significant risk, unions have fought for their right to transfer to new positions without loss of wages, seniority or benefits. The Auto Workers have such a case pending in federal district court in Milwaukee. The UAW is challenging the "fetal protection" policy of Johnson Controls Inc.'s Globe Battery Division that calls for the removal of all women capable of bearing children from areas of high exposure to lead.

Employers, seeking to avoid lawsuits based on Title VII, have become more cautious about publicly announcing discriminatory policies. Many, however, continue to use these policies informally. Ultimately, the employer must realize that the workplace must be made safe for both sexes.

In 1970 Congress established the Occupational Health & Safety Administration to protect workers and to assure them safe and healthful working conditions. OSHA, however, has sustained substantial budget cuts since the 1980 election, and has had trouble enforcing federal standards.

Reagan has cut the number of OSHA inspectors 16 percent since 1980, leaving just 1,089 to cover the nation's 5 million work sites. The agency's citations for willful violations of law have decreased by 92 percent since 1980. Citations for serious violations fell by 47 percent, and fines collected slumped 78 percent. This isn't surprising in light of a 1980 remark Reagan made to Business Week magazine. "I question seriously the need for OSHA," he said.

As the country shifts from an industrial to a services-oriented economy—out of the factory and into the office—new job safety and health hazards emerge. Office work, once considered safe and clean, is now known to involve serious health hazards.

President John Sweeney of the Service Employees noted that the problems facing office workers today "are no less serious than the problems faced by industrial workers in the 1930s. In fact, they are even more insidious because of their subtlety."

Painfully Slow Progress on Women's Pay

Geneva—An International Labor Organization study shows that only "painfully slow" progress is being made in narrowing the pay gap between men and women.

ILO analysts examined pay scales of non-agricultural workers in 16 countries and manufacturing workers in 20 countries covering 1975 to 1984.

The widest pay gap in the non-agricultural sector was found in Korea, where women's pay was less than half of men's pay. Women in Japan and Cyprus were slightly better off.

The narrowest pay gap for women was in Iceland, where their income was just 5.9 percent below that of men. The pay scale for women in Sweden was only slightly lower. Other leading countries for women's pay were France, 11.5 percent below the rate of men; Australia, 14.2 percent, and Denmark, 15.6 percent.

In the 20-to-30-percent bracket were West Germany, Belgium, Singapore, New Zealand and Hong Kong. In the 30-to-40-percent range were Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Britain.

"The analysis shows that the gaps between men's and women's salaries in 1975 and 1984 were either basically the same or had narrowed—except in Japan, where the difference widened from 44.2 percent in 1975 to 48.2 percent in 1984," the ILO report said.

The agency said the United States was not included in the study because it did not provide statistics on the male-female wage gap.

These hazards are especially relevant to women, because about 20 million are office workers. Much of the new technology used in offices involves video display terminals. The number of VDT users today is estimated at 10 million, mostly women. By 1990 that number is expected to quadruple to 40 million. VDTs, the office equipment of the '80s, raise the threat of many new hazards. Some are already well documented, while others need substantial study before workers can be assured of safety.

Three deep concerns surrounding VDTs and office work are stress, ergonomics and reproductive health hazards. Stress results from many factors, including the conversion of the office into an assembly-line operation complete with computer-driver quotas. Ergonomics addresses the already documented problems of eyestrain, backaches and carpal tunnel syndrome, which often result from equipment designed without regard for the workers. Concern over reproductive hazards arises from clusters of birth defects and miscarriages among VDT operators.

Stress has been cited as the largest, most subtle and most ignored health problem. Studies have shown that occupations in which women predominate, particularly clerical and cashier work, have the greatest incidence of job-related stress. A report by the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health (NIOSH) said VDT operators have a higher level of stress than any other group of workers studied, including air traffic controllers.

In 1980, the Framingham Heart Study found that female clerical workers developed coronary heart disease—clearly identified as stress-related—at almost twice the rate of other women workers, including housewives. Furthermore, this study found that female clerical workers with children and blue-collar husbands developed coronary heart disease at nearly twice the rate of all men workers.

The Teachers responded to overwhelming reports of stress among AFT members related to fear of physical or psychological assaults by negotiating assault-leave clauses in contracts and providing paid days off to recover from attacks.

The SEIU and employers established labor-management committees in San Francisco to discuss workplace stress factors and to implement changes.

The Graphic Communications Union has initiated a job stress project that has been used in several cities successfully. It includes a series of six workshops designed to help members understand stress, make note of its causes in their workplaces, and recommend changes to an advisory committee.

Beyond the stress factor, ergonomics has emerged as a new issue for office workers. The problems are real for millions of VDT operators who work with machines that were not designed with the worker in mind.

Poorly designed work stations result in backaches, eyestrain and other ailments. Carpal tunnel syndrome is most severe in occupations where women predominate, such as keyboard operators, cashiers, meat wrappers, as well as poultry, garment and bakery workers. The syndrome is a debilitating nerve condition that can result in complete loss of hand motion if not treated properly. Other hand disorders, such as tendonitis, are common in similar jobs where women predominate.

Certain VDT problems can be easily corrected. Equipment should have glare-proof screens as well as height adjustable keyboards, work areas and chairs. Most important, it should be designed with the worker in mind. Employees who must use repetitive hand motion should be given frequent regular breaks.

The Communications Workers, which estimates that one-half of its 524,000 members use VDTs, developed voluntary guidelines for VDT work in its 1983 negotiations with AT&T.

The Newspaper Guild has extensive collective bargaining provisions dealing with ergonomics. Its contract clauses provide rest breaks from the VDT and eye exams, as well as radiation protection.

Another concern for VDT users is potential reproductive hazards. Clusters of disproportionately high incidents of miscarriage and birth defects have touched off fears among VDT operators.

The computer industry and management have contended that radiation emitted by VDTs poses no health threat to operators. Unions insist that more conclusive research is needed, particularly on the effects of low-level radiation and stress that may lead to birth defects.

Last June, the SEIU, the 9to5 National Association of Working Women and Dr. Irving J. Selikoff of the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine launched a major study that will involve 10,000-12,000 office workers nationwide. The study addresses pregnancy hazards related to VDT use. Other office problems including ergonomics, chemical toxins and stress will also be studied. Further research on VDT use is currently being conducted in Canada and Sweden.

Patterned after labor's "right-to-know" campaign on toxic hazards, a coalition of unions and women's groups initiated an effort in 20 state legislatures to pass VDT standards and guidelines. Results have been slow, but the campaign has worked to educate the public on the problems.

New Mexico is the first state to issue guidelines on ergonomics. In Oregon, both houses of the legislature adopted a VDT bill, but it was vetoed by the governor. Other states with at least minimal guidelines or standards for workers are Rhode Island, California, Colorado and Maine.

As a result of these efforts, employers have begun to adopt guidelines calling for improvements in VDT terminals and work stations. Equipment manufacturers are redesigning machines, and their second- and third-generation models are being built with key improvements that address the concerns of unions.

The phenomenal influx of women into the labor force in recent years brought with it a marked change in employment patterns. Large numbers of women entered various new occupations, including managerial and administrative positions.

Yet, a significant wage gap continues between men and women. From the early 1960s until 1979 women earned only 59 cents for each $1 men were paid. The gap has been narrowed to 64 cents in recent years.

The driving force behind the narrowing of the gender gap in wages is the simultaneous decline of the male-dominated manufacturing sector, which pays higher wages and growth of the lower-paid service sector where women predominate. It is not the small gains women have made in their earnings.

Although the gap has narrowed, it is clear that there is little reason to believe that a solution to the poverty in which many women are trapped is around the corner.

While the breakdown of barriers to men's jobs which began in the 1970s has resulted in some women moving into these higher-paying jobs, this explains only part of the gradual narrowing of the wage gap.

There has been a dramatic increase in the number of women at the top of the job pyramid, but there are relatively few jobs at the top. The bulk of the jobs still are on the bottom.

In 1983, more than half of all full-time women workers were employed in sales, service or clerical jobs that offer limited promotional and salary opportunities.

In sales, where women make up a large percentage of the workers, they earned less than 50 percent as much as male sales clerks in 1983.

Commissioner Janet Norwood of the Bureau of Labor Statistics noted that while "employed women are clearly moving into higher-paying jobs, the actual numbers engaged in those occupations remain relatively low."

Although the number of women lawyers increased more than fivefold over the last decade, she pointed out that there are still fewer than 100,000 in the legal profession, and they make up only 15 percent of the total.

In 1983, women accounted for 99 percent of secretaries, 97 percent of typists, 96 percent of registered nurses, house cleaners and servants, 92 percent of bookkeepers and bank tellers, 87 percent of cashiers, 82 percent of elementary school teachers, 75 percent of food service workers and 70 percent of retail clerks.

According to Dollars and Sense magazine, "There were fewer than 75,000 full-time women lawyers and judges and fewer than 50,000 full-time women physicians, compared to nearly 650,000 full-time women typists. The result of this crowding into dead-end jobs translates into full-time year-round women workers with a high school diploma averaging less pay in 1983 than fully employed men with fewer than eight years of elementary school education."

Women lawyers are still found in such lower-paying specializations as domestic relations and trusts and estates, rather than in litigation or negligence law. Women physicians are mainly in family practice and pediatrics, as opposed to surgery and internal medicine. In 1983 their earnings lagged behind male elementary school teachers at 87 percent, among lawyers at 88 percent and among computer programmers at 81 percent.

Only eight of every 1,000 employed women hold high-level executive, administrative or managerial jobs, and women occupy about 455, or 3 percent, of the 16,000 seats on boards of the 1,000 largest corporations listed by Fortune magazine.

Pay Equity

Work done predominantly by women has been and still is consistently undervalued. This imbalance must first be identified and corrected through a series of steps. For instance, registered nurses—skilled workers of whom 96 percent are women—have an average annual income of $18,980. By contrast, unskilled male workers in a number of occupations have average earnings of $21,840 a year.

To correct this kind of injustice, pay equity calls for job evaluations that take into account an individual's responsibility, knowledge, skills required and work environment regardless of sex. Pay scales would then be restructured to reflect true job values rather than institutionalized sex discrimination.

Opponents of pay equity, including the Reagan Administration, scoff at the concept. They contend that it would destroy the historic relationship between marketplace supply and demand, bankrupt employers and create unnecessary bureaucracy.

President Reagan has condemned it as "a cockamamie idea. . .that would destroy the basis of free enterprise."

Reagan's Civil Rights Commission has labeled the pay equity standard "profoundly" and "irreversibly flawed." The EEOC has refused to act on a study it commissioned that found substantial wage discrimination does exist against women.

President Gerald McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees, whose union has been in the forefront on this issue, charged that the Reagan Administration "has tranformed the EEOC from a catalyst for change in efforts to remove bias from the nation's wage scales into a focal point of opposition to pay equity."

Phyllis Schlafly, a dogmatic opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment, called pay equity "a conspiracy theory of jobs." She insisted that "not a shred of evidence has been produced" to support the contention of sex-based wage discrimination.

But statistics continue to show a significant wage gap. In 1985 women averaged only 64 cents for every dollar men were paid. In 1981, a committee set up by the National Research Council to study occupation classification concluded that:

- On the average, women are paid 20 percent less than men who hold equivalent jobs.
- Women do different work than men and the work they do is paid less.
- The more an occupation is dominated by women, the less it pays.
- Substantial discrimination does exist, though not necessarily by intent.

Counting on the Paycheck

High school teacher Sarah Jackson and her husband recently became homeowners for the first time. "We couldn't have done it without two paychecks," she said.

Like many women, bookkeeper Mary Ann Sampson uses part of her paycheck to help pay her son's college tuition.

"My job is more than a job — it's a career," said Nancy Garcia, a nurse at a convalescent care facility.

Jackson, Sampson and Garcia are just three of the nearly 50 million women in the U.S. workforce today. Record numbers of women of all ages, races, family status and educational levels are entering the labor market, and are having a major impact on the American economy.

Women always have worked, at home and on farms as well as in offices and factories, but their contributions to society were largely undocumented and unmeasured until the government began collecting statistics early in the 20th Century.

Currently, women account for 44 percent of the workforce, and the number is expected to increase to 50 percent in the next decade.

Mothers work alongside single women and those without children as a permanent part of the labor force. About 55 percent of women with children under age 6 work full time, and 61 percent of mothers with children under age 18 work full time outside their homes.

"The myth that women work for 'pin money' is dead," Jackson stressed. "We work for the same reasons everyone does — to provide housing, food, a decent standard of living, and opportunities for ourselves and our families."

While the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 represented substantial gains for women, they failed to correct institutionalized wage scales that undervalue the work women perform.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has cited a continued concentration of women in low-paying service sector jobs. In 1984, 80 percent of the women in the workforce filled 20 percent of the Labor Dept.'s 427 job classifications. The most common occupations for women were in expanding, low-paying dead-end jobs—secretarial, bookkeeping, nursing and cashier work.

Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio), a leading congressional advocate of pay equity, pointed out that "secretaries, 90 percent of whom are women, earn approximately $4,000 less a year than a truck driver. Private household workers, 95 percent of whom are women, earn less than one-half of what janitors are paid. Most child care workers—usually women—are paid less than dog pound attendants, typically men."

The National Committee on Pay Equity found that a woman with a four-year college degree can expect an average salary equivalent to that of the average male worker without a high school diploma.

In fact, Census Bureau figures show that in 1984 the median income of a year-round, full-time female worker was $15,422. Her male counterpart earned $24,004.

Critics of pay equity argue that until women choose nontraditional jobs, they should expect to receive low wages. But Winn Newman, CLUW's general counsel, stressed that suggesting to women who don't like the wage gap that they get another job is like "telling someone who has been mugged to move to another neighborhood."

In the early 1980s, courts and state legislatures began to see the light. By the end of 1983, 25 state legislatures and several municipalities had passed pay equity laws, resolutions or ordinances covering government employees. As of mid-1985, all but five states had bowed to political pressure, labor negotiations or lawsuits and were examining or had examined the issue of pay equity for state workers.

Minnesota led the way. In 1979, with strong support from AFSCME, the legislature ordered a review of pay scales. After finding that women were paid 25 percent less than men for jobs rated higher in responsibility and accountability, legislation was enacted in 1982 requiring equal pay for state employees in jobs of comparable value.

This landmark measure led to pay equity raises averaging $1,600 for 8,000 workers. The impact on the state payroll was lower than had been expected. The state spent an additional $22 million, which constituted a 4 percent increase in the payroll.

In 1984, Minnesota led the way again by requiring all local governments to study and correct their pay systems. Minnesota expects full correction of pay scales to be implemented by 1987.

In a precedent-setting 1981 case involving women employees of Oregon's Washington County, the Supreme Court reversed its earlier interpretation and ruled that claims for sex-based discrimination can be brought under Title VII, even though no member of the opposite sex holds an equal but higher paying job. The court ruled the employer could have a justifiable wage differential only if the differential could be proven to be based on seniority, merit, quantity or quality of production or any factor other than sex.

On the basis of this decision, prison matrons won the right to sue the county for disparate wage scales. The scales were established by the county after it completed a survey of jobs in the community. The prevailing wage was paid to male guards, female guards were paid less.

Thus, County of Washington v. Gunther opened up the possibility of claims based on comparable work as contrasted to comparable worth.

It was organized labor that took the next step toward achieving pay equity.

With Gunther established, AFSCME took the state of Washington to court in 1983, noting that job evaluations conducted by the state documented that jobs in which women predominated by 70 percent were underpaid by an average of 20 percent when compared to jobs in male-dominated fields.

Federal District Judge Jack Tanner found the state guilty of "pervasive" discrimination and ordered it to pay about $860 million in pay equity raises and back pay to some 15,000 state workers. Clearly, the precedent for this ruling comes from the Gunther decision, but the state of Washington ruling went one step further by accepting job evaluations as valid evidence.

But pay equity critics got a chance to celebrate last September when the 9th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco overturned Tanner's decision as it ruled that the 1964 Civil Rights Act "does not obligate (Washington State) to eliminate

an economic inequality which it did not create." Writing for the three-judge panel, Judge Anthony Kennedy said, "The state did not create the market disparity and has not been shown to have been motivated by impermissible sex-based considerations in setting salaries."

Despite the appellate court reversal, the state agreed to an out-of-court settlement with AFSCME. Under the agreement, nearly 35,000 state employees in predominantly female jobs will share $101 million over the next six years. The first installment provides for $46.5 million in pay increases during a 15-month period ending June 1987.

Additional pay equity increases amounting to about $10 million will be awarded annually through 1992.

Depending on their job classifications, the agreement calls for most workers to get raises ranging from 12 to 14 percent spread over six years.

In California, AFSCME negotiated a three-year contract valued at $12 million for Los Angeles city workers. The union initiated the negotiations by conducting an extensive analysis of Los Angeles wage scales and documenting pay inequities.

Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley called the agreement a historic step that will "send a message to cities across the country."

The list of successful bargaining and litigation cases has grown to prominence from being virtually non-existent in the late 1970s. In 1981 San Jose, Calif., municipal workers ended a nine-day strike when they received pay adjustments from the city totalling $1.5 million.

Last year, the SEIU negotiated a two-year contract for San Francisco workers that provides $28.2 million in pay equity adjustments.

SEIU locals are suing Los Angeles County on charges of segregating 40,000 workers by race and sex in hiring, wage scales and promotions. This is the first pay equity case being pursued that includes race discrimination.

In Massachusetts, AFSCME was successful in persuading the governor to address comparable worth for state employees at the bargaining table.

In Iowa, AFSCME has negotiated a comparable worth study that is expected to upgrade the wages of 63 percent of the AFSCME-represented workers—46 percent of whom are in female-dominated jobs.

Pay equity cases are pending in Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and California, and studies are being done in many other states.

In the private sector, change is happening more slowly. But at Yale University, clerical and technical workers represented by the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees won a pay equity clause in their contract last year. The agreement provides a 35-percent wage increase over the 42-month contract and a new 17-step pay scale.

Pay equity negotiations are pending in many states. Unions, led by AFSCME and SEIU, and women's groups have been at the cutting edge of the campaign. The AFL-CIO convention in 1985 reiterated labor's commitment to pay equity and pledged a continued effort to bring change through collective bargaining, legislation and legal action.

The struggle is still very real.

Women and Unions

The 1985 AFL-CIO study, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," found unions running "behind the pace of change."

The American workforce added 1.3 million new workers per year in the 1960s and 2.1 million per year in the 1970s. But the labor movement's membership remained static. Organizing gains were offset by job losses in basic industries. Union membership declined in the 1980s. The proportion of eligible workers who join a union has fallen from about 45 percent to almost 28 percent since 1954. Using the percentage of the entire workforce, which includes executives, supervisors and the self-employed, the decline has been from 35 percent to under 19 percent.

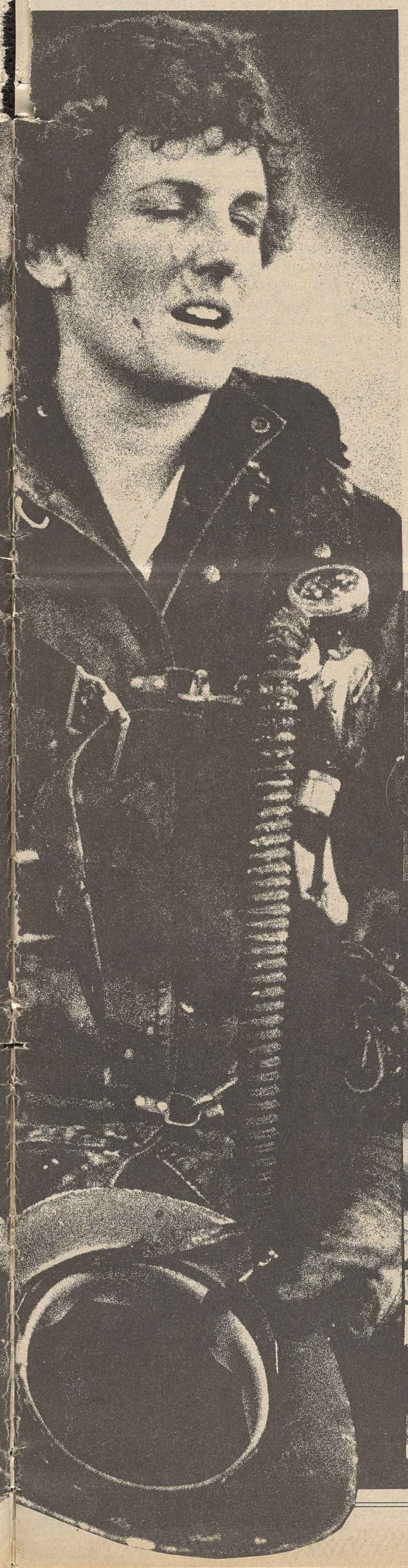
Although more than 50 percent of all women work outside the home, only 13.2 percent of those in full- or part-time jobs were union members in 1985. In 1977, 15.7 percent were union members. Comparable figures for male workers showed a drop from 29.6 percent in 1977 to 22.1 percent in 1985.

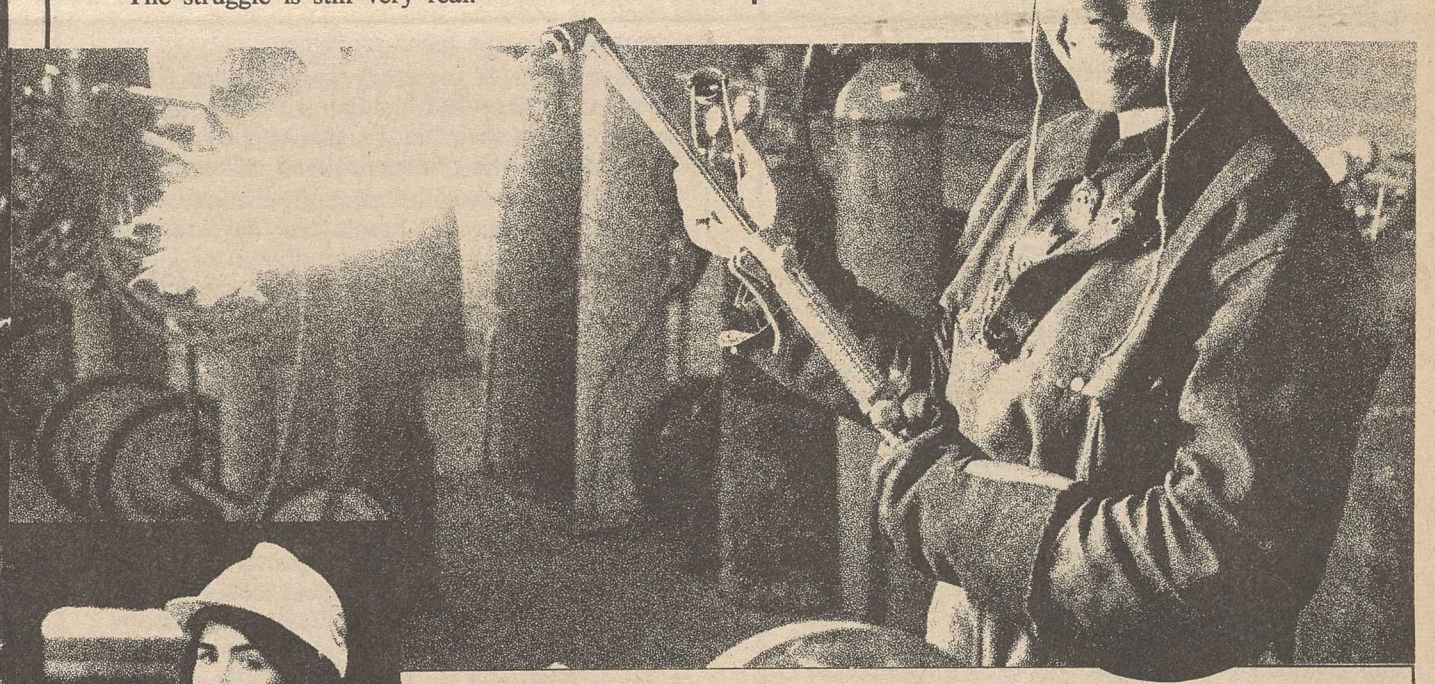
Even so, the proportion of male workers in unions has not kept pace with the proportion of female workers in unions.

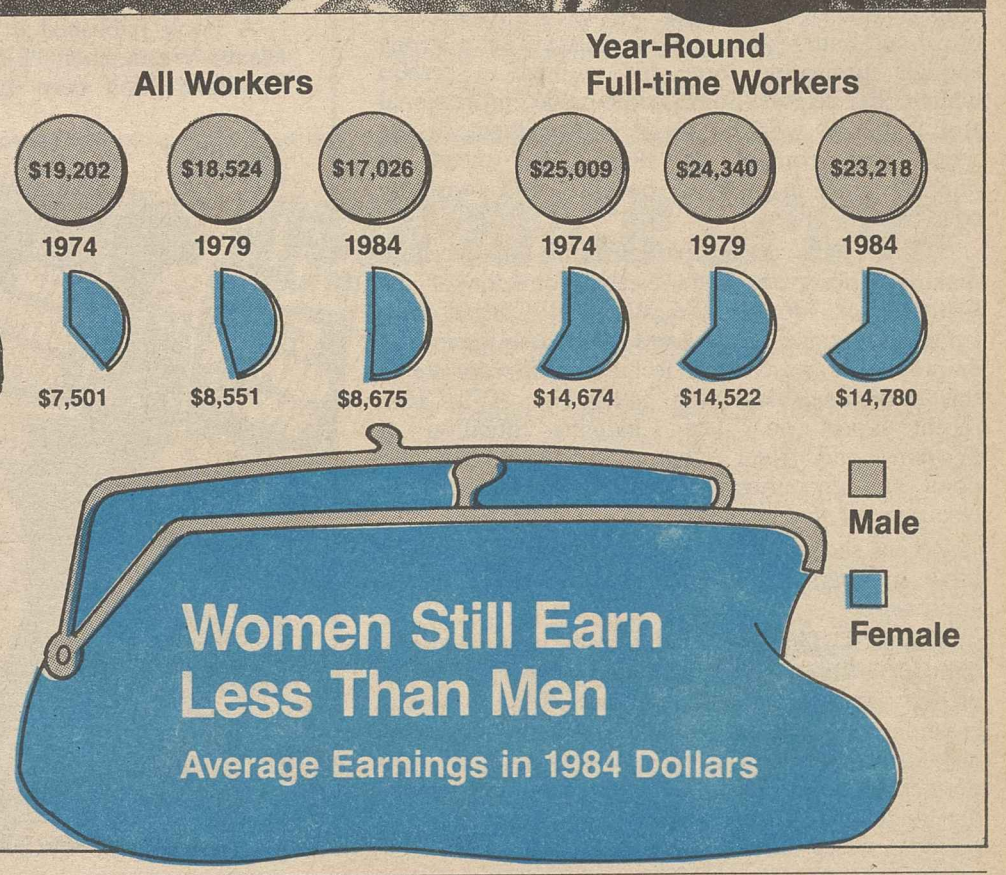
A 1985 paper titled "Union Maids: Unions and the Female Work Force," by Richard B. Freeman and Jonathan S. Leonard, noted that with the rising participation of women in the workforce, the female proportion of union members increased from 19 percent in 1956 to 41 percent in 1983.

In 1956 only 15 percent of female workers were union members compared to 31 percent of male workers. In January 1985, 16.2 percent of women workers over age 24 were in unions, compared to 26.4 percent of male workers.

Today, two of every five union members is a woman. More than 7 million women belong to unions, compared with 4 million a decade ago.







Women are beginning to emerge in leadership positions in the labor movement, but not yet in proportion to their numbers in the workforce. They do fill high level staff positions in the AFL-CIO, as well as in affiliate unions. Leading women include Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and a vice president of the Clothing & Textile Workers, and Barbara Hutchinson, a vice president of the Government Employees. Both serve as AFL-CIO vice presidents. Women are also top-level assistants to both AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue.

Women presidents of affiliated unions include Linda Puchala of the Flight Attendants, Colleen Dewhurst of Actors' Equity and Patty Duke of the Screen Actors.

The nation's largest local union is also headed by a woman—Sandra Feldman, president of the 85,000-member Teachers Local 2 in New York. And Betty Tianti was installed as president of the Connecticut AFL-CIO last fall.

With the gains in female membership, union officials have become more sensitive to women's concerns, Joyce Miller points out. Male union leaders recognize "that there is a potential for organizing women," she notes.

Freeman and Leonard noted in their study that the biggest organizing gains in women workers have been in the public sector and white-collar occupations.

From 1973 to 1983, "the proportion of females organized in the public sector more than doubled to attain near equality with the proportion of males," the study said. In the private sector during the same period, the decline in proportion of unionized women was less than among men.

The study also found that "women are as organized as men among white-collar workers, but are less organized than men among blue-collar workers. Because of female concentration in white-collar jobs, however, women constitute 58 percent of white-collar unionists."

In new organizing campaigns women are more likely to support unions than are men, Freeman and Leonard found.

An AFL-CIO survey of more than 200 recent representation elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board found that unions won 50 percent of the elections in which women made up 75 percent of the bargaining unit but only two-fifths of the elections in which fewer than half the workers were women.

A BLS survey showed that in 1985 women workers under union contract had median weekly earnings of $347, compared with only $262 for nonunion women. Union pay scales for women even topped the rates of nonunion male workers, whose median weekly earnings were $315 last year.

The male-female wage differential was about the same for union and nonunion workers.

The Freeman-Leonard study indicates that unions have brought marked gains for women in white-collar jobs. They also have done better for women in the public sector than in the private sector, particularly in blue-collar jobs.

Women's blue-collar jobs predominate in the lower-paying apparel and garment industry, while blue-collar men are chiefly employed in the traditionally higher paid auto and steel industries. Thus, despite collectively bargained contracts, unions have made limited progress in altering institutionalized wage differentials.

In organizing campaigns, unions are aware that bread-and-butter issues may not always be a strong enough motivating force for women in certain white-collar sectors. Some white-collar, professional and technical workers place improvement in the scope and content of their jobs ahead of improvement in wages, benefits and working conditions.

"They want more participation in decision-making," observed Anne Nelson, director of the Institute for Women and Work at Cornell University. Organizers now emphasize these issues and employ new and creative techniques appropriate to the particular bargaining unit. The AFL-CIO's recent report on "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions" acknowledges this point and encourages organizers to devote more resources to this challenge.

Recent successful organizing campaigns involving large numbers of women illustrate this different approach.

The SEIU District 925 organizing campaign and fight for a first contract at the Syracuse, N.Y., office of the Equitable Life Assurance Society is one example. The battle centered on issues involving new office technology. The union won substantial protections in the area of health, including breaks during the day from work at video terminals and periodic safety checks of the machines.

The use of new organizing techniques also came into play at the Yale University campaign for clerical and technical workers. The organizing victory led to the negotiation of a first contract in January 1985 by the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees. The 2,600-member unit, predominantly female, was solidified by a three-year drive, culminating in a 10-week strike that focused attention on the low-level wages in historically female-dominated jobs.

AFSCME has organized large numbers of female employees by stressing the need to correct wage and benefit disparity in predominantly female classifications.

The Hospital & Health Care Employees are for the first time mobilizing to organize women who work in private homes and do not meet each other, nor report to a central location.

Since early 1983, a union coalition of the SEIU, Food & Commercial Workers and the Food & Allied Service Trades Dept. has been conducting a nationwide drive at the Beverly Enterprise nursing home chain. Employees at these facilities are mostly women. In early 1985, the union victory rate was 70 percent.

But labor's foes have not been idle. In recent years, "union-busters" have developed specialized strategies appealing to women to keep unions out of the workplace.

Unions are finding that in some cases women entrants to the labor force are difficult to organize because they feel grateful just for having a job. Another roadblock to organizing is the large number of part-time workers. One of every four women in the labor force works part time.

CLUW's Role

The Coalition of Labor Union Women was founded in 1974 to seek affirmative action in the workplace, to strengthen the role of women within their unions, to encourage political and legislative activities and to organize unorganized women.

Although increasing numbers of women hold union office, many still are in lower level positions. CLUW works to assist women in gaining skills to move up in their unions. Its 1979 study, "Absent from the Agenda," examined the participation of women in union leadership roles. It found that women faced substantial barriers, including discrimination, lack of training, lack of encouragement and lack of a substantive agenda to give them a stronger voice in the labor movement.

An outgrowth of the study in 1982 was "Empowerment," a looseleaf handbook to help women learn more about their unions, gain applicable skills and develop specific problem-solving techniques.

In 1981 the Women's Project of the AFL-CIO Dept. for Professional Employees developed a training and resource guide, "Handbook for Union Staff Women." A companion training curriculum for staff development followed.

Using materials from both of these projects, CLUW developed a series of leadership training programs called "Color Me Union" for individual unions and other labor bodies to include in their education programs.

Leadership programs for union women are offered at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, regional summer schools cosponsored by the AFL-CIO and the University-College Labor Education Association, and in separate projects by universities and unions.

A book published in 1981 by the late Barbara Mayer Wertheimer, "Labor Education for Women Workers," has been used throughout the labor movement in developing training programs. Another resource is CLUW's "Effective Contract Language for Union Women," which provides model clauses that focus on women's issues.

CLUW has grown from 10 chapters and 5,000 members in 1974 to 75 chapters and more than 18,000 members in 1985.

CLUW's Center for Education & Research is undertaking two new projects, the Future of Work Project and the Collective Bargaining Clearinghouse & Monitoring Project. The former will focus on new and emerging women's issues.

CLUW's goal is to bring together representatives of the labor movement, women's organizations, civil rights organizations and public policy decision-makers to develop research and education policies and strategies that will address these concerns.

The project will document collective bargaining progress in four major areas: pay equity and wage parity; job access, training, promotion and upgrading jobs; child and dependent care programs that assist working parents in coping with work and family responsibilities, and policies to correct the adverse effects of automation on women's job skills, pay, promotional opportunities and health.

Organized labor has long been a leading force in the fight for women's rights in the legislative arena. It actively lobbied for the 1963 Equal Pay Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Both pieces of legislation were milestones in the continuing fight for equal rights.

It was a coalition of union and women's groups that spurred passage of the Pregnancy Disability Act in 1978 after the Supreme Court ruled that discrimination because of pregnancy did not amount to sex bias.

Two major victories for women in the 98th Congress—expansion of pension rights for women and improved enforcement of child support obligations—had the strong backing of organized labor.

The AFL-CIO has been on record in support of the federal Equal Rights Amendment since 1973. Although the ERA did not become the 27th amendment to the Constitution, unions were highly active in coalitions that succeeded in getting 16 states to adopt their own equal rights statutes.

Organized labor continues to support the ERA, which AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland has stressed "is not for women alone" but is "a goal for all Americans and for the cause of individual human dignity."

In reintroducing the ERA to the 99th Congress, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) noted that "women cannot depend on the courts to uphold statutory protections against discrimination." He cited the Grove City College decision, in which the Supreme Court sharply narrowed its definition of discrimination in the distribution of federal funds to college students.

***Working Women's Awareness Week* will be observed May 4-10 to recognize the contributions women have made to the nation and the economy throughout the years.**

The nationwide observance is sponsored by the Coalition of Labor Union Women in cooperation with participating labor organizations.

CLUW chapters, working with community coalitions and local unions, will feature women in various occupations and industries through television and radio talk shows, public service announcements, as well as art, music and film festivals, and public forums.

CLUW President Joyce Miller leads pay equity pickets.

AFL-CIO Vice President Barbara Hutchinson, right, and Teachers Vice President Lorretta Johnson press labor's case for child care programs on Capitol Hill.

Testifying at House hearings, from left: Ellen Wernick of CLUW, Constance Woodruff of the National Association of Commissions for Women and Pat Thomas of the Service Employees.

Through the use of collective bargaining to fight sexual harassment in the workplace, the labor movement has been the guiding force in sensitizing the public to the issue of sex-based employment.

Work and Family

The time-consuming and costly task of child care has traditionally fallen to women. As more of them enter the workforce, the need for accessible and inexpensive child care has become increasingly apparent.

In 1984, the House Select Committee on Children, Youth & Families reported that almost half of all children under age six had mothers who worked. The Women's Bureau reported that six of every 10 women—or about 19.5 million—with children under age 18 were in the labor force in 1984. Furthermore, almost 70 percent of all married women workers with children at home are employed full time. Despite the obvious need, the United States remains the only industrialized country in the world without a national child care policy.

Congress adopted comprehensive child care legislation in 1971 but it was vetoed by President Nixon. Gloria Johnson, education and civil rights director for the Electronic Workers, has suggested that new legislation has not been enacted because people still cling to the Phyllis Schlafly myth of the nuclear family: The husband works, the wife stays home and cooks, and their two children play with the family dog in the backyard. The reality, however, is that in the 1970s only 6 percent of American families fit that "standard." In 1985, one of five children lived in a single-parent home. By 1990, that proportion is expected to rise to one in every four children.

The limited progress made in securing child care can be attributed to unions and collective bargaining. Employers, absent a federal mandate or example, have been slow to respond to the need for child care. For the few employers who provide child care programs, the advantages include decreased absenteeism and employee turnover, heightened morale and motivation, and increased ability to attract employees.

The management-oriented Conference Board reported that only 1,800 of the nation's six million employers provide child care. Those that do tend to be large, high-tech corporations, banks, insurance companies and hospitals. Unfortunately, women predominate in occupations that are most resistant to employee benefits, least of all child care, according to the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues.

"... People still cling to the Phyllis Schlafly myth of the nuclear family: The husband works, the wife stays home and cooks, and their two children play with the family dog in the backyard. The reality, however, is that in the 1970s only 6 percent of American families fit that 'standard.'"

The federal government's example to employers is unimpressive. More than 23 million children in the United States require day or after-school care. In 1982 there were federally supported day care slots for only 500,000 children—a number insufficient to cover the needs of parents in New York City alone.

Federal funding under the Social Security Act that provides primary support for state child care programs was reduced from $2.9 billion to $2.4 billion in fiscal year 1982. Consequently, 25 states spent less for child care in 1984 than they did in 1981, and 27 states served fewer children in 1984 than in 1981.

One of the few compensations government has offered is a tax break for child care, which can cost anywhere from $1,500 to $10,000 a year. The going cost is about $3,000 per child. Since the average single mother earned less than $9,000 in 1982, she would have had to pay one-third of her income for center-based child care.

In 1981, Dependent Care Tax Credit was placed on a sliding scale to allow lower-income families to claim credit for a larger percentage of their child care expenses. But the problem is that these families don't have the money to pay for child care in order to get a tax refund. In addition, the tax credit is not refundable if it exceeds the total cost the family owes in federal taxes.

The Administration now wants to transform the tax credit into a tax deduction. A 1985 AFL-CIO convention resolution noted that this would make it "far less advantageous to lower-income families."

The Pregnancy Disability Act of 1978, which gave pregnant workers the right to claim disability benefits offered by their employers, represented a significant gain for working mothers. But the act is limited to employers who already provide sick or disability leave benefits. Legislation requiring all employers to provide disability and parental leave for birth, sickness of a child and adoption has been introduced in the House. But the proposed legislation falls far short of international standards.

Dana Friedman of the Family Information Center in New York says "the mid-1980s will be remembered as the era when corporations first understood how seriously women and family issues affect the bottom lines." Employers have been slow to respond, presumably because of costs. However, Business Week magazine noted that "the outlay for child care is more than offset by the savings from higher productivity and less turnover."

Unions have made breakthroughs in negotiated child care programs and benefits. The Clothing & Textile Workers launched union-sponsored day care centers in 1968, with the first financed jointly by management and employees in Virginia.

The Ladies' Garment Workers developed a jointly funded child care center in New York with employers contributing $32 of the $82 weekly cost for each child and the Agency for Child Development subsidizing 50 percent of the operating cost.

The SEIU and AFGE publish a quarterly newsletter on child care that focuses on relevant contract language, feasibility studies and reports on union advances.

Alternative work patterns such as flex-time and job sharing are being used by some working parents to ease child care problems.

Other work arrangements include compressed and shortened workweeks, staggered hours, rotating shifts, work pauses, creative leave clauses, voucher plans, paid sabbatical and extended parental leaves.

The best way to achieve adequate, affordable and accessible child care for all Americans is through legislation, which organized labor continues to support. However, prospects for its enactment in the near future are dim. Therefore, it's up to unions to pursue innovative strategies within and beyond the collective bargaining process to attain needed child care services.

It's Not Working: The Unemployment Insurance Crisis

The nation's unemployment insurance system, established 50 years ago last August, is in a state of crisis. The vast majority of the jobless are not being provided benefits; the long-term unemployed are totally unprotected; employers have successfully convinced legislators to keep taxes low, benefits low and eligibility requirements high; and the Reagan Administration has taken actions and proposed further steps that will make the system more restrictive and less responsive to those in our society who are most in need of protection from the ravages of unemployment.

This article is taken from a fact sheet that accompanied the statement on the national economy adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, Feb. 18, 1986, at Bal Harbour, Fla.

Priority Issues

1. Decline in percentage of unemployed receiving benefits. At the present time, nearly 7 out of every 10 of the jobless are receiving nothing from the nation's unemployment compensation system. In October 1985, only 26.6 percent of the unemployed received benefits, an all-time low. In 1975, an average of 76 percent of the unemployed received benefits.

2. Long-term jobless have lost virtually all protection. Today only 1 percent of those unemployed for 27 weeks or longer qualify for extended benefits (UC benefits beyond the normal 26 weeks of benefits provided by the states). Due to changes brought about by the Reagan Administration in the trigger mechanism, only the state of Alaska and Puerto Rico currently qualify for the federal/state extended benefit program (up to 13 weeks of benefits beyond the regular benefit program operated by the state).

3. Benefit levels are low. In 1985, the average weekly benefit amount in the United States was $122. This represents 35 percent of the average weekly wage in covered employment ($347).

4. Employer taxes have declined. The ratio of wages subject to UI taxes was 98 percent in 1939 while today it is 36 percent. This is one of the most regressive of all taxes. The federal taxable wage base has been changed only four times. Originally all covered wages were subject to the Federal Unemployment Tax Act (FUTA). In 1940, the FUTA tax was limited to the first $3,000. Forty-six years later, in 1986, it is only $7,000. The result has been chronic serious underfinancing of the system.

5. Further cuts planned. New efforts being un-

dertaken by the Reagan Administration, under the guise of quality control, shifting administrative costs to the states, and more onerous experience rating, can only encourage the states to adopt more restrictions on eligibility and harsher disqualifications, and impose more reductions and lower limits on benefit levels.

Crisis in the System

On average in 1984, just under 3 million of the more than 8½ million unemployed received UI benefits under the state regular benefit program and the federal/state programs for the long-term unemployed. Only 34.1 percent of the jobless got benefits—65.9 percent fell through the cracks. They either failed to meet qualification requirements or had previously exhausted benefits.

The record for 1985 is far worse. During five months in 1985 (June through October), fewer than 30 percent of the unemployed received benefits under all UI programs. Overall in 1985, just 33.6 percent of the unemployed got compensation from the system. This meant that during each month of the year more than 5½ million of the jobless received nothing.

For the long-term jobless, there is no protection afforded by the present system. There have been well in excess of 1 million long-term jobless (27 weeks or more) during every month of 1985. This does not include the discouraged or those working part-time but needing full-time employment. Ninety-nine percent of those out of work six months or longer get nothing from the UI system.

In a 1985 report for the National Governors Association, Wayne Vroman of the Urban Institute concluded that "although there have been widespread cutbacks in UI benefits, the largest reductions that have taken place have been in benefits paid to the long-term unemployed. Sharp cutbacks in long-term UI benefits have occurred despite the fact that long-term unemployment was more prevalent in 1982, 1983 and 1984 than in any other years since World War II."

As recently as 1975, over 76 percent of the unemployed were receiving benefits from either the regular program or one of the programs established to assist the long-term jobless. Although there were fewer long-term unemployed in the mid 1970s, extended benefits were being paid to an average of 535,000 each week. Today, only 12,000 of the long-term jobless qualify for such assistance (limited to those in Alaska and Puerto Rico).

According to Gary Burtless of the Brookings Institution, "some critics of unemployment insurance might fault the comparison with 1975-76 because benefits in that period were unusually generous, lasting up to 65 weeks irrespective of a worker's financial need. However, even in comparison to earlier recessions when unemployment insurance was less generous, benefits provided in 1981-82 covered an unusually small fraction of the unemployed. Except during the comparatively mild recession in 1970-71, at least 56 percent of the unemployed received jobless benefits in every postwar recession through 1977."

Burtless also points out the declining value of the nation's UI system as a countercyclical stimulus. He notes that "in fiscal 1976, when only 7.6 million were unemployed, the nation spent almost $31 billion (1982 dollars) on all unemployment insurance programs. (In 1982), when unemployment averaged 10 million, less than $24 billion was spent on these programs. Thus, the amount of countercyclical stimulus dropped by nearly one-fourth though the number of unemployed was higher by one-third. The real compensation per unemployed worker fell by over 40 percent."

Restrictions

1. Beginning in 1979 (The Revenue Act of 1978), UI benefits became taxable as ordinary income at certain levels ($20,000 for singles and $25,000 for couples filing jointly). P.L. 97-248 lowered those levels to $12,000 for singles and $18,000 for married individuals in 1982. The current tax bill being considered in Congress would tax all UI benefits. Subjecting UI benefits to taxation established a precedent for taxing government transfer payments previously always treated as non-taxable income.

2. Due to proposals of the Reagan Administration that were adopted in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981, a number of far-reaching changes were implemented that have sharply modified the scope of UI and have severely restricted eligibility of the long-term unemployed.

(a.) Access to extended benefits was curtailed by eliminating the national trigger, excluding EB recipients from trigger computations and raising the levels of the automatic and optional state triggers. These restrictions are so tight that today only a handful of jobless workers in Puerto Rico and Alaska are receiving extended benefits. Additionally, the failure of the Administration and Congress last March to extend the Federal Supplemental Compensation program (FSC) resulted in the loss of benefits to over 340,000 long-term jobless workers.

(b.) The cost of indebtedness to states forced to borrow from the federal government was raised by imposing interest charges on loans made after Mar. 31, 1982. Hence, during recessions and periods of high unemployment, states are faced with the choice of incurring additional debt through interest charges or avoiding that debt by reducing benefit levels and periods of duration and making eligibility requirements more strict. States were further encouraged to make their systems more restrictive by the Social Security Amendments of 1983. If a debtor state improved its solvency by 25 percent through tax increases or benefit reductions, it was allowed to defer, at no cost, 80 percent of the interest payments on federal loans. Additional incentives were available to those states making solvency adjustments greater than 25 percent by reducing interest rates and federal unemployment tax (FUT) penalties. By March 1984, all eight of the largest debtor states had enacted solvency legislation (Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Texas, Louisiana and New Jersey).

Wayne Vroman has estimated that program solvency will be improved in those states by $12 billion in the 1983-86 period. Tax increases would account for $8.3 billion or 69 percent of the total and benefit reductions would account for $3.7 billion or 31 percent. But due to savings on interest deferral, lower interest rates and reduced FUT penalties, the net increase in employer UI costs would be $5.4 billion making the employer/employee share of the net change in these eight states 59 percent and 41 percent respectively. The types of benefit reductions include: a freeze on benefit maximums, reduction in the replacement rate (i.e., the ratio of benefits to previous wages), reducing duration periods, and increasing base period earning requirements. Although Vroman examined only these eight states, similar actions were taken by other debtor states and states attempting to avoid debtor status.

(c.) Workers' access to benefits under the Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) program was sharply reduced.

(d.) The availability of UI benefits for those leaving military service was curtailed.

3. In the past year, the Reagan Administration has acted or has proposed actions which can only result in a more restrictive unemployment insurance program.

(a.) The Dept. of Labor had planned to implement last July a so-called "Quality Control System" which would have required each state to audit up to 1,600 UI benefit recipients each year. Sec. Brock, at the request of the AFL-CIO, delayed the scheduled implementation of the program. As originally planned, the QC program would have fulfilled demands by the Chamber of Commerce and other business groups to examine what are claimed to be instances of overpayments due in most cases to the failure of claimants to meet work-search requirements. Most state work-search requirements, particularly during periods of high joblessness, are a form of harassment to the unemployed and constitute a nuisance to employers. The AFL-CIO insisted that any "quality control" program should include audits of denials, which would reveal significant cases of underpayments, as well as audits of tax collections which would reveal non-payment and late payment of taxes by employers. Such tax delinquencies, according to a Dept. of Labor analysis of 1982 figures, amount to nearly $1 billion a year. The Secretary announced in December that the department would proceed with the QC program in March 1986. It will focus first on overpayments and only at some unspecified date will it eventually "be expanded to include the investigation of claims that had been denied and employer tax collection activities."

(b.) For the past several years, the Office of Management & Budget has been promoting a scheme called "devolution." Under this proposal, the responsibility for funding state administrative expenses in the UI system would be transferred from the federal government to the states. Since the inception of the nation's unemployment insurance program over 50 years ago, administrative costs at both the federal level and the state level have been funded by the federal government from funds collected through the Federal Unemployment Tax (FUT). Under devolution, states would be forced either to raise taxes or reduce benefits in order to provide sufficient resources for administrative expenses. Devolution would significantly weaken the federal role in the nation's UI system, making it difficult if not impossible to move toward fair and equitable federal standards. In December, the Dept. of Labor initiated a period of study and review of "needed changes in the State Employment Security Agency administrative financing system." If devolution emerges from this process it could have extremely negative and long-lasting effects on the unemployed and on the employees in state agencies, many of whom are union members.

(c.) The AFL-CIO has always argued against experience rating as an element in calculating unemployment insurance taxes. Under experience rating, employers with favorable layoff experience in relation to payrolls qualify for lower tax rates than those with less favorable experience. Employers are encouraged by the incentive of experience rating to contest claims by their former employees for unemployment compensation no matter how legitimate those claims may be. The United States is the only country in the world with this feature in its UI program. Short of abolishing experience rating, its effects can only be mitigated by strengthening claimant rights. The Dept. of Labor's Office of Inspector General, in a report issued last August, has concluded that the unemployment insurance program is becoming more "socialized" due to a decline in the effectiveness of experience rating. The recommendation of the OIG is that policy makers should reverse the alleged decline of experience rating to provide increased incentives for employers to monitor UI benefit claims. In other words, tax rates can be lowered if employers file more appeals and reduce the number of unemployed who are judged eligible for UI benefits. At a time when the nation is failing to provide protection to vast numbers of the unemployed, it is unconscionable for the Dept. of Labor to propose tighter experience rating measures that can only result in even larger numbers of the jobless being denied UI compensation.

Underfunding

The taxable wage base established by the federal government is $7,000. The ratio of wages subject to UI taxes was 98 percent in 1939. Today it is a mere 36 percent. Underfunding has become the rationale for curtailing benefits.

Due to the demands placed on state trust funds by the recessions of 1975-76 and 1980-84 and the failure of policy makers to address the underfunded UI system, inadequate reserves are likely to persist for the foreseeable future. According to Dr. Vroman, "even under an optimistic projection made at the U.S. Dept. of Labor, total net reserves accumulated through the end of fiscal year 1989 ($32.1 billion) will attain only half of the level recommended as minimally adequate under a commonly used actuarial guideline." (This assumes no additional recessions and continuing restrictiveness on questions of eligibility and benefit levels.)

The formula is simple: keep the system underfunded in relation to the needs; then use the underfunding as the rationale for cutting benefits. The goal: keep inadequate outlays in balance with inadequate revenues.

AFL-CIO Position

As reiterated at the 16th convention of the AFL-CIO in October 1985, the federation has called on Congress to restore the nation's unemployment insurance system to a bulwark of protection for all jobless Americans. This would require, at the minimum, the following actions:

- Improve the funding of the program by indexing the taxable wage base to at least 65 percent of the average annual wage;
- Remove harsh eligibility and disqualification provisions;
- Provide jobless aid to the long-term unemployed;
- Establish federal minimum benefit standards;
- Remove from the tax bill provisions that would subject unemployment insurance benefits to taxation;
- Defeat any efforts by the Administration to transfer to the states, through so-called devolution, the responsibility for funding the administrative costs of the nation's unemployment insurance system.

First Amendment rights

Federal court nullifies Texas picketing curb

Tyler, Tex.—A federal judge has declared a Texas mass-picketing statute unconstitutional, ruling that its sweeping provisions and imprecise language, coupled with overly vigorous enforcement by police, violated First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly.

The state law sets a maximum of two pickets, requires that they stay at least 50 feet away from the entrance to the premises and 50 feet apart from each other, and bars pickets from using "insulting, threatening or obscene language." It provides for fines of up to $500 and imprisonment for up to 90 days for each violation.

The court case grew out of the application of the statute against Rubber Workers Local 746 during a 1979 strike against Buddy Schoellkopf Inc., when the law was applied so stringently that it led to arrests of union attorneys consulting with pickets, URW members attempting to relieve pickets on the line, and unionists and supporters who shouted "scab" at strikebreakers.

In overturning the state law, Chief Judge William Wayne Justice ruled that, while the state had a legitimate interest in preventing picket-line violence, it could not "validly argue that when two persons stand 50 feet from each other . . . there is a clear danger of violence."

In addition, the imprecision in the way the law was written made it possible for police to apply their own definitions of "insulting, threatening or obscene language," the court held, and if allowed to stand would have "a chilling effect" on strikers.

The case revealed a pattern of close cooperation between management, city officials and police dating back to the certification of Local 746 as bargaining agent at Schoellkopf in September 1978, when discussions were opened about "security" at the plant while negotiations for an initial collective bargaining agreement were just getting under way.

When the strike began in February 1979, the company hired a three-man security force armed with revolvers, shotguns, carbines and an automatic rifle—all of them loaded. At times, security personnel pointed the weapons at women pickets, taunted and threatened them, and made what the court said were crude, sexual overtures.

Union response

In response, a contingent of male URW members employed at the Kelly-Springfield Tire Co. joined the women on the picket lines.

At a clandestine city hall meeting in March, plant officials and the director of the Tyler Chamber of Commerce won agreement from the city manager and chief of police to apply the mass-picketing statute and a 12-man police contingent was dispatched to the plant gates. It was only at this point that the URW was told of the 50-foot limit and the restriction on the number of pickets.

The URW won a preliminary injunction against enforcement of the statute in April 1979 on the ground that it abridged strikers' First Amendment rights. The order was dismissed a month later, after the union was decertified.

Local and state officials sought to block the union's appeal of the dismissal, arguing that decertification rendered the issue moot. Judge Justice disagreed, insisting that the union's defeat was largely the result of enforcement of the mass-picketing statute.

Chilling effect

"To allow the defendants to suppress a strike by employment of the statute, and then permit them to prevail with an argument that their swift success precludes review," the court said, would be unfair, and would have a chilling effect on future strikers, "making them unwilling to participate in picketing activities."

Picketing is "a potent economic weapon for employees in strike situations," Judge Justice pointed out, and "its absence will operate to diminish the union's bargaining powers."

In striking down the mass-picketing law, the judge emphasized that "picketing claims a historic place in the history of America, providing opportunity for diverse groups to express their ideas publicly," and that any restrictions on this opportunity for free expression must protect strikers' constitutional rights.

Job rights asked for air controllers

Legislation to lift the hiring ban on former air traffic controllers who were fired after a 1981 strike is in the public interest and should be enacted, the AFL-CIO and the federation's Public Employee Dept. urged.

AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten called on House members to join a bipartisan group of cosponsors of a bill introduced by Rep. Guy V. Molinari (R-N.Y.).

Rehiring experienced controllers, he said, would immediately relieve the overburdened air traffic control system and lift a serious safety threat.

John Leyden, executive director of the PED's Federal/Postal Division, said the need for the legislation was made clear by a recent General Accounting Office survey that found too few fully qualified controllers at the nation's busiest airports.

Despite increased air traffic, Leyden noted, there are only 12,500 controllers now as compared to 16,200 in 1981. Only 66 percent of the current workforce is rated at full performance level, compared to 80 percent at the time of the strike.

Some 100 House members have already cosponsored the legislation.

Mediation works

When both the Steelworkers and the Food & Commercial Workers expressed interest in the same organizing target in Alabama, the new procedure adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council passed its first test. AFL-CIO mediator Jack Gentry, at far end of table, met with officials of both unions. The informal mediation process brought a quick agreement between the two unions, avoiding duplication of organizing efforts. If mediation hadn't resolved the differences, the issue would have been referred to an umpire for final decision.

U.S., Japanese labor join in appeal for trade balance

San Francisco—American and Japanese trade union leaders united here in a call for action to end the trade imbalance between the two nations that has resulted in a record-shattering U.S. deficit with its Pacific trading partner.

The 17th annual meeting of the AFL-CIO and the Japanese Confederation of Labor (Domei) also emphasized the need for international cooperation throughout the free world to create jobs and improve workers' economic and social standards.

"In the face of the world crisis," Federation President Lane Kirkland and Domei President Tadanobu Usami said in a joint statement, "a constructive joint strategy of management and labor to cope with economic, monetary and currency instability can eventually achieve the creation of employment through economic growth" in both the industrialized and developing nations.

Revitalization of the world economy, they continued, should include action to protect "trade union rights, labor standards, working hours, safety and health, and social security."

Trade friction

On the issue of trade, Kirkland and Usami said that, as "the second largest economic power of the free world, Japan should take measures to avoid an escalation of trade friction" and should adopt a policy of "open and fair trade."

The union leaders called on Japan to cut taxes, raise workers' incomes, reduce working hours and develop its domestic markets instead of concentrating so much of its energy on exports to the United States.

The interlocking problems of trade and world economic growth are made more difficult by the continued growth of multinational corporations, Kirkland and Usami pointed out, adding that their two organizations will "closely monitor those corporations to ensure that they respect their employees' trade union and human rights."

Labor support

Taking note of the recent political upheaval in the Philippines, in which the trade union movement played a key role in deposing Ferdinand Marcos and bringing Corazon Aquino to power, the AFL-CIO and Domei offered "cooperation in helping workers in that country advance the free and democratic labor movement."

The U.S. and Japanese labor movements renewed their support for Solidarnosc, the outlawed Polish trade union movement, and for black trade unionists in South Africa, and pledged their backing for all free labor movements "fighting for their freedom in totalitarian countries."

Domei and the AFL-CIO expressed continuing support for the efforts of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with which both organizations are affiliated, to achieve arms control and disarmament agreements, and control of both conventional and nuclear weapons through a mutual system of verification.

"The guarantee of human and trade union rights is essentially related to any and all efforts to secure real peace in our time," Kirkland and Usami declared. "The threat to peace remains as long as there are societies of a dictatorial and totalitarian nature where the people have no voice in their destinies and cannot influence their governments to pursue peaceful objectives."

The AFL-CIO delegation to the three-day talks included International Affairs Director Irving Brown and Charles Gray, executive director of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute. Attending from Domei were Vice Presidents Iwao Fujiwara, Haruki Shimizu and Akio Kojima, and International Affairs Bureau Director Masao Aihara.

Carbide violations draw stiff fines

Continued from Page 1

torted" safety conditions at the plant and that the company would contest the citations. It has 15 days to file an appeal.

Some of the violations at the Institute plant had to be made under the agency's general duty clause, pointing up the need for OSHA standards on chemical releases and for preventing major chemical accidents. OSHA called for some 200 safety improvements for the plant and "clearly, there were other conditions there that they could only make recommendations on," Seminario noted.

"OSHA's responsibility is not to respond after the fact, but before," she said. "It shouldn't take workers giving their lives or being injured to get these actions. I would hope the agency would be more forward-looking and correct problems before they occur."

The Institute plant has been inspected 32 times by OSHA and 11 times since 1980. Following the Bhopal accident, OSHA inspected the methyl isocyanate unit in Institute while it was shut down. The agency subsequently gave it a clean bill of health. The unit resumed production in May 1985.

OSHA inspected the plant's aldicarb unit after last August's release of toxic aldicarb oxime. For that incident, OSHA proposed penalties of $32,100. Union Carbide lawyers, however, negotiated the penalty down to just $4,400 by persuading OSHA to downgrade the violations from "willful" to "serious."

Sweeping exemption

OSHA's policy prior to the Institute accident was to exempt chemical firms from general schedule inspections if their injury rates were below the national average. This changed after the accident.

The health and safety violations charged against Union Carbide include 129 instances of "willful" record-keeping violations, where the company "intentionally" failed to keep data on worker injuries, OSHA said.

Another "willful" violation related to a company practice of having workers check for leaks of phosgene gas following detection of a leak by a monitor. The company reported 15 leaks of phosgene between August 1984 and June 1985.

Phosgene gas can be detected by the human nose only at levels above current OSHA exposure limits and can be lethal in heavy concentrations. Brock noted, "We used to use canaries for that."

Seminario said that the agency proposed penalties based on each instance of a violation, instead of ganging together several under one violation, as has been the policy under the Reagan Administration.

She emphasized that the kinds of violations found at Union Carbide are "not unique to that company." Brock told reporters that OSHA intends to continue wall-to-wall investigations of chemical plants, and Acting OSHA Administrator Patrick R. Tyson in congressional testimony last fall, said 80 such wall-to-wall inspections would be done in 1986.

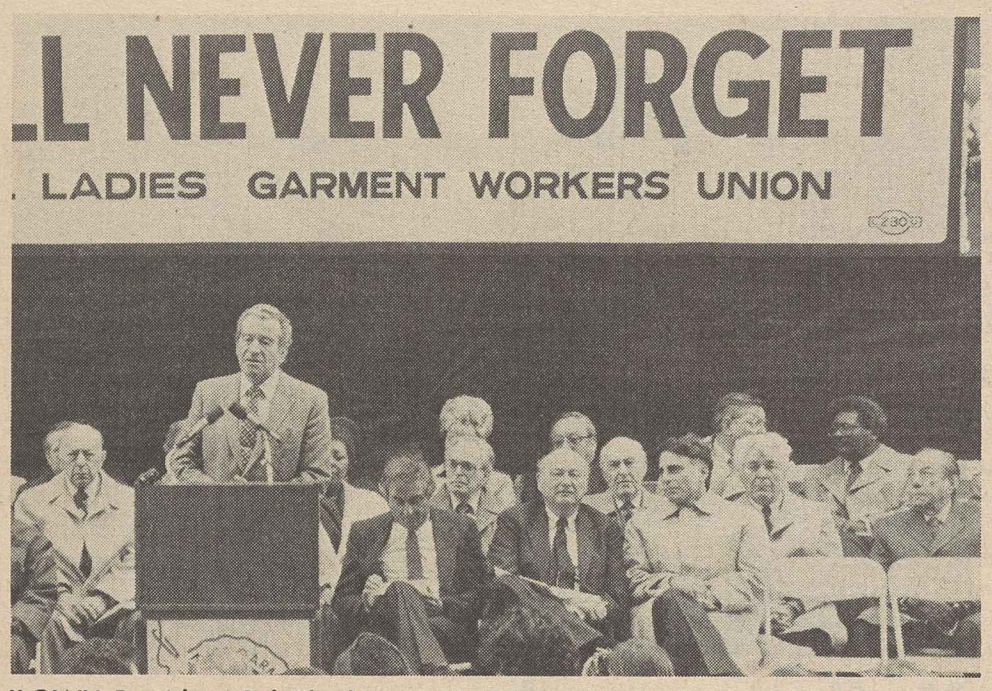
The proposed $1.4 million fine is the highest in the agency's history, topping a 1979 fine against Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. That fine was reduced from $786,190 to $96,580.

Michigan unions spur boycott of Coors beer

Lansing, Mich.—The Michigan AFL-CIO launched a statewide "Say No to Coors" campaign against the anti-labor brewery that has been the subject of a national AFL-CIO boycott since 1977.

The national boycott was triggered by a company move to replace its workforce with nonunion employees as part of a campaign to destroy Brewery Workers Local 366.

Unions throughout the state are taking part in the campaign that has already caused a dramatic cut in Coors sales.



ILGWU President Sol Chaikin recalls Triangle tragedy.

Survivor Pauline Cuoio Pepe.

ILGWU marks anniversary of Triangle fire

New York—Garment workers across the country paid tribute in special ceremonies to 146 young women killed 75 years ago in the worst industrial fire in the nation's history—the Triangle factory fire.

The Ladies' Garment Workers here commemorated the Mar. 25, 1911, tragedy with an afternoon memorial service at the factory site and a religious ceremony at a Brooklyn cemetery, where seven victims who were never identified were buried. A candlelight vigil in Washington Square later that evening concluded the observance.

ILGWU members in Miami, Los Angeles and Chicago marked the anniversary with a moment of silence to honor the fire's victims and with informational picketing at garment factories where fire hazards continue to exist.

More than 600 ILGWU members gathered at the site of the old Triangle shirtwaist factory, now part of New York University, and watched as firemen reenacted rescue efforts and hoisted a ladder to the building's sixth floor—too short to reach the building's top floors.

Because some exits had been locked and others were blocked by flames during the 1911 blaze, more than 350 young women, mostly immigrants, remained trapped in the burning building. Many jumped to their deaths.

Memorial ceremony

Mayor Edward Koch and other city officials joined the ceremony, and under a banner that read "We Shall Never Forget," ILGWU members listened as a fire bell tolled 146 times, in memory of the young women.

ILGWU President Sol Chaikin said the memorial was intended not as "a backward glance, but to honor the 146 victims and remind everyone of the achievements that resulted from the fire." He pointed out that sweatshops and unsafe conditions still exist, particularly in shops employing recent immigrant workers from Southeast Asia and Latin America, and warned that such a tragedy should never be allowed to occur again.

Joining the sad commemoration was Pauline Cuoio Pepe, one of three living survivors of the fire. Mrs. Pepe, now 95, was 19 years old when the Triangle fire broke out. She recalled rushing toward a door after she saw the flames, but finding the exit locked. "There were about 100 people right next to the door. Finally, one was opened and we rushed down the steps.

"We went down the steps. It was a long way and we were so nervous. When we came down, the firemen wouldn't let us out because the young girls were throwing themselves out," she related.

The fire raged for nearly 19 minutes, and though it took firemen just two minutes to arrive on the scene, there was little they could do for those workers trapped on the building's eighth, ninth and tenth floors.

Following the fire, a state commission was set up to investigate industrial fire hazards, but it turned its attention to other working conditions as well, sparking a number of health and safety laws and fire regulations to protect workers.

Ecumenical service for unidentified victims.

TWU ratifies Eastern pact for attendants

Miami—The long-running negotiations at Eastern Airlines involving 7,200 flight attendants represented by the Transport Workers wound down as union members overwhelmingly ratified a new 33-month agreement.

More than 90 percent of those taking part in the mail ballot voted to accept the new contract, which calls for a permanent 20 percent wage cut to help keep the financially troubled carrier flying. But the attendants will be in line for future bonuses if the airline turns a profit during the contract period.

The road to agreement was paved when the TWU accepted an out-of-court settlement of $11.5 million in back pay to end a suit brought about by Eastern's unilateral continuation of a temporary pay cut that was due to expire in January 1985. The settlement also provided that the airline would pay $250,000 to cover TWU's legal costs in filing the suit.

TWU Vice President John Kerrigan, director of the union's Air Transport Division, said some differences had arisen over the precise contract language concerning the lump-sum back payments. He added: "I am confident we can work this out in forthcoming discussions with Eastern management."

Ratification of the flight attendants' contract largely wraps up an extended round of negotiations with TWU, the Air Line Pilots and the Machinists, under pressure from a consortium of banks holding the carrier's more than $2.5 billion debt.

In the midst of the negotiations, Eastern was acquired by the anti-union Texas Air Corp.

Serious risks ignored

OSHA offers weaker benzene rule

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration's proposed benzene standard is significantly weaker than one adopted by the agency nearly a decade ago, despite increased evidence that the carcinogen should be strictly regulated, the AFL-CIO and several of its affiliates testified.

Margaret Seminario, associate director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, told an OSHA hearing panel that the proposed standard lacks many of the worker protections included in other regulations. She charged that the White House Office of Management & Budget pressured OSHA to weaken the standard.

She pointed out that since OMB ordered OSHA to remove the short-term exposure limits (STEL) from the final ethylene oxide standard in 1984, none of the subsequent proposed standards contain a STEL, including benzene. "Clearly, OSHA caved in to the pressure of OMB," she said.

Lower limit sought

The AFL-CIO believes that the available evidence on benzene supports a much stronger standard, Seminario said. In particular, the federation suggested a lower permissible exposure limit, inclusion of a STEL, a broader scope, and improvements in the medical surveillance provisions.

Exposure to benzene, which is found in many industrial products and in gasoline, causes leukemia and other cancers.

Seminario stressed that there are numerous jobs that subject workers to short, high-level exposures. The drafted standard, however, sets no STEL, even though the current standard limits short-term exposure to 25 parts of benzene per million parts of air. Under OSHA's proposal, a worker could be exposed to 32 ppm for 15 minutes and still be within the permissible limit for an eight-hour workday.

OSHA's proposal would lower the permissible worker exposure limit from 10 ppm to 1 ppm, a level that it still projects would produce five to six excess cancer deaths per 1,000 workers exposed.

In 1980, the Supreme Court overturned OSHA's 1977 benzene standard which was challenged by the petroleum industry, forcing the agency to conduct quantitative risk assessments in determining the potential risks for workers.

The petroleum industry, noting that workers are exposed to varying levels of benzene, often in short-term doses, suggested that the exposure level be set at 2 ppm or that the period for averaging exposures be changed from eight hours to 40 hours.

Seminario said the proposals made by the American Petroleum Institute are "all without merit." OSHA standards should not be "designed to encourage and accommodate exposure variability, but to reduce variability in exposures," she said.

The federation's safety specialist also urged that the permissible exposure limit be set at 0.5 ppm, rather than 1 ppm, stressing that such a move is both "economically and technically feasible."

OSHA's estimate of the annual cost to all employers was $8.9 million for a 1 ppm level and $110.1 million for a 0.5 ppm level. Seminario disputed OSHA's calculations which she said ignore petroleum industry exposure samplings that found most exposures to be below 0.5 ppm. OSHA said the cost to the petroleum industry for a 0.5 ppm limit would be $83.4 million a year, while a 1 ppm level would add nothing to the industry's cost.

Removal protection

Seminario also criticized the proposal for failing to provide protection for workers removed from their jobs due to adverse medical findings. Under the proposal, employers would not be obligated to maintain the wages and benefits of workers removed from a job for medical reasons.

The OSHA proposal does include a mandated medical surveillance program for the first time that includes workers formerly exposed to high levels of a toxic substance who are currently working for the same employer.

The provision, however, is limited to those workers who were exposed to levels greater than 10 ppm for 30 or more days a year. Seminario urged that this be expanded to include a "trigger" level for cumulative doses.

Dr. Frank E. Mirer, Auto Workers safety director, testified that the UAW supports a reduction in the benzene exposure limit to 0.5 ppm, opposes altering the period of the time-weighted average for exposures, and backs inclusion of medical removal protections, multiple physician review, worker participation in development of a compliance plan and labeling of hydrocarbon mixtures for benzene content.

Invitation to screening

Mirer also pointed out that the medical examination provision requires collection of a great deal of personal information that could be detrimental to the worker. He specifically cited information relating to smoking, drug and alcohol use, use of prescription drugs and "any genetically related hemoglobin alterations," a code phrase for sickle cell trait, he said.

Mirer said requiring this kind of information is "an invitation to genetic screening, to drug screening and identifies as risk factors all kinds of off-the-job activities. Workers could be fired for failure to reveal this kind of information."

Michael Wright, director of the Steelworkers safety department, also testified in favor of a short-term exposure limit, a lower exposure level, medical removal protections and requirements for continuing medical exams for workers formerly exposed to significant amounts of benzene.

Wright headed a panel of legal and medical experts testifying on the union's behalf, along with several rank-and-file members.

Homecare workers win retroactive raise

New York—Some 20,000 workers in homecare agencies will receive wage increases totaling 60 cents an hour, retroactive to July 1984, under the terms of a three-year contract negotiated by Local 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union.

The agreement, which was overwhelmingly ratified by the membership, calls for retroactive increases of 20 cents an hour effective as of July 1984 and July 1985, with an additional 20 cents due on July 1.

The contract also continues health benefits contained in the previous agreement, adds three additional holidays, including Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday, and provides time and a half for work on Christmas and New Year's.

EDITORIALS

Talking Tough

THE SECRETARY of Labor used deservedly strong language in castigating Union Carbide Corp. for its deliberate disregard of worker health and safety at its Institute, W.Va., plant.

With obvious anger, Sec. Brock denounced the company's use of workers as "human canaries" to sniff the air to detect leaks of deadly phosgene gas. He expressed indignation at Union Carbide's falsification of injury records, its failure to install monitoring devices to check leaks of dangerous chemicals, and its defective safety equipment.

Brock announced that OSHA will seek fines totaling nearly $1.4 million against Union Carbide for its many willful and serious violations, a record amount.

More accurately, it will be a record if anything close to that amount is ever collected. The tragedy is that it's not likely, as Union Carbide management and the management of other corporations know full well.

Just last fall, Union Carbide was slapped with a $32,100 fine for other violations, and its attorneys negotiated the amount down to $4,400. And the previous record OSHA fine of $786,190 against the Newport News shipyard ended up as less than $100,000.

Not surprisingly, Union Carbide has already announced that it will appeal the proposed fines. Given the track record of the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission, that looks like a sound business decision.

ESPECIALLY under this Administration, the enforcement of the Occupational Safety & Health Act has been notoriously lax.

Even in the most recent Union Carbide case, it should not have been necessary to wait until 130 persons were hospitalized by the release of a cloud of toxic gas at the West Virginia plant to conduct the "wall-to-wall" inspection that led to the OSHA citations. Surely the disaster in Bhopal, India, offered sufficient motivation.

The Secretary of Labor's angry words should also be directed to spurring OSHA to more vigorous enforcement—before accidents take place—and to press for the funding and resources to carry it out.

But it is up to Congress—in this case the members of the Senate Human Resources Committee—to send a message to America's corporations that flagrant violations of safety obligations will no longer be met with a token slap on the wrist.

Still pending before the committee is President Reagan's nomination of Robert E. Rader Jr. as a member of OSHA's review commission, the equivalent of a court of appeals.

Rader, who is currently serving on the commission under a presidential recess appointment, made his reputation as a foe of OSHA and an adviser to corporations on how to deny access to government safety inspectors.

As the AFL-CIO testified last month, Rader has demonstrated by his actions and writings that he is opposed to any government role in the safety and health of the nation's workers.

The Senate committee, reportedly closely divided on the issue, can recommend the confirmation of Rader and send a message to companies like Union Carbide that Brock's tough words carry no clout.

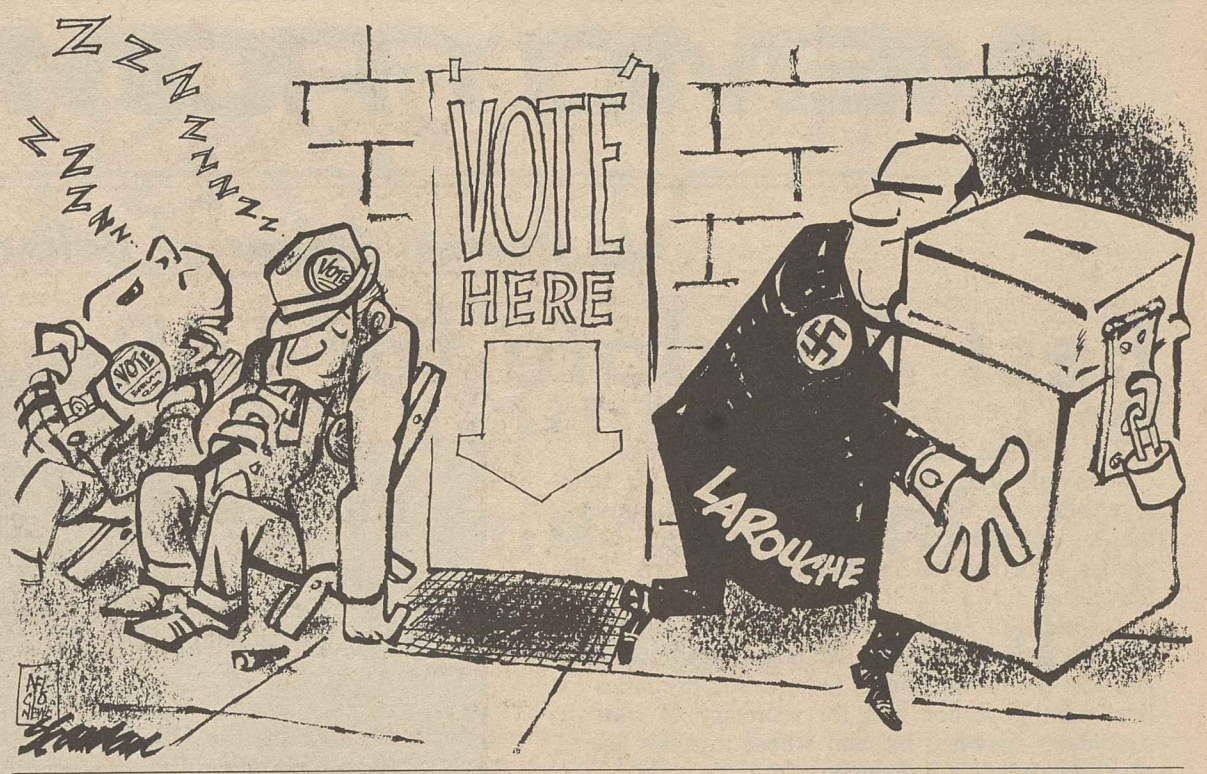
It can and should send a different message, that scofflaws will be severely punished. Killing the Rader nomination may save the lives of American workers.

A Time for Action

THE SENATE has an opportunity and an obligation to join the House in setting responsible limitations on the use of polygraphs in the workplace.

There is ample evidence that so-called lie detectors are unreliable as well as demeaning, and are principally used in the workplace as a means of intimidation. The case for action is compelling.

Senate hearings have been scheduled in time to bring the legislation to the floor this spring, avoiding the risks of an end-of-the-session logjam. The legislation has bipartisan sponsorship. Its enactment would be a credit to the 99th Congress.



Washington Window

Parents forced to choose between jobs, children

By Press Associates Inc.

Many working parents are forced to make a cruel choice between caring for a newborn child and keeping their jobs.

Despite all the "pro-family" rhetoric by political and business leaders, company policies often force this choice. Sad to say, the United States remains the only industrial nation which fails to guarantee paid leave for childbirth and for nurturing the infant in the important formative months after birth.

A bill to give American workers of both sexes a parental leave policy, as workers in more than 100 nations now enjoy, has been picking up strong support from unions, women's and civil rights groups. The Parental & Medical Leave Act is sponsored by members of both parties.

The bill would allow parents to take up to 18 weeks of unpaid leave to care for a newborn, newly adopted, or seriously ill child. Upon returning to work, the employee would be guaranteed his or her job back, with benefits and seniority continuing as though no leave had been taken.

In addition, the bill would allow workers who are unable to perform a job because of a nonwork-related health condition, including pregnancy or childbirth complications, to take a maximum 26 weeks of unpaid, job-protected medical leave.

Paid leave study

However, the bill would set up a commission to recommend a means of salary replacement for employees taking parental or medical leave. Paid leave is especially important for women in low-pay jobs who can't afford to stay at home.

At a joint hearing by four House subcommittees last October, legislators learned of a California woman who took eight weeks off from her work after a Caesarean delivery and returned to find that her job had been given to someone else. They learned of a young retail clerk from Montana who was fired during her pregnancy for being an "industrial risk" because she had morning sickness. They learned of a West Virginia coal miner who was denied unpaid leave to care for his child dying of cancer.

The panelists heard from Lorraine Poole of Philadelphia who, after completing a long and trying adoption procedure, was notified by the adoption agency that a baby was available. Her employer told her "maternity" leave did not cover adoptive parents so she couldn't count on getting her job back later. The adoption was cancelled.

Post-natal firing

They heard from Liberia Johnson, a retail store worker from Charleston, S.C., who developed a thyroid disorder while pregnant. Her doctors told her that she might have a miscarriage if she kept working, so she took a disability leave. Although her employer had promised her re-employment, when she reported to work six weeks after the birth, she was told that she was fired. Still, she was denied unemployment compensation on grounds that she had quit.

The traditional view that most new mothers leave the workforce to stay at home until their children begin school is no longer valid. Today, nearly half of all married mothers find it necessary to return to work before their child is a year old, according to a Labor Dept. survey. Of the 52 million women working outside the home, more than 80 percent are likely to become pregnant during their working lives.

The only federal law dealing with company parental leave policies is the 1978 Pregnancy Discrimination Act, which requires employers who provide disability insurance to treat pregnancy as a disability. But only half of all employers provide disability coverage and those least likely to provide it are those with the highest concentration of female employees. Only five states—California, New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Hawaii—require employers to provide short-term disability benefits.

Unions increasingly are seeking to include parental leave, for either parent, in their collective bargaining agreements. More companies are recognizing that a liberal parental leave policy improves morale and helps retain skilled workers.

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MEMO FROM COPE

Up from a Sewer of Political Paranoia

Best Antidote for LaRouchism: Exposure

The political whackos are loose in Illinois.

Not only that, they are the nominees for statewide office on the Democratic Party ticket, running-mates—unless he can somehow shed them—of the party's gubernatorial candidate, former Sen. Adlai Stevenson.

All kinds of excuses and explanations are offered for why the regular party candidates got blind-sided and lost the recent Illinois Democratic primaries for lieutenant governor and for secretary of state to candidates spawned by, and whose loyalties are to, extremist Lyndon LaRouche.

But the bottom line is that somehow his two clones got more votes than the regulars and are the nominees if nothing illegal is uncovered concerning their candidacies.

Learn enough about LaRouche and his thinking—and that of his followers now relishing new political prominence—and it could drive you into the arms of Jesse Helms, Newt Gingrich and NCPAC's Terry Dolan out of gratitude for their relative moderation.

Here are some thoughts of Chairman LaRouche:

► Walter Mondale, Henry Kissinger and McGeorge Bundy (JFK adviser) are "agents of influence" of the KGB (the Soviet secret police).

► England's Queen Elizabeth and American Jewish leaders are responsible for the international drug traffic.

► The assassinations of Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy were the work of a Zionist-British company (which must be the longest-running conspiracy on record, since the assassinations were a century apart).

► The Soviet KGB, Henry Kissinger, the Anti-Defamation League, FBI, Ladies' Garment Workers Union, National Review (William Buckley's conservative publication) and New Republic are in on a conspiracy to assassinate LaRouche.

► There is a "Zionist-British organism" that constitutes a separate biological species from mainstream mankind which "must be destroyed so that humanity might live."

► Blacks and Chinese, like Jews, are "lower forms," not up to human standards.

(See box for further insights of the LaRouchers.)

So, here are two young folks, a 31-year-old woman and a 27-year-old man, swimming up from this sewer of political paranoia and winning nominations for major statewide offices.

There may, or may not, be something legal that can be done in Illinois to send them back to the appropriate obscurity of the way-out fringe, but there *is* something that can be done about preventing an epidemic of them.

Where they crop up, expose them. Material cited above, and elsewhere on this page and Page 1, demonstrates how wildly irrational most of their political beliefs are. No matter what issues they're talking about in their campaigns, their basic philosophy is dangerous, hate-ridden nonsense.

LaRouche's loyalists are entered in an astonishing number of political contests this year. According to the New York Times, they have 146 candidates for the U.S. House, 14 for the U.S. Senate, seven for governor and more than 600 for state legislative and local party posts in 29 states. Most are running as Democrats. Some are running under the banner of LaRouche's political front, the National Democratic Policy Committee, a name calculated to confuse voters.

In at least two known races, LaRouche's people are the only entries in the Democratic primary and unless challenged will win nomination unopposed. One of these is in the New Hampshire U.S. Senate contest, where the only candidate filed for the Democratic nomination to run against incumbent Sen. Warren Rudman (R) is LaRouche follower Robert Patton.

And in California's 40th Congressional District LaRouche's entry, Art Hoffman, has the Democratic field to himself unless the party can come up with a write-in candidate.

There's no better way to manage that than exposure, and the bizarre policies and beliefs of LaRouche and his flakey followers provide the best arguments against them.

Thoughts (?) of, Reports on, Chmn. LaRouche

Following are statements *by* Lyndon LaRouche and/or his publications, as well as reports *on* LaRouche from various sources. (If some of his notions sound inter-galactic, it is because he and his followers are far out and roam an eerie universe.)

"Stop the Fascist Humphrey-Hawkins Bill." (LaRouche handbill, 3/76)

"Smashing the fascist Humphrey-Hawkins (full employment) bill will remove the last shred of pretense that superficially keeps the Democratic Party and the agent trade union bureaucrats together." (Ibid.)

"AFL-CIO Joins DNC in Fascist Organizing Drive." 1/12/82

"Treat every trade union bureaucrat, congressman or other individual who supports the Humphrey-Hawkins Nazi bill as the Nuremberg criminal he is . . . (and) force them to call rallies to denounce Humphrey-Hawkins and block its passage." 3/76

"Woodcock Endorses Fascism." (Headline in LaRouche publication. Reference is to former UAW President Leonard Woodcock.)

"(There is) ample evidence that the AFL-CIO is acting as a malleable tool of the Jewish Labor Committee and its Zionist sponsors." (quoted in 12/82 article by journalist Dennis King.)

"How NUWRO Will Replace the AFL-CIO Within Four Months." (Headline in LaRouche publication. NUWRO stood for National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization, a short-lived LaRouche front.)

The Nazis "only" killed "about a million and a half" Jews. 12/81 (At other times, LaRouche has called the holocaust "mythical.")

Walter Mondale is a Soviet "agent of influence" . . . "working with the KGB" (Soviet secret police). 1/13/85

B'Nai B'Rith (a Jewish organization) "today resurrects the tradition of the Jews who demanded the crucifixion of Christ." 1/14/85

"The Zionist-British organism . . . must be destroyed so that humanity might live." 11/19/84

"Only a mental case can consider me anti-Semitic." 10/30/84

"Henry Kissinger is morally a sub-human thing, a criminal mind . . . Personally, Kissinger is a degenerate." 7/28/82

"The Kennedy (family) regime is organized crime in government." 12/79

Officers of the LaRouche movement exchange information nearly daily with the Grand Dragon of the Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan, who has also been active in the American Nazi Party. (New York Times report, 10/7/79)

LaRouche believes England and its "Zionist" agents plan to destroy the human race through usury, drugs, famine, plagues and nuclear war. (Dennis King 12/82)

LaRouche in 1978 hatched a plan calling on unions to kick "Zionists" out of their ranks and to mobilize their resources against Jews "both inside and outside the labor movement." (Ibid.)

A LaRouche publication claims the Knights of Malta, whose nominal chief is Queen Elizabeth, is the main force behind an assassination plot against LaRouche, coordinating in the plot, among others, the Red Cross, Heritage Foundation, British intelligence, Communist Party USA, Jack Anderson, Leonard Woodcock, Irving Shapiro (DuPont chief executive), Richard Viguerie ("new right" leader). (Cited by Viguerie 1/31/79)

LaRouche says the Chinese people share, "with lower forms of animal life" a "fundamental distinction from actual human personalities." (Dennis King 12/82)

American blacks who insist on human rights, LaRouche says, are obsessed with "zoological specifications of micro-constituencies' self-interests" and with "distinctions . . . which would be proper to the classification of varieties of monkeys and baboons." (Ibid.)

The 'Hollowing' of U.S. Industry

From *Business Week* magazine (3/3/86) on job-killing trends becoming the norm in U.S. manufacturing industries:

"A new type of company is emerging—one that may design or distribute but doesn't actually *make* anything. *A hollow corporation.* It is a phenomenon our economy cannot afford.

"Companies are abandoning manufacturing to bolster profits—quick fixes that *foreshadow a national crisis.*

"In industry after industry, manufacturers are closing up shop or curtailing their operations and becoming marketing organizations for other producers, *mostly foreign.*

"The idea that a post-industrial America can become increasingly prosperous as a service-based economy appears to be a *dangerous myth.*

"Service sector jobs just don't pack the punch of industrial jobs—in wages, innovation and productivity."

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

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Men of steel

Laid-off Steelworkers take to the stage with their tale of work and life in "Lady Beth," a play presented by the TheaterWorkers Project. The nickname of a shut-down steel mill outside Los Angeles, "Lady Beth" offers a closer look at six workers who battle to keep their jobs and their self-respect. From left: Cruz Montemayor, Hermes Paiz, Frank Curtis, Tony Garcia, Richard Carter and Lloyd Andres, center. (Story on Page 2.)

Kirkland spurs bid to remedy defects in U.S. trade policy

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told the Reagan Administration to stop "blaming the victims" for the failures of America's trade policy and welcomed congressional efforts to compel a change of course.

Kirkland stressed the urgent need for trade legislation shaped to bring exports and imports in closer balance and lift the nation out of recession-level unemployment.

America's open-door "free trade" policy has left a wake of plant closings, bankruptcies and "devastated communities in every part of the United States," Kirkland testified as House hearings.

He quoted with scorn the claim by the President's Council of Economic Advisers that manufacturing job losses were caused by improved efficiency and high U.S. wages, and that anyone who suggested otherwise has "an inadequate understanding of the benefits of trade."

Blaming the victims

A $6-an-hour shoeworker whose job was wiped out by imports wasn't being "overpaid," Kirkland retorted. "The failures of government are papered over by blaming the victim."

As for the "free and open market" that President Reagan cites as the foundation of U.S. trade policy, Kirkland retorted that it exists only in the United States. Other nations based their trade policies more realistically on their own national interests.

Kirkland and U.S. Trade Ambassador Clayton Yeutter were both opening witnesses as the Subcommittee on Trade began hearings on a comprehensive trade bill that House leaders have promised will be given high priority on the legislative agenda.

Yeutter acknowledged in response to questions from committee members that the United States has been a "poor bargainer" in past rounds of international trade negotiations. But the Administration policy has shifted some in recent months, he asserted, and is now concerned with assuring "fair trade" as well as "free and open trade."

Grim statistics

Kirkland said threatened industries and their workers need effective import relief now. He cited Commerce Dept. estimates that 2.3 million manufacturing jobs were lost in 1984 because of the trade imbalance, and a Bureau of Labor Statistics study showing that 25 percent of workers displaced by plant closings or layoffs over a five-year period are still out of work. Many who found other jobs, often in service industries, took pay cuts.

The AFL-CIO has proposed a comprehensive package of trade law changes, and Kirkland said protection for threatened industries should be mandatory and trade adjustment assistance to displaced workers should be automatic.

The United States must go beyond "symbolic" protests and vigorously respond to predatory trade practices by countries seeking to take over the U.S. domestic market.

To reduce the trade deficit, Kirkland urged, countries that themselves employ discriminatory trade practices should be required to reduce their trade surplus with the United States by reducing their exports or opening up their home markets to U.S. goods.

Any country that fails to comply with

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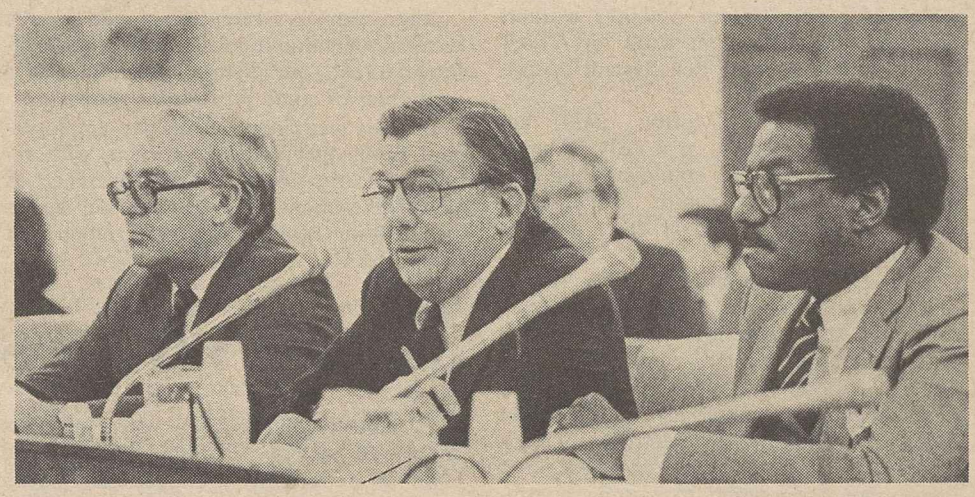

Lane Kirkland testifies for change in trade policy, with Research Director Rudy Oswald, left, and Legislative Director Robert McGlotten.

Stalled economy keeps joblessness at '84 level

By Gene Zack

Although unemployment inched downward one-tenth of 1 percent in March, the AFL-CIO pointed out that the 7.2-percent level of joblessness means there has been no improvement in the job picture since May 1984.

The figures showed that 8.4 million Americans were listed as officially unemployed last month. Another 1.1 million were reported as being so discouraged about finding work that they have left the labor force. An additional 5.5 million were working part time because full-time jobs were not available.

"This means that 15 million people are paying the price of total or partial job losses because of the failed economic policies of the Reagan Administration," Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald said.

"Although unemployment has improved from the near-depression levels of 1982, it remains stuck at recession levels," Oswald pointed out.

"The situation is aggravated by the dilemma that only 3.2 million of the unemployed—38 percent of those on the jobless rolls—are currently collecting unemployment compensation benefits. The other 62 percent have been thrown on the economic scrap heap by this Administration."

A major share of the unemployment is centered in industries that are bearing the brunt of unfair foreign competition, the AFL-CIO noted, pointing to Labor Dept. statistics showing a loss of 40,000 jobs last month in the manufacture of durable goods. Manufacturing employment last month was 130,000 below the level of the previous year.

Mining jobs plunge

Another 30,000 jobs vanished last month in the mining industry, where major cutbacks have taken place in oil drilling and exploration because of the turmoil in the world's oil market caused by the internecine warfare raging within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, under the pressure of mounting competition from countries which do not belong to the OPEC cartel.

The government said there are now only 900,000 workers in the mining industry—the lowest level since June 1978.

While jobs continued to disappear in the manufacturing and mining industries, the

Continued on Page 4

AFL-CIO makes LaRouche enemy list

By David L. Perlman

Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr. told a Washington news conference that his political support comes from the "forgotten majority" of Americans and claimed his foes are agents or tools of an international drug ring.

He lashed out at an enemies list that included the AFL-CIO, the NBC television network and a "nest of Soviet-loving Quaker families" in the Virginia county where he lives in a fortress estate protected by armed guards.

"I know of no case of any attack on me which did not originate with the drug lobby or the Soviets," LaRouche told reporters.

LaRouche emerged from seclusion to bask in the political spotlight after the surprise victory of two supporters in the Illinois Democratic primary. And for the first few minutes of the news conference, he sounded like just another political demagogue.

Tapping resentment

Illinois is a forerunner of a political upheaval all across America, LaRouche claimed. His role, he explained, is that of a modern-day George Wallace, tapping the resentment of ordinary Americans against "Washington," the "country club set" and "Yuppie" values.

Candidates of his National Democratic Policy Committee, LaRouche claimed, were supported in Illinois by financially pressed farmers, blacks in Chicago, and blue-collar workers.

Just color him populist.

Rank-and-file union members are rebelling against their local officers "out of hatred of AFL-CIO national leadership," LaRouche confided. They're not being fooled by the "lies" about him.

LaRouche chided the reporters present for misrepresenting his views. He told them that "the forgotten majority of voters" wanted him and his associates to "stick it to you."

It's not true that he's anti-Semitic, LaRouche insisted. It "just happens" that

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4/12/86

Metal Trades win $20-million hazard pay award

Portsmouth, N.H.—Capping a five-year struggle, the Portsmouth Metal Trades Council won $20 million in back pay for 2,600 workers at the Navy Yard here because of their exposure to environmentally hazardous substances on the job.

The Federal Labor Relations Authority ordered the hazardous-duty pay of $6.80 a day, retroactive to July 1983, the date an arbitrator ruled that workers must be compensated for their exposure to asbestos, a confirmed cause of respiratory diseases and certain types of cancer.

President Paul Burnsky of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept. called the FLRA decision "a major victory" in the continuing struggle to protect workers against on-the-job health hazards.

Of even greater significance than the monetary award, Burnsky declared, is the fact that the ruling "will further prompt the Navy to exercise more vigilance and implement safeguards to protect our members against exposure to insidious asbestos fibers."

The action of the labor authority, which rules on issues raised in grievances between unions and federal employers, was hailed as well by Larry Cooper, president of the Metal Trades Council.

"We have fought for years to get asbestos off the submarines," Cooper said. "There are substitutes and they are starting to use them. It has been established that there are no safe levels of exposure to asbestos, and it has to be eliminated from the workplace."

The case dates back to 1981 when a shop steward filed a grievance contending that the shipyard failed to protect employers from the dangers of cancer. The arbitration award was made in July 1983. Instead of complying with the order, the Navy filed an exception. Although the FLRA ruled that the filing came too late, the shipyard still refused to comply.

Besides ordering the differential for workers doing environmentally hazardous work, the FLRA upheld the arbitrator's directive that the Navy improve the way it identifies asbestos-related material and that it proceed with a plan to substitute other material in the maintenance and overhaul of submarines.

The Navy has not yet indicated whether it will appeal the award, which could provide workers as much as $3,000 each in back pay.

The FLRA ruling will benefit members of the Machinists, Iron Workers, Boilermakers, Carpenters, Operating Engineers, Laborers, Sheet Metal Workers, Painters and Electrical Workers which are affiliated with the MTC.

CWA President Morton Bahr announces GTE accord at Los Angeles rally.

CWA breaks phone impasse with 'concession-free' pact

Los Angeles—The Communications Workers reached a "concession-free" agreement with General Telephone Co. of California on a new contract covering some 20,000 members, beating back employer demands for a two-tier wage system, an automatic escalator in health care deductibles and elimination of shift differential pay.

It is the first major settlement in the telecommunications industry for CWA which is negotating for 500,000 workers this year, most of whom work for AT&T or one of the regional Bell System operating companies.

CWA President Morton Bahr announced the settlement at a rally of some 500 GTE of California employees and said the "concession-free" nature of the settlement will be maintained in other bargaining efforts this year.

Bahr credited the strike vote on Apr. 2 and the good relations maintained between the union and the company over the years with bringing about the settlement.

The previous CWA contract with GTE of California, a subsidiary of the giant General Telephone & Electronics Corp., expired Mar. 5, but was extended on a day-to-day basis while bargaining continued.

Ratification of the agreement by mail ballot is expected to be completed by the end of April.

The new agreement, which would expire Mar. 5, 1989, will likely set the pattern for other contracts under the General Telephone System. Bargaining is already underway with GTE of the Southwest for a contract covering 6,000 CWA members in parts of Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Arkansas.

The proposed contract provides a 3-percent wage increase retroactive to last Mar. 5, and 2-percent increases in September 1987 and September 1988. The company had proposed lump-sum payments in lieu of pay raises.

Improvements were also made in the medical, dental and pension plans, shift differential and per diem payments, and in upgrading of some job titles.

Benefits were increased in two employer-paid funds that provide workers with retraining, early retirement and severance. A 401K investment plan was also set up, as was a joint health care cost containment committee.

Nuclear fuel accord ends 10-month strike

Erwin, Tenn.—The Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Local 3-677 overwhelmingly approved a new three-year contract, ending a 10-month strike against Nuclear Fuel Services, which is the sole producer of nuclear fuel for Navy submarines.

The contract, ratified by a 275-65 vote, provides raises of 65 cents an hour over the term, increasing the starting pay to about $13 an hour. Cost-of-living adjustments were also included, sick pay benefits were improved and the company's contributions to the union pension fund will go up 35 percent.

Drama of steel plant closing stars workers left jobless

Los Angeles—Six former steelworkers tell their tale of unemployment and despair in "Lady Beth," a production of the TheaterWorkers Project here.

The play, which brings to the stage the dreams and experiences of laid-off steelworkers, has been performed by several companies to benefit union food banks and unemployed members of the Steelworkers and their families. It is sponsored by the USWA Oldtimers Foundation and the California Arts Council.

"Lady Beth" is now on stage at the Ensemble Studio Theater in Hollywood. The play has drawn audiences ranging from union retirees to Bruce Springsteen and scenes from the play were presented at a special theatrical performance during the AFL-CIO's convention in Anaheim. The Los Angeles AFL-CIO is sponsoring a special performance of the production, to give local union members and their families an opportunity to see "Lady Beth."

Lady Beth was the nickname given to a Bethlehem Steel Co. mill in Vernon, Calif., about a 10-minute drive from downtown Los Angeles. Before the onslaught of steel imports, it was a booming plant with "a mighty roar." Lady Beth was permanently shut down in December 1982, costing steelworkers their livelihoods, but not their self-respect.

The story of the giant mill and the steelworkers of USWA Local 1845 who still live in her shadow is brought to life in "Lady Beth," a chronicle of the plant's boom years and final shutdown.

The staging is simple: eight metal chairs on a dimly-lit stage. Springsteen's "My Hometown" plays in the background, a lament shared by factory workers across the country. Each steelworker-turned-actor has his chance to speak.

Introductions are made: "Frank Curtis, 24 years employed, badge number 63264." Five more men account for years spent in the blast furnaces, ovens and cinder plants of Lady Beth. Then a young boy rises to announce, "I never had a badge number. I never had a badge."

The cast includes, in addition to Curtis, Lloyd Andres, Cruz Montemayor, Hermes Paiz, Tony Garcia and Richard Carter. In his own words, each of the former steelworkers talks of his ties to Lady Beth.

They relate the union's efforts to keep the plant open—accepting concessions, working "crazy hours," sacrificing vacations and bonuses—but on Dec. 9, 1982, Lady Beth was closed for good.

Then a rollcall is read—a list of other Southern California plants that have closed, taking 94,000 jobs.

Finally, the audience learns of Lady Beth's fate. "The last tower at the plant was dynamited just last weekend," the steelworkers say. "The scrap is being sent to Japan where it will be melted down and used to make steel."

Following each performance, members of the TheaterWorker's Project discuss the drama with the audience.

During his western tour, Springsteen said he was surprised to learn that he was more familiar with the problems of California steelworkers than many area residents. "When I was playing Los Angeles, talking about the steel plants that have closed down there, people didn't know what I was talking about," he said. "They thought I was talking about Pittsburgh."

Over the past two years, Springsteen has donated $35,000 to the USWA's Oldtimers Foundation here for its food bank.

Jean McKee named to labor relations post

Jean McKee, executive director of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service since 1983, has been nominated by President Reagan as a member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority.

She will fill out the term of William J. McGinnis Jr. that runs to July 1, 1989. The FLRA handles labor matters involving unions and federal agencies.

McKee, 56, served on the staff of the late Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) from 1967 to 1975. She was director of government relations for the General Mills Restaurant Group prior to going with the Mediation Service.

Most voters oppose new excise tax

A majority of registered voters supports tax reform but opposes raising federal excise taxes to underwrite continued tax breaks for the wealthy and corporate America, according to a new nationwide poll.

This demonstrates the existence of a "broad constituency for loophole-closing, base-broadening tax reform that will bring basic fairness to both business and individual taxes," said Robert McIntyre, director of federal tax policy for Citizens for Tax Justice, which underwrote the poll.

CTJ is a research and lobbying group supported by a coalition of labor unions, churches, public interest groups and community-based organizations. It recently presented Congress with petitions bearing more than a million signatures, urging that corporate America and upper-income individuals be required to bear a fair share of the tax burden.

Increased excise taxes on air fares, beer, wine, tobacco and other consumer products have been proposed by the Senate Finance Committee, but the poll that was conducted by the Washington-Based Fingerhut/Granados Opinion Research Co. found 77 percent of those surveyed opposed to this scheme.

McIntyre accused the "loophole lobbyists" of wanting to "destroy tax reform in the Senate because they could not destroy it in the House." But he pointed to the poll's findings as clear evidence that voters not only oppose paying for corporate tax breaks but also will vote against political candidates who continue to favor these tax loopholes.

Footing the bill

"Neither Republican nor Democratic voters buy the idea that corporations should get big tax breaks for which individuals foot the bill," he asserted, adding that 84 percent of those surveyed "not only want tax reform but are willing to hold their representatives accountable."

Among the poll's other findings:

- 53 percent think that making corporations pay their fair share of taxes should be the prime goal of tax reform, compared with the 27 percent who want to cut defense spending and the 21 percent who favor reducing overall government spending to achieve this goal.
- 63 percent feel that it is more important to make sure everyone pays a fair share of taxes than it is to either simplify the tax code or reduce rates for individuals.
- 86 percent agree that large corporations should start paying their fair share of taxes before levies on middle-income working people are increased.

The findings were uniform across the country, with 68 percent favoring the "fair-share" approach in the Midwest and West, 60 percent in the South and 56 percent in the Northeast.

The same was true with income groups, with 66 percent of those earning under $15,000 a year, 63 percent of those in the $15,000-$25,000 group, 59 percent in the $25,000-$35,000 bracket and 67 percent earning over $35,000 calling for a system under which everyone carries a fair share of the tax burden.

"Corporate tax breaks, besides making our tax system unfair to those businesses and individuals who pay their fair share, are economically destructive," the CTJ official asserted. "Voting American adults evidently know this, but for some reason the loophole lobby seems to have captured the Senate Finance Committee's imagination," McIntyre noted as the Apr. 15 tax-filing deadline neared.

Ask court injunction

Rail waymen challenge aid to struck carriers

The Maintenance of Way Employees filed a class action suit against the nation's railroads, charging them with conspiracy to violate the Railway Labor Act by assisting two strike-bound New England railroads that have refused to bargain with the union.

The suit asked the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia to issue an injunction barring any of the 243 members of the Association of American Railroads or the 295 carriers belonging to the American Short Line Railroad Association from interfering in the dispute.

In a related action, the BMWE served notice on the two rail associations that carriers who do not withdraw from the scheme to assist the Maine Central Railroad Co. and the Portland Terminal Co., face picket lines around their operations.

At a Washington press conference, BMWE President Ole Berge said the union would urge its members to "withdraw their services" at carriers participating in the mutual-aid plan, and called on other railroad employees to honor the picket lines.

Failure to bargain

The unions have been on strike since Mar. 3 against the two rail operations owned by Guilford Transportation Co., following the collapse of negotiations because of what the chairman of the National Mediation Board said was management's refusal to bargain in good faith. The strike has since spread to the Delaware & Hudson Railroad, another Guilford subsidiary.

Berge said the union has evidence that at least six carriers have lent assistance to Guilford's operations. He cited as examples the use of Santa Fe locomotives and Union Pacific supervisors on the New England lines. Other lines providing aid, he said, include the B&O, C&O, Pittsburgh & Lake Erie and Norfolk & Southern.

In the court suit, the BWME said that prior to 1978 virtually all AAR members participated in a strike-insurance plan that reimbursed struck carriers for a portion of revenues lost during a labor dispute.

After the carriers lost a challenge to a strike by the Railway & Airline Clerks who struck participants in the strike-insurance plan, the union alleged, the arrangement was altered to require members of both associations to "contribute personnel, engines and other assistance to the struck carriers" to enable them to resist labor's bargaining demands.

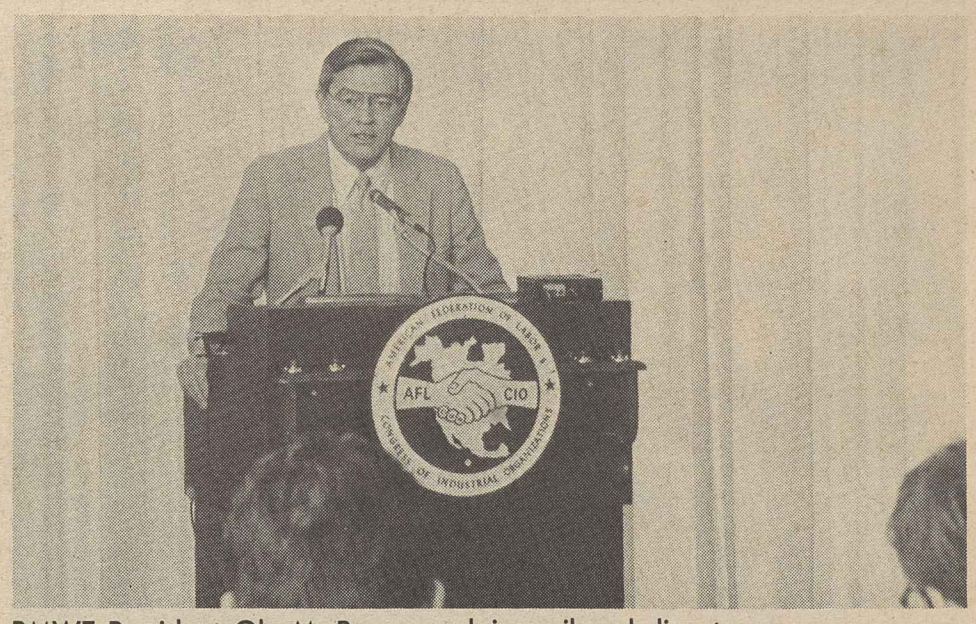
The union accused members of the two rail associations of becoming "embroiled in the dispute" and charged that the carriers had "conspired to violate" the Railway Labor Act which imposes a duty on parties to enter into good-faith bargaining. As a result, the BWME said, "the strike has been prolonged, rail employees have been deprived of incomes and the public has been irreparably harmed by the loss of vital rail service."

Warning that the various carriers had plans to go into federal and state courts, on a case-by-case basis, to get injunctions to halt the proposed picketing, the union told the D.C. court that this could lead to prolonging the strike and force the BMWE to incur heavy expenses to fight multiple law suits.

It asked the court to affirm the union's right to take such action on the basis of provisions in the Constitution, the Railway Labor Act and the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. Berge said the union would also ask that any such challenges to the picket lines be brought in the same court.

The dispute with Maine Central and Portland Terminal reaches back to April 1984, when the union served notice on the carriers that it wanted to negotiate changes in pay, rules and working conditions. The union brought the National Mediation Board into the picture in September 1984. A year later, the board acknowledged that its efforts to resolve the dispute had failed.

Two months after that, the union and management agreed not to take any "self-help" action at least until Feb. 28, 1986, Berge said, in order to give the collective bargaining process an opportunity to work. But, he charged, management continued to refuse to bargain in good faith, and the BMWE struck the lines.



BMWE President Ole M. Berge explains railroad dispute.

June 14 teleconference slated for satellite link with 20 cities

The AFL-CIO is putting a new twist on its sixth series of regional conferences. This year's meetings will feature a "high-tech" format—enabling union members across the country to participate in a one-day "union meeting on the air."

The day-long June 14 conference will be telecast by satellite from Washington to union halls in or near 20 major cities. At the sites, union members will participate in discussions with officers of the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions and other participants who will be at the WETA Public Broadcasting Service television studio.

Technical arrangements and production of the video regional conference will be handled by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs, the AFL-CIO's television production arm. LIPA will arrange for each union hall used as a receiving site, or "downlink," to be equipped with a portable satellite dish and telephones to the Washington studio.

"Downlink" sites are being recommended to LIPA by the AFL-CIO's regional directors and state and local central body officers. Sites are being chosen based on criteria that include geographic proximity to large concentrations of union members and convenient access by car, air or rail.

The AFL-CIO will provide participants with information on union hotels in each city so that they can make their own hotel reservations. The AFL-CIO regional conferences were launched in 1980 to give state and local central body officers and local union officials and members nationwide an opportunity to discuss critical issues with the federation's top officers and staff. Last year's conferences, held in seven locations around the country, included visits by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue to more than 40 AFL-CIO central labor councils in the vicinity of the main conference.

Conference agenda

The 1986 conference agenda will focus on several key themes: international trade, the federal budget and taxes, new organizing strategies and new membership benefits programs available to affiliates through the AFL-CIO.

In addition to live discussions and videotape features, the day's program will include opportunities for unionists at the downlink sites to participate actively and express their opinions on each of the discussions. Time also will be provided for local discussions and question-and-answer sessions.

At each site, participants will see the program live on large-screen television and will be in continuous two-way telephone communication with coordinators at the Washington studio. The live broadcast will begin at 11 a.m. Eastern daylight time and will sign off at 6 p.m. EDT. AFL-CIO staff members will serve as site coordinators and will work with state and local central body officers to lead local discussions and other activities. The program will be on the air throughout the day and the AFL-CIO will provide lunches.

Tentative sites for the 1986 regional conference are: Boston, Syracuse, N.Y., Cleveland, Detroit, Atlanta, Tampa, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Chicago, Dallas, New Orleans, Nashville, Denver, Salt Lake City, Albuquerque, N.M., Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle.

Registration materials and other information will be mailed to state and local central bodies and participants in previous regional conferences when the site locations are confirmed.

United Transportation Union withdraws from federation

The United Transportation Union has disaffiliated from the AFL-CIO effective Apr. 1, UTU President Fred A. Hardin said in a letter to Federation President Lane Kirkland.

The union's action followed within a few weeks the finding of a subcommittee of the Executive Council that the UTU was in non-compliance with the decision of an impartial umpire under the federation's Article XX internal dispute procedures and subject to sanctions under the AFL-CIO constitution.

Hardin said the imposition of sanctions was among the reasons for the disaffiliation. He also cited the election of Building & Construction Trades Dept. President Robert A. Georgine as a vice chairman of the Alliance of Coal & Competitive Transportation, a group supporting coal-slurry pipelines opposed by the UTU; federation "support" of the Morgan-Stanley plan to purchase Conrail; concern that the new Organizing Responsibilities Procedure adopted by the Executive Council in February will hurt UTU organizing activities and inhibit its ability to merge with other rail unions, and opposition to some congressional candidates supported by the federation.

In response, Kirkland pointed out that the Alliance for Coal & Competitive Transportation is not AFL-CIO supported. Noting that building trades unions support the pipeline while rail unions oppose it, he said the federation has remained neutral and has always "moved immediately and thoroughly to correct any temporary misunderstanding" about where the AFL-CIO stood.

RLEA position backed

Kirkland said the federation "never supported the Morgan-Stanley plan" to take over Conrail, although it backed the position of the Railway Labor Executives Association in favoring its public sale and in opposition to Reagan Administration plans to sell the system to Norfolk Southern Corp. The Executive Council, he said, specifically rejected endorsement of the Morgan-Stanley approach because the position "had not been approved by all of our rail affiliates."

Although the UTU was found to be in non-compliance, the imposition of sanctions under Article XX did not mean the union was expelled from membership in the federation, Kirkland pointed out, and no union has ever been expelled for such violations. Since 1962, he explained, 18 affiliates, including five railway unions, have come under sanctions at one time or another. All but three, none of them in the railway sector, have come into compliance and had sanctions lifted.

The federation's procedure on organizing, he continued, will help the UTU bring representation to all rail workers and will not "work against your efforts to merge with other rail brotherhoods." The AFL-CIO Merger Committee "remains ready to be of assistance to any affiliates who are pursuing mergers, as some are now doing," Kirkland declared.

Democratic process

On the question of conflicts between the UTU and the federation over which political candidates to support, Kirkland noted that "such conflict is rare," and that in the vast majority of elections in recent years "our endorsements parallel one another." In any event, he said, endorsements are "the product of democratic decisions" based on voting records and positions, with COPE rules requiring at least a two-thirds vote before an endorsement can be made.

Declaring that the differences between the UTU and the federation are not, as Hardin said, "irreconcilable," and expressing regret over the union's decision, Kirkland told the UTU president:

"The AFL-CIO wishes you well in your efforts to represent your members and we hope that in time you will once again join us in our goal to build a stronger and more effective labor movement, fair and even-handed in its consideration of all affiliates."

In the wake of the UTU action, Kirkland sent letters to all state and local central bodies, notifying them of the disaffiliation and reminding them that, under Article IV, Section 6, of the AFL-CIO Constitution, no local union or subordinate body of the UTU could remain in membership.

The UTU was created in 1968 through the merger of the Railway Trainmen, Switchmen, Locomotive Firemen and the unaffiliated Order of Railway Conductors. Its membership strength reached a peak of 139,000 in 1971. It currently has 75,000 members.

LaRouche claims wave of support

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some of the "international banker drug dealers" have Jewish names.

President Reagan and especially Defense Sec. Caspar Weinberger are well-intentioned, LaRouche said. But they're surrounded by people like Sec. of State George Shultz whose policies are either "criminal or insane" and presidential Chief of Staff Donald Regan, another agent of the drug lobby that's out to get LaRouche.

Like the fictional Capt. Queeg in the Caine Mutiny court martial, LaRouche moved from glib explanations to irrationality under questioning.

He expounded an economic philosophy that somehow would combine gold-backed currency with an easy money policy and low-interest loans to farmers and business.

He rambled on about how the hated British have dominated international drug trade since the 18th century. In the Philippines, Marcos would still be president if he had listened to LaRouche.

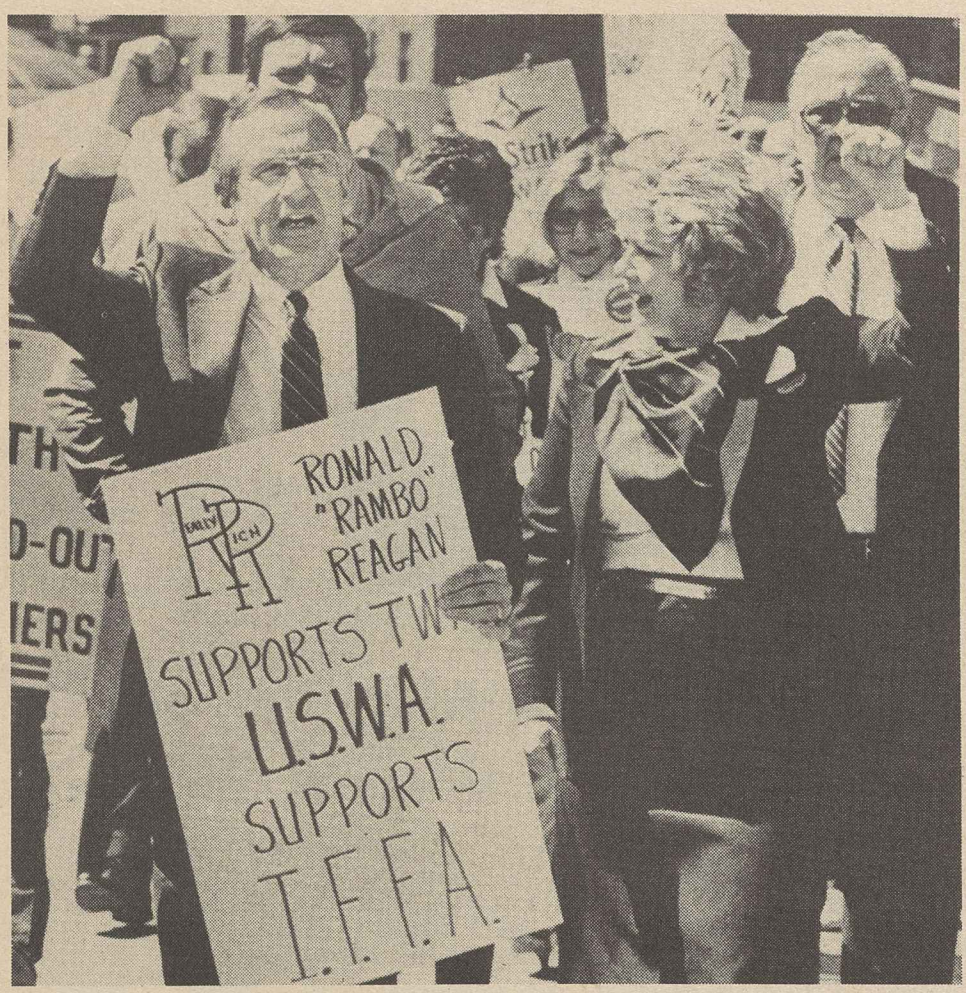
LaRouche insisted genially that he really didn't know who paid the bills for his Virginia estate or took care of his personal expenses.

But as the questioning grew persistent, his paranoia took over. "How can I talk with a drug pusher like you?" he snarled at a television reporter as the news conference broke up.

Pauline Newman dies, early ILGWU organizer

New York—Pauline Newman, one of the first women organizers for the Ladies' Garment Workers who had worked in Manhattan sweatshops and at the Triangle Shirtwaist factory before the tragic 1911 fire, died Apr. 8. She was 96.

Newman served as an organizer from 1909 to 1918 when she became education director at the union's health center. She retired from the ILGWU in 1985.



Leading the way

Steelworkers President Lynn Williams leads several hundred USWA members in a march on Trans World Airlines sales office in Pittsburgh to register their enthusiastic support for members of the unaffiliated Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, who have been on strike for a month.

Back pay, reinstatement ordered by NLRB judge for Magic Chef workers

The Molders hailed a decision by a National Labor Relations Board administrative law judge ordering reinstatement with full back pay to more than 500 workers involved in a prolonged unfair labor practice dispute against Magic Chef Inc. of Cleveland, Tenn.

Molders President Bernard Butsavage said the ruling provides a "total victory" to those members who have been out of work since Jan. 23, 1983, despite the likelihood that the company will appeal the ruling to the full NLRB. Back pay for the members would total about $12 million, Butsavage estimated.

Workers at the plant won a hard-fought organizing struggle in 1979. The 1,300-member unit struck the company when bargaining for a second contract broke down over the firm's insistence that it would not accept a dues checkoff clause. Immediately after the strike began, Magic Chef hired 700 scabs.

Strike issue

In April 1983, the company agreed to continue dues checkoff. Then the issue became reinstatement of strikers. Administrative Law Judge Irwin H. Socoloff found that Magic Chef "refused to put checkoff on the bargaining table in order to frustrate agreement and precipitate a strike."

Magic Chef had been on the AFL-CIO Boycott List from February to September 1983 when the Molders accepted a new three-year agreement with the appliance maker.

Socoloff found the company guilty of "failing and refusing to bargain in good faith." The strike was caused substantially by the company's unfair labor practices, and therefore, "the strikers were unfair labor practice strikers," he stressed.

Socoloff held that the Molders "had been and is now" the exclusive bargaining agent for the workers and the company must "bargain in good faith with the union."

The ALJ also ruled:

- Magic Chef must immediately rehire all unfair labor practice strikers or, if insufficient jobs are available, place them on a preferential hiring list, dismissing, if necessary, any employees hired as strike-breakers.
- It must make the strikers "whole for any loss of pay they may have suffered . . . by repayment to each of them the sum of money equal to that which each would normally have earned as wages."

In determining the company failed to bargain in good faith, the judge noted Magic Chef's support for a decertification campaign in 1982 and its efforts to collect signatures for decertification after the strike began.

The Molders agreed to a new contract on Sept. 3, 1983, that provided for strikers to be put on a preferential rehire list. Since that time, however, only 75 of the original 584 strikers have been able to return to their jobs.

Shortly before the agreement, the company hired an additional 164 workers. Socoloff said this was an attempt by the company to eliminate reinstatement rights of the strikers and a violation of employee rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

He added that the firm also violated the law by threatening workers with reprisals for speaking to other employees about the union and for imposing restrictions on workers for their activities supporting the union campaign.

Transplanted Japanese firms hit for using imported parts

Ann Arbor, Mich.—Japanese automakers who "transplant" some of their operations to the United States "aren't generating nearly as many domestic supply orders or domestic jobs as traditional" American assembly plants do, Auto Workers President Owen Bieber warned.

The typical transplant assembly operation, Bieber told a University of Michigan conference, creates only three back-up jobs for each assembly-line job, while a "pure" domestic assembly plant, using domestic suppliers as their sole source, create 11 back-up parts and supplier jobs.

The UAW president charged that Japanese firms reserve for themselves the supply jobs that pay "the highest wages and offer the greatest opportunity for controlling the next generation of production and product technology." He urged domestic automotive supplier firms to join the union's call for more domestic content in the cars produced under transplant arrangements.

Domestic suppliers "have a very definite stake in joining the UAW's call for more U.S. sourcing on the part of existing and future transplants," Bieber pointed out, and "should be as interested as we are in reversing increased foreign sourcing by the domestic auto companies."

Noting that Ford and Chrysler have occasionally supported UAW positions on trade legislation, he was critical of General Motors and the supplier firms for either standing aside on this issue or actively opposing the union's position.

"If we can't get support from the main players in the industry on our public policy agenda," Bieber said, "the question might be asked why we should continue to work with them on the productivity side.

"We'd feel a lot better about our joint efforts to streamline the industry, upgrade productivity and retrain the workforce if we knew our employers joined us in calling for an appropriate government role in these and other areas."

The UAW, he said, encourages local unions to make productivity deals "when it is in their clear interest to do so in terms of future work and where they do not undercut national standards."

But, Bieber added, "there are limits to what we can accomplish by ourselves in a policy vacuum," and what is needed is a government policy that would "help buttress American competitiveness where it counts—in the control and development of high value-added production processes and the good jobs that go with them."

Jobless rate still at high '84 level

Continued from Page 1

service sector continued to grow, with employment rising by 270,000 in March in business, health services, finance, insurance, real estate and wholesale trade.

"This increase looks good as far as the statistics are concerned," Oswald said, "but it actually contributes little to any economic resurgence." Service industry jobs tend to offer workers relatively low earnings when compared with those in manufacturing and mining, he pointed out.

The jobless rate for most categories of workers was about the same in March as during the previous month—6.2 percent for adult males, 6.6 percent for adult women and 18.2 percent for teenagers. Joblessness among blacks remained stagnant at 14.7 percent.

The only significant change came in the unemployment rate for Hispanics, which dropped to 10.3 percent, two percentage points below February's level, as the result of increased agricultural employment in the Southwest.

Meanwhile, initial claims filed for state unemployment insurance benefits rose by 22,000 to a seasonally adjusted total of 417,000 in mid-March. The figure was virtually unchanged from the same period in 1985.

National Steel pact tied to job security

Pittsburgh—The Steelworkers reached tentative settlement with National Steel Co. after getting a 61-percent membership approval vote on a new contract with LTV Steel Co. The union is continuing its efforts to reach settlements with four remaining big steel producers before the July 31 contract deadlines.

At an Apr. 9 press conference, Buddy W. Davis, chairman of the USWA Negotiating Committee and Sec. Harry Lester, said the tentative accord with National Steel includes unprecedented provisions for job security and profit sharing.

"Although the agreement requires sacrifices on the part of our members, it also offers the opportunity to more than recover those sacrifices," Davis and Lester said.

The proposed agreement will be presented to the 7,500 USWA members at National in meetings on Apr. 13, 15 and 16. Votes in the mail-ballot ratification will be counted on Apr. 28, the USWA said.

The National Steel accord calls for a reduction of 31 cents an hour in wages and 11 cents an hour in cost-of-living adjustments. The USWA said the total wage and benefit concession is valued at 99 cents an hour.

The reductions, however, would be worth $1.51 an hour to the company because of additional savings in contributions for social security, health care, and the supplemental unemployment benefits plan.

No-layoff clause

The employment security provision guarantees no layoffs during the life of the contract. Workers who would otherwise have to be laid off will be assigned to an employment security pool for retraining or reassignment. In either case, wage levels will be protected.

The profit-sharing plan guarantees each worker an annual lump sum payment of 50 cents for each hour worked, regardless of whether the company posts a profit. The bonus payment level will increase to as much as $1.75 an hour if the company's net income is more than $300 million.

In addition, the company pledged to continue its $1.2-billion, long-term, capital investments program.

Other highlights include:

- A revolutionary change in the limitations on contracting out which will protect current jobs and assure the retrieval of work performed by outside contractors.
- An assurance that management and non-union workers at National will make equal sacrifices throughout the term of the agreement.
- Reductions in personnel only by mutual agreement or attrition. There will be special inducements for early retirement involving pension changes and bonuses.
- A partnership provision calling for the creation of joint labor-management committees at the department, plant and corporate levels to solve problems quickly.

LTV Steel reached agreement with the USWA Mar. 14. That contract called for concessions totaling more than $3 an hour, with the company providing the workers with a share of the profits or with stock.

Talks between the USWA and Bethlehem Steel Corp. broke off for an indefinite period while local union presidents consult with their members about issues remaining on the bargaining table.

Meanwhile, U.S. Steel, the nation's largest producer, indicated it will wait until June to begin bargaining, and negotiations with Armco Steel Corp. and Inland Steel Co. were suspended indefinitely.

Rail unions challenge pension cuts

Railroad unions mounted an intensive drive to restore major cuts in railway retirement benefits which took effect Apr. 1 as the result of spending reductions mandated by Gramm-Rudman.

Terming the benefits slash "an outrageous attempt to balance the budget on the backs of railroad retirees," President Ole Berge of the Railway Labor Executives Association called for prompt congressional action on bills introduced by Rep. James Florio (D-N.J.) and Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.) to restore the cuts.

The reduction affects about one-third of the 953,000 beneficiaries, according to a Railroad Retirement Board analysis. It means a $10 monthly benefit reduction for 164,000 retired employees, an $8 cut for some 100,000 spouses and a $4 loss for 48,000 survivors of retirees.

The cut is targeted against so-called dual benefits to which railroad workers were entitled prior to 1975. Under that system, rail workers could qualify for one pension based on earnings in that industry, and separate social security benefits based on work performed away from the railroad.

When Congress ended this system a decade ago, it provided general revenues to cover the higher benefits accrued by workers who were vested in both social security and railroad pensions by 1975.

The $329 million originally appropriated for these costs in fiscal 1986 was reduced by almost $17 million, with a further cut expected later this year.

Posters advertised the 1886 Haymarket Square demonstration in Chicago where a bomb exploded and police attacked protesters.

Labor to mark centennial of Haymarket tragedy

By Candice Johnson

The 100th anniversary of labor's fight for the eight-hour workday and the Chicago Haymarket Square tragedy will be commemorated on May 1. Known as "International Labor Day" throughout much of the world, May Day, in fact, has American roots and celebrates one of the earliest struggles of the American labor movement.

The Chicago AFL-CIO will mark the historic anniversary with a day-long conference on "Labor and the Haymarket Affair," to be held May 3 in conjunction with the Illinois Labor History Society and labor education programs at the University of Illinois at Chicago and Roosevelt University.

The conference will review the Haymarket incident and its effect on both the eight-hour movement and the labor movement of the 19th century. Speakers will include Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), Charles McDonald, the AFL-CIO's director of Organization & Field Services, and labor historians and scholars.

May 1, 1886, was a day of widespread work stoppages in Chicago, New York, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and other cities, as nearly 500,000 workers joined picket lines in their fight for the eight-hour day. The demonstrations were peaceful, despite the apprehensions of employer groups and police.

But two days later, at the McCormick Reaper Works in Chicago, six striking workers, trying to prevent strikebreakers from taking their jobs, were killed by police.

A protest meeting was called for the next day in Chicago's Haymarket Square. There, a small crowd gathered to listen to speeches by radicals, including August Spies, Albert Parsons and Samuel Fielden, who condemned the "latest atrocious act of the police." A contingent of about 180 policemen appeared and ordered the crowd to disperse, while Fielden assured the police that "we are peaceable."

But as the police advanced, a bomb exploded, killing one officer outright. As the police charged, seven other policemen and four workers were killed in the ensuing riot, with many more wounded.

Eight protest leaders were arrested and charged with murder. After a trial based on loosely-defined "conspiracy laws" and marked by obvious prejudice on the part of the judge, jury, prosecutor and press, seven of the eight were convicted of murder and were sentenced to death. The remaining defendant, Oscar Neebe, was found guilty of murder and given a sentence of 15 years, although he had not been present at the Haymarket meeting. Four of the defendants—Spies, Parsons, George Engel and Adolph Fischer—were hanged. Louis Lingg committed suicide in his cell and three defendants—Neebe, Fielden and Michael Schwab—eventually were pardoned by Illinois Gov. John Altgeld in 1893.

Call for justice

Samuel Gompers, first president of the American Federation of Labor, believed that the Haymarket affair "killed the eight-hour movement," but continued to support the defendants, declaring that their trial had been unfair. "Labor must do it best to maintain justice for radicals or find itself denied the rights of free men," he insisted.

The drive for the eight-hour day began as the Civil War was ending, and by 1868, Congress and 12 states had passed laws placing restrictions on the number of hours that could be worked, though none of the laws was enforced.

By the early 1880s, workers were agitating for the eight-hour day and made this "eight-hour song" popular:

We want to feel the sunshine; we want to smell the flowers. We're sure that God has willed it; and we mean to have eight hours. We're summoning our forces from shipyard, shop, and mill. Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will.

Gompers drafted a resolution for the Federation of Organized Trades & Labor Unions, the predecessor organization of the American Federation of Labor, in 1884, declaring "that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from May 1st, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout their jurisdictions that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named."

Passed at the federation's fourth convention in October 1884, the resolution stopped short of setting a general strike for May 1, 1886. Instead, the federation recommended that all labor organizations should vote as to whether they wished to participate in the strike. The convention then urged those unions voting not to strike to provide financial support to those on the picket line.

Many union leaders supported the call for the eight-hour day, including Carpenters President Peter J. McGuire who, with the support of Gompers, proposed "unified action on the part of workers to establish the eight-hour day."

By 1885, many unions were preparing for the walkout, including the Carpenters and the Cigar Makers, and reported on their progress at the federation's convention. FOTLU urged the Knights of Labor, a rival labor federation that opposed strike action, to join in the eight-hour movement. But Terence V. Powderly, who headed the Knights, refused. Even so, many rank-and-file members of the Knights took part in the May 1 demonstrations.

After the Haymarket affair, Gompers continued to press the eight-hour cause, declaring in 1887 that "so long as there is one man who seeks employment and cannot find it, the hours of work are too long."

Selected strikes

In 1888, the federation planned a new strategy for its eight-hour movement. Instead of a general strike, one union, the Carpenters, would carry out a nationwide work stoppage, set for May 1, 1890.

As labor leaders from around the world met in Paris for the International Workingmen's Congress in 1889, Hugh McGregor, Gompers's representative, described America's eight-hour movement and the Haymarket tragedy. The international congress voted to back "a great international demonstration so that in all countries and in all cities on one appointed day the toiling masses shall demand of the state authorities the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours." The Workingmen's Congress set May 1, 1890 as "the day of international demonstration," to coincide with the AFL's new eight-hour strategy.

The selected strikes won the eight-hour day for 23,000 Carpenters in 36 cities and a nine-hour day for another 32,000 Carpenters. Future May Days saw strikes by the Mine Workers, the Typographical Union, Bakery Workers and building trades unions.

IUE raps high court ruling on TV dumping by Japanese

The Electronic Workers assailed as "an outrageous surrender to foreign economic interests" a Supreme Court decision that cast serious doubt on charges that Japanese television manufacturers violated antitrust laws by dumping sets on the U.S. market, driving American firms out of the field and throwing tens of thousands of workers out of their jobs.

By a 5-to-4 vote, the nation's highest court said there was little evidence that the Japanese manufacturers "conspired" to destroy American producers by selling their products at bargain-basement prices.

It sent the case back to the U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia with the clear implication that it be dismissed unless there is "other evidence that is sufficiently unambiguous" that the Japanese firms "conspired predatorily for two decades" to control the U.S. market.

IUE President William H. Bywater charged that the decision gave "job-stealing" Japanese manufacturers a green light to "continue to target U.S. industries, engage in predatory pricing and line up profit-hungry U.S. retailers" to push their "illegal goods."

Bywater said it was "shocking beyond belief" that the Justice Dept. filed a brief on behalf of the Japanese manufacturers, contending they were "vigorous and effective competitors" rather than anti-trust violators.

The court's decision, the IUE president declared, could not obscure the fact that "Japan dumped its TV sets on the U.S. market for less than it cost to make them," that this action resulted in all U.S. manufacturers dropping production of black-and-white sets, and that many firms making color sets were forced to close.

"Tens of thousands of Americans lost their jobs" as a direct result of the action by the Japanese firms, Bywater asserted.

The case reaches back to 1971, when Zenith Electronics Corp. and National Union Electric Co. brought suit against 21 Japanese manufacturers, charging them with predatory pricing practices in violation of anti-trust laws.

Suit dismissed

When National Union closed its Jersey City, N.J., plant that made Emerson television sets, throwing 2,000 IUE members out of work, the union's District 3 also filed suit against the Japanese. That suit was dismissed, however, on the ground that neither the union nor its members had an interest in the matter.

In the Supreme Court's majority opinion, Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. expressed skepticism over the "predatory pricing" charge. He said it would have been "economically senseless" for the Japanese to have entered into a conspiracy under which the firms would absorb serious losses for a long period of years in an effort to gain a monopoly.

It is probable, Powell wrote, that "the conspiracy does not in fact exist."

Kirkland presses overhaul of trade policy

Continued from Page 1

internationally recognized labor rights should not receive "most favored nation" trade preference from the United States, Kirkland said. There should be no competitive advantage for countries that deny freedom of association to their workers, don't provide a safe workplace or exploit child labor, he insisted.

In response to questions, Kirkland rejected the premise of reducing U.S. safety or pollution standards so that American products can be produced more cheaply.

He reiterated the AFL-CIO's strong support for labor, business, government cooperation in shaping a national industrial policy and modernizing U.S. industries to compete more effectively on the world markets.

"No single element of our society acting alone can address this problem, " Kirkland stressed. Sacrifices that might be necessary are only practical if "everybody around the table" makes a contribution.

Wage equity drive gains in two states

Some 35,000 state employees in Washington are on the brink of receiving their first raises under a landmark pay equity settlement negotiated between the State, County & Municipal Employees and the governor's office.

In Ohio, meanwhile, Gov. Richard F. Celeste (D) announced the state would spend $4.5 million annually to eliminate gender bias from state job classifications.

The $41 million pay boost that the Washington state employees will share, will be retroactive to Apr. 1. It has already been ratified by the state legislature but must still be approved by U.S. District Judge Jack Tanner, who found the state guilty of sex-based wage discrimination in 1983.

The wage hikes constitute a down payment on a $101-million package, spread over six years, and will provide employees in primarily female-dominated jobs with increases averaging between 12 and 14 percent. An additional $10 million worth of pay equity increases will be added each year through 1992.

The package constitutes the largest comparable worth settlement in history.

In Ohio, Celeste's decision to move toward wiping out pay inequities followed release of a two-year study of the state's job evaluation system that found the pay of women employees running some 13 percent below that of men.

Wage comparison

Conducted under the auspices of the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services, the study showed that women earned a median hourly wage of $7.20, compared with a median wage of $8.28 for men. When female-dominated job classifications were compared with male-dominated ones, the differential was even larger—$6.96 per hour for women versus $8.28 for men.

The study showed that 76 percent of Ohio's state employees work in sex-segregated job classifications—defined as ones in which 70 percent or more of a job classification's workers are of the same gender.

The governor said that all state jobs would be re-rated, with actual wage adjustments to be made during collective bargaining with unions representing the affected job categories. Full implementation of pay equity, Celeste estimated, will take from two to four years.

The governor pointed out that Ohio's job classification system was designed in 1974 and that it gave greater weight to job characteristics found in positions largely held by men. It needs to be "fine-tuned" to reflect current workplace conditions, Celeste said.

IAFF President John A. Gannon is honored at dedication of Cleveland burn and trauma center, to be built at Metropolitan General Hospital. At right is hospital President Henry Manning.

Cleveland burn unit named for Fire Fighters president

Cleveland—A modern burn and trauma center designed to serve patients from Ohio and the Midwest will be named for Fire Fighters President John A. Gannon.

A native of Cleveland, Gannon was president of IAFF Local 93 and was instrumental in helping start a burn center at the city's Metropolitan General Hospital in 1970.

Starting with a one-bed unit in a makeshift room, the expanding burn center treated 360 seriously injured patients last year. Gannon was a trustee of the Cuyohoga County Hospital System from 1970 to 1978, and has kept an active interest in the Cleveland hospital.

At ground-breaking ceremonies Mar. 31, Gannon was praised by Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) and other public and civic leaders. Glenn described Gannon as a "man who cares."

Henry Manning, the hospital's president, said the decision to name the burns and trauma center for Gannon is "a tribute to his leadership and commitment to the community and to the profession of fire fighting."

The IAFF president called the new Gannon Center "one of the high points in my long career in fire fighting."

The new center will be completed in early 1989 and is expected to vastly increase the scope of care for burn and trauma victims.

Trauma accidents account for more than half the deaths of all persons under age 34, and are a principal cause of death for persons under 44 years old.

Labor Dept. prodded on bonus ruling

The Labor Dept. has dragged its feet for more than a year over the question of whether lump-sum payments negotiated in lieu of wage increases should be factored into base pay for computing overtime pay, the Paperworkers charged.

The union requested an opinion letter from the Employment Standards Administration at Labor in March 1985, after Wage-Hour Division offices around the country were issuing "conflicting interpretations" in UPIU cases involving the lump-sum bonuses.

The Labor Dept. did nothing about the request until December, Attorney Michael Hamilton said, when lawyers from the UPIU, AFL-CIO and UAW were invited to a Washington meeting. At that time, they were promised an opinion letter no later than Feb. 15. The union is still waiting.

The controversy dates back to late 1984, when the union brought charges with the Wage-Hour Division against Georgia-Pacific Corp. and Owens-Illinois Inc., for failing to consider the bonuses in computing overtime pay.

The UPIU asked that bonuses negotiated as an alternative to weekly or hourly wage increases be taken into account at the end of the first year of a contract and overtime pay recalculated accordingly. The companies claimed that the bonuses were "discretionary," and, as such, exempt from the overtime requirements.

The union attorney called the delay "inexcusable," pointing out that regional offices need guidance on an issue that is certain to crop up with increased frequency in the months ahead as the result of a growing trend toward negotiating such lump-sum payments in bargaining.

OSHA guide sidesteps cancer menace

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration is "side-stepping the issue" of the cancer-causing properties of methylene chloride in the guidelines it recently released on exposure to that chemical, the Food & Commercial Workers charged.

Richard Plumb, director of UFCW barbers and cosmetologists, said the guidelines "are not a substitute for a new, protective standard designed to reduce worker exposure" to methylene chloride.

He charged that the agency is downplaying the hazards of the chemical "despite recognition of its cancer-causing potential by other government agencies," including the Food & Drug Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency, both of which classify the chemical as a carcinogen.

Methylene chloride is a central nervous system depressant. Inhaling its vapor can cause mental confusion, nausea, lightheadedness, vomiting and headaches. Further, it has been found to cause liver and lung cancers in animals.

Plumb noted that the FDA has proposed a ban on the use of methylene chloride in cosmetic products and has concluded that one in every 100 hairdressers will die of cancer from continued use of aerosol hairsprays that contain methylene chloride.

Lack of courage

"We are disappointed that OSHA continues to refuse to muster the courage to carry out the agency's mandate to protect workers," Plumb said.

The UFCW has also urged OSHA to extend its federal hazard communication rule to workers in the beauty and barber trades, retail stores, hospitals and nursing homes by requiring that the ingredients in products used in these industries be on the label.

One of the major problems facing workers in the barber and beauty trades is a lack of information on the ingredients of the products they use daily, UFCW President William H. Wynn said.

OSHA is studying the feasibility of extending its hazard communication rule to all workers, as a federal appellate court had ordered it to do.

Wynn requested that OSHA implement the court's order immediately. He stressed that the "attractive scents and packaging used by products" in cosmetics and hair products "mask potentially serious health hazards" to both consumers and the workers.

Likewise, he said, workers in the retail trades, of which the UFCW represents about 800,000 nationwide, as well as hospital and nursing home workers should be covered by the hazard communication rule to give them the "right-to-know" the toxic materials they encounter in the workplace.

In a letter to Commissioner Frank E. Young of the Food & Drug Administration, Wynn called for an "immediate investigation" into the safety of two cosmetic ingredients—formaldehyde, a preservative used in cosmetic products, and nitrosamines formed by the chemical reaction of certain cosmetic ingredients with nitrosating agents.

Toxic hazards

He noted several other toxic ingredients contained in shampoos, cosmetics, permanent wave products, and metallic dyes.

Several recent studies have shown that workers in the barber and beauty trades may be at a higher risk of certain health problems, ranging from dermatitis to cancer, than the general population.

Studies also have found that beauticians may be at a higher risk of cancers of the uterus and ovaries, suffer higher rates of breast, digestive and respiratory cancer, and more prone to miscarriages and premature deliveries.

Louisiana unions gearing up for new battle over open shop

Baton Rouge, La.—The Louisiana AFL-CIO is gearing up to combat a probable push in the legislature to make the state's open shop law a constitutional amendment.

Rather than adding the measure to the constitution, the 550 delegates to the annual convention called for repeal of the "right-to-work" statute to "give relief to Louisiana workers, union and nonunion, and to give our state an opportunity to move ahead with full employment for all of our workers. . ."

In a convention forum, State Federation President Victor Bussie, Sec.-Treas. Gordon Flory and Joe Volpi, assistant to the president, explained the adverse impact of the decade-old law on workers. Unemployment in the state was 6.8 percent when the law was passed and now Louisiana ranks second in the nation in unemployment at 12.7 percent, they pointed out.

The promise of new jobs made by the RTW proponents hasn't panned out. Instead, the state has lost 25,100 manufacturing jobs over the last 10 years.

Flory warned that the RTW proponents, mainly the Louisiana Association of Business & Industry, will again attempt to get the law added as an amendment to the constitution. A bill has already been prefiled in the House. Last year, the Senate blocked a statewide referendum on the measure by just one vote.

Gov. Edwin Edwards (D) told delegates that the state's current fiscal crisis was brought on by the recent severe decline in oil prices. He pointed out that for each $1 drop in the cost of a barrel of oil, the state revenues declined by $40 million.

Lottery backed

His proposal to set up a statewide lottery and to permit gambling casinos in the three parishes surrounding New Orleans was backed by the delegates as a way to raise revenues and prevent layoffs of state workers, curtailment of essential health, welfare and education services, and a reduction in state construction projects.

Convention forums on unemployment insurance and workers compensation focused on filing claims, appealing rejected claims, and needed legislative changes. A workshop on grassroots lobbying was held.

Bussie and Flory were re-elected to new one-year terms by acclamation, as was the federation's executive board.

The convention called for improvements in workers' compensation and unemployment benefits, a halt to attempts to repeal the state's prevailing wage law, legislation to permit post card voter registration and a stronger shipbuilding industry.

High court reaffirms arbitration role

The Supreme Court reaffirmed the law's strong preference for arbitration to resolve differences over contract interpretation, but said courts should decide whether a dispute is subject to arbitration if the two parties disagree.

Its unanimous decision came in a case in which the Communications Workers sought to arbitrate a layoff grievance, and the employer contended that the subject matter was not covered by the arbitration provision of the union contract.

In the case before it, the Supreme Court said a federal district judge should have decided whether the grievance was subject to arbitration, rather than direct an arbitrator to rule on that point. It did not pass on the argument by union attorneys that the company's refusal to arbitrate was a maneuver to get the courts, rather than an arbitrator, to decide the merits of the grievance.

But in its decision, the Supreme Court strongly admonished lower courts "not to rule on the potential merits of the underlying claim" in deciding arbitrability.

Union attorneys read the Supreme Court ruling as suggesting the desirability of a more explicit arbitration provision if a union wishes to assure a speedy resolution of grievances without an intervening layer of court consideration of the arbitrability issue.

EDITORIALS

Industrial Policy Revisited

HOW CAN labor, business and government work together towards a solution to the nation's huge trade imbalance?

That was one of the questions asked of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland by members of a House subcommittee that has taken on the challenging task of shaping new trade legislation.

His response was that such teamwork is essential, not just desirable. And a blueprint to achieve it is already in existence.

It was unveiled just over two years ago by a distinguished group of Americans of diverse background whose own ability to reach a consensus speaks well for the process. Its much applauded goal is to make it possible for essential industries to survive in the United States and for American-made goods to become competitive in world markets.

Clearly, that also must be a chief goal of the trade legislation Congress is shaping. Both approaches are needed if the United States is not to fall deeper and deeper in debt to the rest of the world while its productive jobs continue to disappear.

THE VERY simple premise of industrial policy is that there should be a mechanism to achieve private-sector and public-sector cooperation in identifying problems and proposing commitments of both private and public resources to their solution.

That's not really so very revolutionary, despite the fears of some ideologues in Congress and the Reagan Administration. Both Democratic and Republican presidents have sought and received such cooperation to deal with concerns ranging from wartime labor relations to price stability in a period of inflation.

The United States trade representative was asked a similar question at the same congressional hearings. His reply was that it is best to leave questions of industrial policy to "the marketplace."

That's what we have been doing. It's not good enough.

Double-Breasted Loophole

A LOOPHOLE in federal labor law has allowed contractors to set up non-union subsidiaries to evade their commitments to pay union wages and benefits.

That's known in the construction industry as double-breasting. And it's not what Congress envisioned when it authorized pre-hire agreements between contractors and construction unions in order to encourage stable labor relations.

There's a very simple legislative remedy to this perversion of the law, and the House has scheduled a vote on it. The bill would make clear that two or more companies under the same ownership and doing similar work would be considered a single employer and covered by the terms of any labor agreement signed by the employer.

A chief sponsor of the bill, Rep. William L. Clay (D-Mo.), prefers this more succinct description of the legislation: "Simply, it says that no legal loophole will be allowed which permits those contractors who have entered into a collective bargaining agreement to weasel out of it."

Its enactment is overdue.

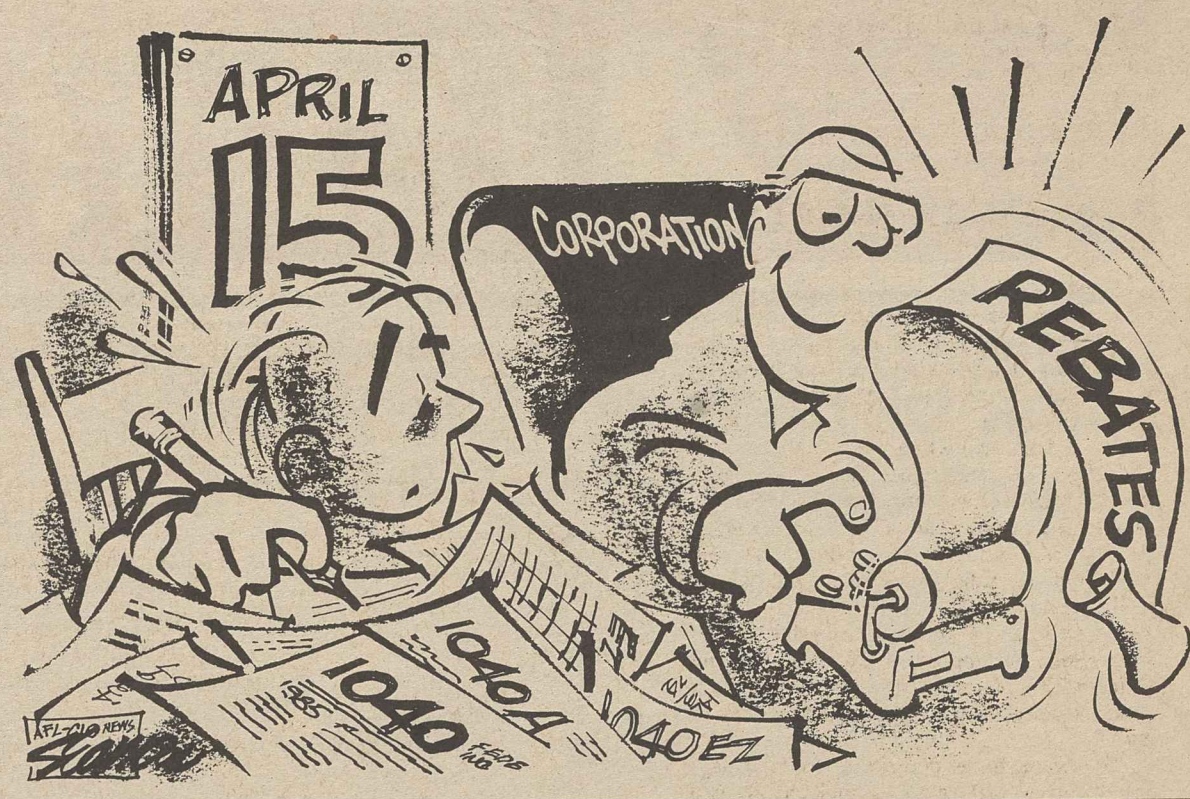
Full Exposure

IT'S NOT JUST for entertainment value that the AFL-CIO News has been reporting so extensively on the Lyndon LaRouche cult.

As a perennial presidential candidate, LaRouche remains a sideshow attraction on the political circuit. But his followers, running in unprecedented numbers in Democratic primaries this year, can poison our political system. In Texas alone, the LaRouche group is pushing some 200 candidates for Democratic Party posts from precinct chairman on up, as well as seeking congressional nominations.

It is important that voters across the country know just how distant the LaRouche cult is from the political mainstream, and can identify the candidates running under his banner.

Exposure is an essential part of that process. That's why LaRouche is getting more serious attention than his nutty ideas deserve.



Washington Window

Expanding union programs enrich service to workers

By Press Associates Inc.

Taking fresh initiatives and experimenting with new approaches, the labor movement is reaching out to millions of workers.

This is new in the modern sense, going beyond the collective bargaining contract which has defined union membership for most workers since the Wagner Act of 1935.

It is old in labor's history, however. As Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes wrote in the decision upholding the Wagner Act, workers organize "out of the necessities of the situation."

Going back to colonial times, workers joined together in beneficial societies to aid members and their families in the event of death, illness or debt. In what some consider the first authentic strike in America, the printers of Philadelphia walked out in 1786 to enforce a minimum wage of $6 a week. The struggle has always been uphill.

Today, unions must again prove their resiliency against considerable odds. The legal protections of the Wagner Act were weakened considerably by the Taft-Hartley Act, which banned the closed shop and secondary boycott and encouraged the growth of so-called right-to-work laws in the states. The Reagan era unleashed a new round of union-busting and wage-cutting and turned the National Labor Relations Board over to organized business.

Canadian contrast

The AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work drew an instructive comparison with Canada. Where the United States failed to protect the right of workers to join unions of their own choosing, Canada protected that right. In Canada, the percentage of the civilian labor force that is organized rose from about 30 percent to 40 percent in the 1963-1983 period while the unionized percentage in the United States fell from 30 percent to 20 percent.

The AFL-CIO panel sees a period of resurgence within the grasp of the labor movement. It urges unions to experiment with new bargaining approaches to better meet workers' needs and to address new issues such as pay equity and job safety and health. It urges unions to consider "associate" memberships to reach 27 million former members who left their jobs or whose jobs left them. Hundreds of thousands of non-union workers who voted for unions in representation elections that were lost also are reachable, the panel said.

Benefit program begins

Taking the lead, the AFL-CIO soon will be offering a no-fee, low-interest MasterCard through its affiliates to its 13 million members. After that step, the credit card will be offered to a new class of members, or associate members, not covered by union contracts.

Several unions already are trying new approaches to expand their ranks:

- The Teachers began a campaign in the fall of 1984 to enlist "associate" members in Texas. The AFT charged only $50 a year and offered benefits such as legal protection in processing grievances, $1-million job liability insurance, full voting rights in AFT elections, teacher publications, workshops, group insurance, and discounts.

The AFT's soft-sell direct mail campaign, focusing on issues and benefits, brought in 1,200 associate members.

- The Clothing & Textile Workers is exploring the plan to provide some kind of benefits to more than 3,500 workers at Cannon Mills in North Carolina who voted for ACTWU and lost. Corporate raider David Murdock of Los Angeles took over the family-founded company in Kannapolis, N.C., in 1982 and promptly began cutting benefits and firing workers. The union said Murdock ran a campaign of fear and threatened to shut the mill in this company town. The company won, 5,982 to 3,530. ACTWU wants to keep the faith with those who stuck out their necks for the union.

In a way, unions are going back to their roots for ideas and a sense of unity in responding to the necessities of today's situation.

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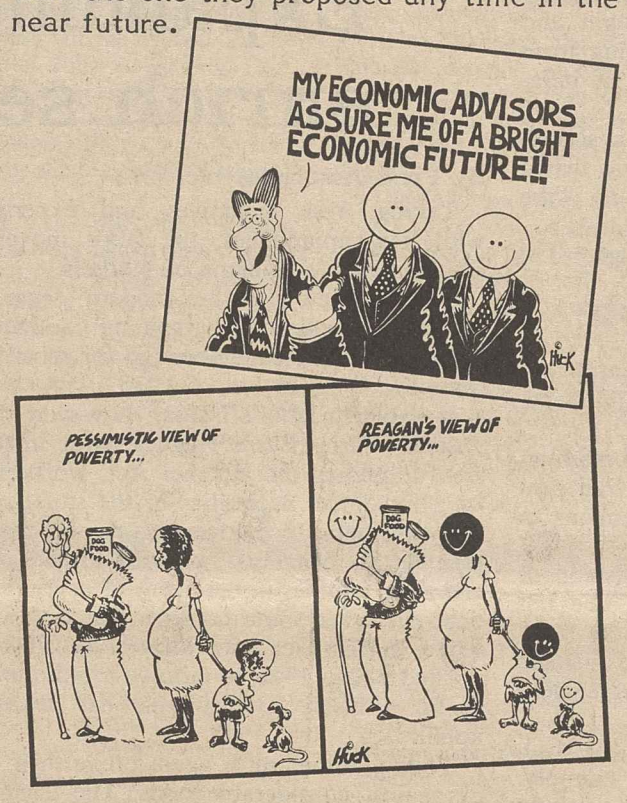
AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

Update On The Battle Of The Budget; What's Happening To People Programs?

The Congress is about to miss the first major deadline in the new Gramm-Rudman budget schedule -- the requirement that a budget resolution conference agreement be completed by April 15. Although the Senate Budget Committee voted out a resolution on March 19, it has generated so much controversy that it has not yet been scheduled for Senate floor consideration. The House is waiting on Senate action. Meanwhile, the fate of programs we support hangs in the balance.

Even though both the Senate Budget Committee and the whole House have voted to reject President Reagan's budget plan, no concensus has developed around an alternative. The Senate committee's budget Resolution for FY 1987 would give defense an inflation adjustment of 2.8% but provides no real growth, requires $18.7 billion in new revenues in FY 1987 and uses an outlay freeze as its general approach to discretionary spending, though some programs are cut more severely and some low-income programs are increased for population growth. Democratic Senators are working on a floor amendment to add back a modest amount for domestic discretionary programs. Since the new Gramm-Rudman rules require any amendment to be deficit neutral, the amendment must also call for additional new revenues to finance in the increases. Senate Republicans are tied in knots over the Budget Committee's recommendations as Majority Leader Dole gets substantial pressure from one large block of Republicans to reject the committee's product and return to President Reagan's priorities and from another large block to use any tax increases to reduce the deficit. Democrats see nothing to gain from interfering in this internal Republic squabble. The White House is giving Senate Republicans signals that it has no intention of negotiating a budget other than the one they proposed any time in the near future.



How One Worker Can Make A Difference

Now that Congress is back from recess, both houses will begin work on key legislation affecting workers and their families. A card or letter to your lawmaker on one or more of the following issues could spell the difference between victory and defeat in a key fight to protect your rights, benefits or your health and safey.

Benefits Tax: The fight is not over in the Senate, so write your two senators today, urging them to oppose any tax whatsoever on worker support benefits, any change in the deductibility of state and local taxes, as well as any increased excise or consumption taxes.

Double Breasting Bill: An important item in labor's agenda for 1986, a vote on H.R. 281 in the House is expected this week. Make sure your Representative supports this important measure to help stabilize the construction industry.

Hobbs Act Threat: The right-wing campaign to have the federal government begin policing strikes has momentum in the Senate. We need the help of your two senators to stop S. 1774 dead in its tracks.

Send correspondence to the Honorable _____, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510 and the Honorable _____, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515. Act now!

Bill Would Allow Rehiring Of Air Traffic Controllers

A significant new bill was recently introduced in the House that could result in the rehiring of 1,000 air traffic controllers, fired by President Reagan five years ago during the tragic PATCO strike. After a year of record airline crashes, the measure is being offered as one answer to the growing problem of airline safety.

Concerns Over Safety

In August of 1981, when the PATCO strike was underway, the number of air traffic controllers in this country was approximately 16,200. Today, although the amount of air travel has greatly increased, the number of controllers is only about 12,000.

The measure has been described as a "bare bones bill", that does little more than allow the Secretary of Transportation to hire up to 1,000 of these workers within the next two years. They would have no seniority, and get no other special treatment other than the opportunity to begin working in their chosen field.

An Immediate Response

In a letter to Congress April 1, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten urged passage of the important measure pointing out that, "Under normal circumstances, the AFL-CIO would seek positive amendments to the bill to assure equitable treatment and specify protections for employees. However, we are lending our full support to this 'bare bones' bill, since it offers an immediate and needed response to the current crisis facing our nation's air traffic control system. That crisis courts massive human tragedy and threatens the lives of the general public."

The bill, H.R. 4003, already has over 100 cosponsors.

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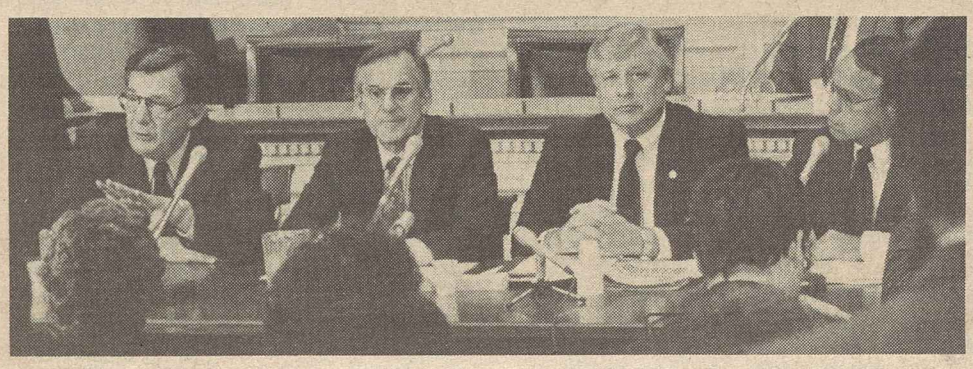
House curbs 'double-breasting'

Aliquippa, Pa., residents bring their message to Congress.



Launching steel crisis awareness program are, from left, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, Steelworkers President Lynn R. Williams, Rep. Joseph Kolter (D) and LTV Steel Vice President David Carroll.

Victory on Hill buoys grass-roots conferees

Victories for organized labor on two key congressional issues—anti-union amendments to the Hobbs Act and curbs on "double-breasted" firms in the construction industry—were roundly applauded by union activists gathered in Washington.

The back-to-back victories, detailed in stories on this page, came as thousands of delegates wound up the legislative conferences of both the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. and the Industrial Union Dept. The sessions reflected the shared concerns of more than 9 million union members in bringing labor's message to Capitol Hill.

Building Trades

By David L. Perlman

House members listened when building trades leaders from their home districts came calling and voted 229-173 for a labor-sought bill to curb double-breasted contractors.

The legislation, long a high-priority goal of the Building & Construction Trades Dept., is aimed at contractors who evade their union agreements by setting up non-union subsidiaries paying substandard wages and benefits.

It passed the House on Apr. 17, just hours after the legislative conference adjourned. Amendments that would have gutted the bill were soundly defeated.

In terms of lobbying impact, the building trades conference couldn't have been better timed. The House vote had been expected to be hairsbreadth close.

When the 3,000 delegates arrived, BCTD President Robert A. Georgine stressed the importance of their mission in terms of the House vote. Double-breasting tactics, he charged, are eroding the living standards of workers and poisoning the collective bargaining process.

The bill's chief sponsor, Rep. William L. Clay (D-Mo.), warmly welcomed to the legislative conference, warned that anti-union employer groups were vigorously lobbying the other side.

Litmus test

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland gave the the delegates a message to take to their meetings with House members.

He urged them to make sure that the House members they lobbied understand that the double-breasting bill is "a key issue" to the entire labor movement.

Let them know, Kirkland said, that the forthcoming vote is "a political litmus test" of whether members of Congress are "with us or against us."

In their Senate-side lobbying, the delegates were able to savor a major victory while the conference was still in session. That was the 54-44 vote that blocked an attempt to amend the Hobbs Act into a weapon against unions engaged in lawful strikes.

Continued on Page 2

Industrial Unions

By Gene Zack

The nation's soaring international trade deficit and the resulting destruction of American jobs took center stage at the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.'s legislative conference.

Some 500 delegates from a dozen national and international unions heard a parade of labor and congressional speakers denounce the Reagan Administration's failure to deal with the deepening crisis and then fanned out on Capitol Hill to present legislators with their agenda for change.

IUD President Howard D. Samuel sounded the tone of the conference with a charge that the nation's trade policies are in "shambles" because President Reagan insists on "free trade" while other governments subsidize exports and restrict imports of U.S.-made goods.

Different rules

"The main cause of our problem is that we and our trading competitors are playing by different rules," Samuel said, as he called for legislation that would bring American trade policies and practices into line with those of other countries.

The economic vitality of America has been dangerously weakened by a trade deficit that roared to a record-shattering $148.5 billion last year, the IUD president pointed out. Over the past five years, he said, more than 2 million jobs have been wiped out, thousands of plants, including "some of the most technologically up-to-date factories ever built" have closed down, and hundreds of communities have been devastated.

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MEMO FROM COPE
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Steelworkers open drive to save battered industry

By Arlee C. Green

The Steelworkers launched a three-month campaign to expand public support for a multipronged attack on the problems of the nation's import-racked steel industry. The heart of the effort involves the union, companies and communities carrying their concerns to the doorstep of Congress.

At a Washington press conference attended by two busloads of union members, shop owners and civic leaders from Aliquippa, Pa., USWA President Lynn R. Williams outlined a series of actions designed to stem the deepening crisis.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told reporters the entire trade union movement supports the push for needed remedies because "any bell that tolls for a vital industry like steel rings for us all." Stressing the severity of the industry's ailments, Kirkland said that it is "long past time that people of this country woke up to the fact that this is a problem that affects everyone."

At the core of the USWA public awareness campaign are civic leaders, shopkeepers, bankers, police, clergy and union members who come to Washington to lobby lawmakers and government officials.

As many as 19 steel communities in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, New York, Michigan, Indiana and Maryland will participate in the campaign, which will climax June 21 with a "Save American Industry & Jobs Day."

In explaining the new impetus to reporters, Williams said, "Our union is determined that it is time to do something so leaders in Congress and the Administration understand in a new and more direct way the depth of the steel crisis. It should not be that workers, skilled workers, young and old, be denied jobs they need."

Goals of the "Crisis in Steel" program include:

- Codification of President Reagan's

Continued on Page 4

Senate scuttles anti-union Hobbs clause

The Senate blocked an attempt to bring up an anti-union amendment to the Hobbs Act that would make offenses committed during labor disputes a federal crime, subject to long prison terms.

Its 54-44 vote scuttled a maneuver to bypass the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee, which had rejected an almost identical bill last September. Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa), the bill's sponsor, had the support of Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole (Kan.) in an attempt to bring it directly to the Senate floor for a vote.

Dole needed 60 votes—three-fifths of the full Senate—to force a vote on taking up the bill. Instead, his cloture motion fell short of even a simple majority and 15 Republicans joined 40 Democrats in opposing it.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, speaking to the building trades legislative conference on the eve of the vote, termed the attempt to apply the stiff criminal penalties of an anti-racketeering law to strikers "pure and simple union-busting."

Crusade of labor foes

The legislation has been a major crusade of the National Right to Work Committee, which argued that state and local law enforcement agencies haven't been tough enough on union "strike violence."

Reed Larson, head of the anti-union group, said he was "appalled" at the vote. The Chamber of Commerce reaction was that "business needs to re-examine who its friends are because 15 Republican defections is very significant on a bill that was sponsored by the Reagan Administration."

In a letter to senators, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten noted that the measure "would put the federal government into the business of policing strikes solely on the side of the employer." He termed it "fundamentally unfair."

The legislation sought to get around a 1973 Supreme Court ruling that the Hobbs Act, with its potential penalty of 20 years in prison, was meant as a weapon against racketeers and not to punish misconduct in pursuit of a legitimate union objective. Thus, a racketeer who threatened an employer with

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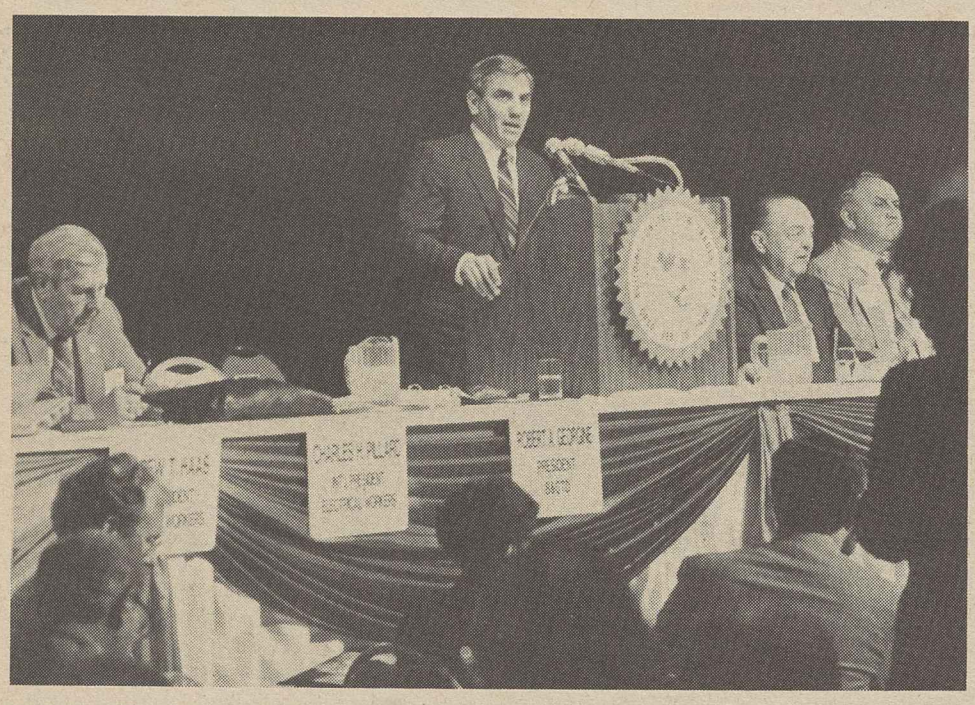


Building Trades legislative conference is opened by BCTD President Robert Georgine, flanked by presidents of 15 affiliated unions.

Building Trades push drive against open-shop employers

Continued from Page 1

It was one of the issues that was given special attention in the legislative briefings that delegates received before meeting with their home-state congressional delegations.

In his keynote to the conference, Georgine warned that collective bargaining in the construction industry needs "a major repair job."

A system that has served workers and employers well for generations is "falling apart, not by neglect, but by design," he charged.

If open-shop contractors have their way, he warned, skills will be lost and "America will pay the price of shoddy construction in the years to come."

Georgine spoke of the pride in craftsmanship that has been a characteristic of generations of union workers, and warned that forcing wages and working conditions down to the lowest levels of open-shop contractors will deter "bright young workers" from following a trade.

America will be the loser, he warned, if the attacks on collective bargaining result in "carpenters who can pound nails but can't hang doors."

A caravan of buses took the conference delegates to their Capitol Hill lobbying rounds, and Kirkland noted that they were meeting with members of Congress on the day that income tax returns were due.

While the House passed a "good," but "not perfect," tax reform bill, Kirkland noted, the Senate appears to be moving backwards towards using "regressive excise taxes to pay for income tax cuts for the rich and for corporations."

A taxing reminder

He suggested that the delegates remind their senators that the union members they represent pay more taxes than at least 50 of the nation's biggest and most profitable corporations that avoided all federal taxes.

Kirkland expressed concern at the shrinkage in the number of moderate Republicans in Congress who could be counted on to give working people "a decent shake." While labor still has "some Republican friends," they are "too few."

The "labor-baiters" who have put their stamp on the GOP are aided by "boll weevils who wear the Democratic label but who vote with Reagan," he noted. But "fortunately, there is an election on the horizon," Kirkland said.

New assaults on the Davis-Bacon Act's prevailing wage provisions were on the conference agenda. So were tax reforms, including a long-standing building trades campaign to allow tax deductions for the cost of travelling to and from often-distant construction sites.

The lobbying wasn't limited to strictly building trades issues.

Sec.-Treas. Jacob Sheinkman of the Clothing & Textile Workers spoke to the delegates of the ravages that imports have inflicted on American industry and workers—and of the ripple impact on all segments of the economy. Similarly, Carpenters President Patrick J. Campbell was the emissary from the building trades unions to the overlapping legislative conference of the Industrial Union Dept.

A big turnout of delegates and union people from the Washington area helped raise money for the Diabetes Research Institute at a dinner honoring America's athletes. Building trades unions have adopted this as a special cause.

Key workshops

Conference workshops covered a range of building trades concerns, including drug and alcohol abuse, safety enforcement, pension fund investments, apprenticeship training, media communications and corporate strategies, among others.

But the final emphasis, as the delegates headed home, was to use the once-a-year legislative conference as the stimulus for a year-round program of communications with home-state congressional delegations.

Georgine told them that "1986 will be a watershed year in American politics." Without Ronald Reagan at the top of the ticket, he stressed, "candidates will have to present themselves to us on the basis of their platform and record."

He reminded them not to neglect state and local elections. With the budget squeeze of the Gramm-Rudman law, Georgine noted, the government role in construction will increasingly come from states and localities.

Union members and workers generally will benefit, he stressed, "if we are successful in restoring the collective bargaining system in the construction industry" and can protect gains made at the bargaining table from being wiped out by unfair laws.

Al E. Brown dies at 79, retired official of UPP

Tigard, Ore.—Al E. Brown, retired secretary-treasurer of the Papermakers & Paperworkers, died of heart failure Mar. 14. He was 79.

Brown served in the UPP post from 1962 until his retirement in 1969. The UPP merged with the Pulp & Sulfite Workers in 1972 to form the United Paperworkers International Union.

Mixed economic bag

1st quarter GNP rises, industrial output drops

The government reported a mixed bag of economic statistics—the good news being that the gross national product rose during the first quarter and producer prices tumbled in March under the impact of skidding oil prices, while the bad news was that industrial output and the nation's productive capacity both plunged precipitately last month.

The most optimistic news was the Commerce Dept. report that the GNP grew at an annual rate of 3.2 percent during the first three months of 1986—a marked improvement from the slack seven-tenths of 1 percent growth in the last quarter of 1985.

For the time being, at least, the figure spared Congress the agonizing prospect of having to revisit the Gramm-Rudman budget-balancing act under the terms of a little-noted provision dealing with two successive quarters of slow economic growth.

Had the GNP growth rate been lower than 1 percent in the quarter the House and Senate would have been forced to take up resolutions to suspend budget cuts for the balance of this fiscal year, the coming fiscal year, or both.

Revisions due

Congress may still have to wrestle with that problem, since the GNP figures are based on incomplete data and are subject to revision in both May and June.

Three months ago, the Commerce Dept. initially reported a 2.4 percent growth in the GNP for the last quarter of 1985 but subsequently was forced to revise the figure downward to an anemic seven-tenths of 1 percent.

Built into the rosy assessment of the economy's performance during the first quarter was some disquieting news. Business investment during the three-month period, the Commerce Dept. said, decreased $17.4 billion, in sharp contrast to the last quarter of 1985, when similar investments rose $12.8 billion.

Signalling a continued shift from an industrial to a service economy, the report showed that consumption of durable goods, including automobiles, declined $1.3 billion, while the consumption of such non-durable goods as food, clothing and gasoline rose $16 billion, and services consumption advanced $9.6 billion.

In other economic developments:

- Industrial production fell five-tenths of 1 percent in March after declining seven-tenths of 1 percent the previous month—the steepest drop since the end of the Reagan Recession. The two consecutive months of a falloff in production demonstrated the continued sluggishness of the economy.

The Federal Reserve Board blamed the drop mainly on slowdowns in oil and gas drilling, car and truck assemblies, and steel output. It drove the industrial index to its lowest point since October, although it remained nine-tenths of 1 percent above the level of a year ago.

- In a separate report, the Federal Reserve Board disclosed major industries cut back on their production capacity by six-tenths of 1 percent in March, dropping to the lowest production in capacity level in more than two years.

Manufacturing, mining and utilities operated at just 79.4 percent of capacity last month, down from 80 percent in February and the lowest level since December 1983, when American industries used just 78.3 percent of their production capability.

Capacity use in the automobile industry, hit by cutbacks at Chrysler and General Motors, sagged by 9.4 percent in March to 75.7 percent after rising to its highest level in more than a year the previous month.

- Housing starts declined 2.4 percent in March, the Commerce Dept. said. Even with the downturn, however, starts for the first quarter of 1986 were at their highest level in nearly eight years.

New private single- and multi-family housing starts stood at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of over 1.9 million last month, compared with the February level of just under 2 million. In a separate report, the government said the number of building permits issued in March was 2 percent above that of the previous month.

- Producer prices plunged 1.1 percent in March, the third decline in as many months. The driving force was clearly the falling price of petroleum, with gasoline prices showing a record 21.9-percent decline after a drop of 11.1 percent the previous month. Home heating oil prices, which fell a record 26.2 percent in February, dropped a more modest, but still respectable, 6 percent last month.

But the wholesale price of consumer food edged up three-tenths of 1 percent in March after falling in both January and February. And capital equipment prices rose three-tenths of 1 percent last month, following a one-tenth of 1 percent increase in February.

- Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker said falling oil prices, lower interest rates and what he regards as improved prospects for shrinking the federal budget deficit could translate into "sustained growth" in the months ahead.

Volcker conceded that economic growth in recent months has been sluggish, but added that "the signs that in the past have signaled the onset of cyclical downturns are generally absent."

He warned that falling oil prices mean losers as well as winners, pointing out that countries like Mexico will have difficulties in paying the interest on their international debt because of dramatically lower petroleum revenues.

Rep. Joe Addabbo dies, labor ally for 25 years

Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo (D-N.Y.), who gained bipartisan respect as chairman of an appropriations subcommittee responsible for defense programs, died of cancer at 61.

During 25 years in Congress, Addabbo compiled a COPE record of 94 percent "right" on issues important to the labor movement. On defense issues, he combined support for a strong defense with opposition to waste and to the continued escalation of the military budget.

Court backs higher prevailing pay

San Francisco—The 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that states are not preempted from requiring higher wage rates than the minimums set by the Federal Highway Administration on federal projects.

The AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. welcomed the decision as an important victory for workers.

BCTD Attorney Terry Yellig said the court action reinforces labor's position that "federal agencies cannot preclude states from requiring payment of prevailing wages which are higher than those required by the Davis-Bacon Act."

In the appeals court case, Siuslaw Concrete Construction Co. of Portland, Ore., challenged the constitutionality of a state law requiring contractors to pay all workers journeyman rates, except those apprentices in training programs certified by the State Apprenticeship Council.

Siuslaw was hired by the state transportation department to resurface two King County bridges. The project was covered by the Davis-Bacon Act requiring prevailing wage rates, and by a federal rule exempting workers in state-approved training and apprenticeship programs from coverage. The state rules were shaped to aid minority employment.

Journeyman rates

Siuslaw submitted a proposal to the state Dept. of Transportation for between four and 10 trainees, none of whom were in approved training programs. The state required Siuslaw to pay those workers journeyman rates.

The company, besides asking the federal district court to declare the state law unconstitutional, sought temporary and permanent injunctions against enforcement of the law. The district court upheld the statute.

In its appeal, Siuslaw argued that the Washington regulation was preempted by a federal intent to occupy that field of worker coverage and that the state statute obstructs federal purposes.

The Washington state attorneys, however, told the court that since state agencies approve the apprenticeship programs, the federal intent is to not let contractors bypass state requirements.

The appellate court decision cited a Supreme Court case that said the federal agencies will likely "make their intentions clear if they intend for their regulations to be exclusive." It added, "In this case, there is no express statement of congressional intent to preempt state law."

The court further held the Washington law does not obstruct federal objectives because the highway administration delegated its approval authority to the state department of transporation.

Philippine labor moves to assure social reforms

The Philippine labor movement, which played a key role in bringing down the regime of Ferdinand Marcos, will now assume the mantle as the "critical opposition" to make certain the "promises of reform" are realized under the administration of President Corozan Aquino.

This "independent role" for the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines in the wake of Marcos's ouster was emphasized by its general secretary, Ernesto Herrera, in an interview with the AFL-CIO News.

"Our role must be that of an independent, nonpartisan articulator of labor's woes and wishes," Herrera declared. "As such an articulator, we shall not wait for invitations to be consulted on matters of interest to labor.

"We shall assert our positions and if need be come out with concrete action. Government shall not have the luxury of opting not to consult us. It shall be compelled to listen to us with an earnest ear."

Herrera, winner of the 1985 George Meany Human Rights Award, was in Washington for a whirlwind round of consultations with officials of the federation, the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, the National Endowment for Democracy, and prominent members of the House and Senate, in which he reviewed Philippine labor's role in restoring democracy to that country.

Monitoring ballot count

The TUCP's activities during the turbulent pre-election period brought record numbers of voters to the polls, and the labor movement was involved in the nonpartisan monitoring of the ballot counting to prevent election fraud.

When it became clear that Marcos and his cronies were attempting to steal the election, unions took the lead in rallying public opinion and were, in Herrera's words, "in the thick of the fight" that "liberated the Philippines from the hateful dictatorship through people power."

The election of Aquino and her running mate, Vice President Salvador Laurel, was essential to end Marcos's "iron-fisted rule," Herrera explained, as he denounced the deposed leader as "the dictator who denied us our rights" as trade unionists.

Ernesto Herrera with AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and TUCP Vice President Jaime Rincal, right, during a visit to Washington.

Having played a leading role in bringing the new administration to power, the TUCP now intends to "preserve its independence" to make certain that the social, economic and political reforms promised during the election campaign are attained, Herrera said.

Optimistic outlook

He made clear that the maintenance of an independent posture was in no way a criticism of the Aquino administration. "We are full of hope," he declared, and the people of the Philippines are confident that new policies and programs will be implemented. "The people are patient. They are giving Mrs. Aquino time to bring about the changes that are needed."

As evidence of labor's willingness to cooperate, Herrera said, he has accepted appointment to the commission that will draft a new constitution for the republic. The commission's work should be completed in time for a plebiscite this fall, followed by new elections to the parliament.

However, Herrera resisted intense pressure to become Minister of Labor and Employment in the new government, choosing instead to remain with the labor movement to make certain, as he put it, that it remains "free of government domination." He added:

"Our rights, our welfare are ours to assert, to work for, to defend, to promote. These are not for government to confirm or to disapprove. Government cannot claim to be democratic where our dignity cannot be fully expressed and asserted, where it is not looked upon as inherent to us but is rather regarded as something that depends on people outside us. Labor has its dignity. We must take an uncompromising stand on this."

Years of corruption and mismanagement by the Marcos regime "devastated the Philippine economy and brought immense hardships upon Filipino workers," Herrera said, adding that the challenges the TUCP faces are to revitalize the economy and put people back to work.

Arms-length relations

By maintaining an arms-length relationship with the Aquino government, the TUCP official said, the Philippine labor movement will be in the best possible position to exert maximum influence on behalf of working men and women.

"We shall work for all rights for all workers whether in private firms or government service," he declared. "We shall work for really good labor laws and we shall have really competent and committed implementation of such laws. Out with laws full of loopholes. Out with petty concessions that cover up big oppression. Out with the inept and unscrupulous pseudo-implementors of labor laws.

"We shall get workers' worth in real wages. We shall get workers' worth in social security, in a house for every worker, in food, in health care and other basic needs for every member of the family of every breadwinner, no matter how many children. We shall get education for every child to the best of his or her capacity for that gift."

In addition, Herrera said, the TUCP will fight for "equitable wealth distribution, the abolition of influence peddling and landlordism which victimize the poor who are mostly workers, the eradication of cronyism and abolition of monopolies that invariably result in sacrifices and suffering by the majority who are less privileged."

Herrera said he supported Mrs. Aquino's decision to abolish the parliament she inherited, declaring it was "necessary to dismantle the last vestiges of the Marcos regime."

Ousters regretted

He expressed regret, however, over her demand for the wholesale resignation of municipal officials. "Those who were abusive of office or who violated the laws should be replaced," the TUCP general secretary said.

"Those with good records, who performed their duties effectively, should be allowed to remain," he stressed.

The ideal situation would have been "to wait for the people to make that determination through the election process," he said, as he urged "extreme caution" in naming replacements to avoid any hint of a resurrection of the spoils system that marked the Marcos regime.

The Aquino election has blunted the communist insurgency in the Philippines, the TUCP official said. But the ultimate way to end the communist menace will be "the improvement in the national economy and the restoration of confidence in the sincerity of the government to bring about needed social reform."

Trade remedy tops agenda at IUD legislative conference

Continued from Page 1

He told delegates that, as they walked the halls of Congress in their grass-roots lobbying efforts, they would find many House and Senate members "receptive and understanding," adding that "our job this week is to make sure they translate understanding into effective legislation, and that they do it soon."

The plea for prompt action to stem the import tide was echoed by Sec.-Treas. Jacob Sheinkman of the Clothing & Textile Workers, who urged Congress to take "the first step" toward protecting American industry and jobs by overriding Reagan's veto of the Textile & Apparel Trade Enforcement Act when it comes up for a vote in August.

Reagan broke promise

He recalled that, when Reagan first ran for President in 1980 he pledged to hold down the import of textile and apparel products and protect workers' jobs.

"President Reagan didn't keep his word," Sheinkman charged. "Since he became President, the import of textile and apparel products has increased by an average of about 25 percent a year, and close to 400,000 workers in the industry have lost their jobs."

In a luncheon address, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue unleashed a stinging attack on "right-wing reactionaries" who, he said, "took charge of our economy and ran it into the ground."

They gave away $750 billion in government revenues "to finance a tax cut shamelessly slanted toward the rich and the corporations," Donahue charged. The rich used their share to "speculate in the stock market and create a mountain of paper wealth," he said, while corporations used theirs "to buy other corporations, close plants in America and ship jobs overseas."

The "financial hemorrhage" due to imports means that the trade deficit is stuck at an annual rate of $150 billion, he continued, and 11.5 million workers suffered full or partial job losses between 1980 and 1984.

"Those were good jobs," Donahue insisted. "Paychecks in the service sector that are supposed to replace them yield only a fraction of the purchasing power. Beyond that, there is no export market for shiploads of Wendyburgers."

He noted that Reagan and Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone met earlier in the week at Camp David and then announced another trade agreement. "Forgive my skepticism," Donahue declared, "but this was their eighth meeting and the seventh trade package they've announced during a time in which our trade deficit with Japan has more than tripled to $50 billion."

The test of the new agreement will be in the volume of goods shipped from America to Japan, Donahue said, emphasizing that "the fault lies not with the Japanese, because they are only standing up for the jobs of their people; the fault is right here, with an Administration that refuses to do the same."

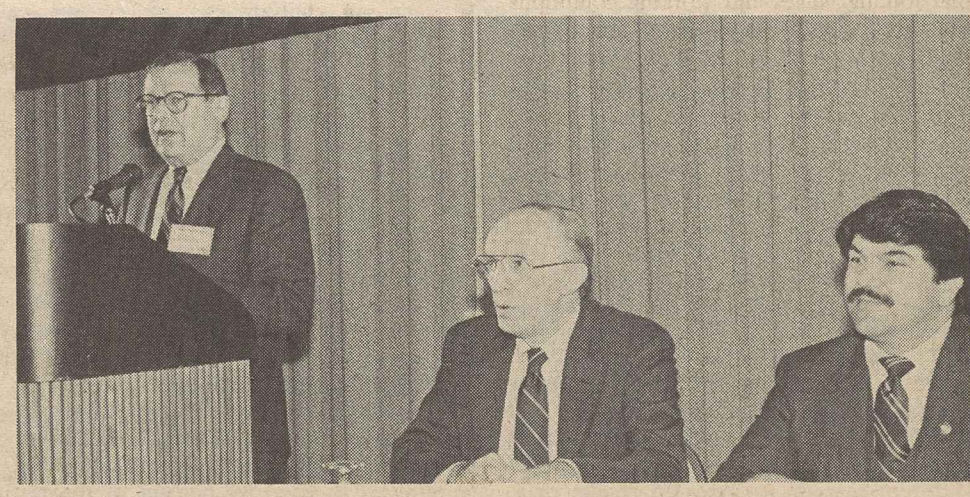
Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) threw his support behind labor's efforts to reverse the trade imbalance, insisting that if America isn't allowed to sell its products in countries like Japan, Korea and Taiwan, "they shouldn't be able to sell their autos in the United States."

Election issue

He urged delegates to "go back to the trenches" and let members of Congress know that "if they don't support you" on trade and related issues, "you will go out and defeat them" in November.

Rep. Frank J. Guarini (D-N.J.) called for a "well-defined, assertive U.S. trade policy" that will protect the best interests of workers and their industries. "We must be firm, tough and resolute" in international trade, he said.

American workers, he said, compete against "foreign targeting of our industries, lower wages, foreign government subsidies, dumping practices and many restrictions contrary to the spirit of free and fair international trade."



IUD President Howard Samuel, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue and Mine Workers President Richard Trumka at legislative conference.

Rail Clerks' national accord wins 12.5% in pay, bonuses

Some 86,000 members of the Railway & Airline Clerks overwhelmingly ratified a national railroad agreement providing 12.5 percent in bonuses and wage increases over the four-year life of the contract.

BRAC thus became only the second rail union to reach agreement with the nation's 25 major carriers. Eleven other unions are still in negotiations, and the United Transportation Union, which recently disaffiliated from the AFL-CIO, signed a contract in 1985.

Noting that 85 percent of those voting put their stamp of approval on the contract, President Richard I. Kilroy said the ratification vote "reaffirms the view of our negotiators and general chairmen that this was the best possible agreement that could be obtained."

Kilroy noted that BRAC negotiators staved off demands by the carriers for major concessions and held the line against a new management move to contract out service work.

The agreement calls for lump-sum payments totalling 6 percent, beginning with an initial payment of $565 in lieu of a general increase retroactive to June 30, 1984, followed by $335 on Dec. 15 of this year, $423 on Dec. 1, 1987, and $217 on June 15, 1988.

General wage increases will total an additional 6.5 percent. They will be payable at the rate of 2 percent retroactive to last Dec. 1, with another 2.25 percent this Dec. 1 and 2.25 percent on Dec. 1, 1987.

The new contract calls for cost-of-living adjustments to be applied on a semi-annual basis. They will be offset by the general wage increases and lump-sum payments so that COLAs will be paid only when the consumer price index exceeds those amounts during each six-month period.

Current health, welfare, medical, dental and retirement plans will be continued under the new agreement, which also establishes a special committee to make recommendations on cost constraint, cost sharing and financing of health programs.

The new agreement covers such carriers as Amtrak, Conrail, Burlington Northern, Union Pacific, Santa Fe, Southern Pacific, Norfolk & Southern, the C&O and the B&O, all of which were represented by the National Railway Labor Conference.

Only one major line—the Boston & Maine—failed to participate in the negotiations.

UFCW pact brings gains for 40,000

San Francisco—The Food & Commercial Workers negotiated a new three-year agreement for 40,000 grocery clerks at major northern California supermarkets, providing lump-sum payments, wage increases and improvements in health care and pension programs.

The agreement was ratified by 12 UFCW locals from Fresno north to the Oregon border. Mail ballots cast by members of the remaining local are still being tallied.

The new contract calls for five lump-sum payments to be made at six-month intervals. The first will provide 25 cents per hour for all hours worked, up to 40 per week, between Mar. 1 and Aug. 30. The four remaining bonuses will be based on job classifications—42 cents per hour for journeymen clerks, 28 cents for general merchandise clerks and 20 cents for courtesy clerks. The bonuses of newly hired courtesy clerks will be 15 cents.

In addition to the bonuses, which will mean an average of $2,000 for journeymen clerks over the life of the agreement, the contract also provides for general wage increases effective Feb. 28, 1989, the last day of the agreement. The pay boosts will give general merchandise clerks 25 cents an hour, journeymen clerks 30 cents and head clerks 35 cents.

The contract increases the major medical maximum from the present $200,000 level to $1 million, doubles the maximum reimbursement for orthodontia to $2,000, and establishes a new individual retirement account plan in the second year of the contract in addition to the regular pension plan.

The terms are similar to provisions that meat department workers in five UFCW locals won in last fall's master agreement with the grocery chains.

AGMA officers with picture of former union president, the late George London, on the union's 50th anniversary celebration. From left, founding member and opera singer Elizabeth Hoeppel, President Nedda Casei and Executive Secretary Gene Boucher.

Musical Artists sing out at 50

New York—Union opera and ballet companies are staging a series of concerts and performances to mark the 50th anniversary of the Musical Artists.

The golden jubilee celebration began with an Apr. 1 reception here and will climax with a gala concert to benefit the union's Artists Relief Fund in November at Lincoln Center. Future performance dates will be announced as they are scheduled, AGMA said.

Representing performers in professional opera and ballet companies and other artists, AGMA was founded in 1926 by leading members of New York's Metropolitan Opera to fight abuses that were rampant in the musical profession. In the past, artists often were required to pay excessive commissions to managers and agents for bookings and to sign contracts that bound them to agents without adequate protections.

Those practices were abolished under AGMA agreements with the union also winning improved pay scales and professional recognition and respect for its 5,500 members.

Steelworkers campaign to save industry

Continued from Page 1

program to limit steel import penetration to 20.2 percent of the American market. It would be achieved by renegotiating existing voluntary restraint agreements and expanding coverage of those agreements to other countries.

- Provisions in any tax reform legislation to provide relief to depressed industries and permit redemption of unused investment tax credits if funds are used for modernization.
- Establishing a National Infrastructure Fund to provide revolving loans to aid states in rebuilding efforts.
- Expansion of the "Buy American" provision in laws governing federal expenditures.
- Upgrading of the trade adjustment assistance program to be more responsive to training needs.
- Temporary extension of federal unemployment compensation benefits.

The USWA urged Congress to adopt a resolution proclaiming June 21 as "Save American Industry & Jobs Day," and to continue to support the government's participation in joint research project. Williams pointed out that while many steel plants are being updated with continuous casters, all the systems are imported.

A decade ago, Williams said, the domestic steel industry employed 370,000 workers and imports constituted only 14 percent of the U.S. market. Now there are less than 200,000 workers and imports in 1985 reached 25.2 percent, and at one time during that period they soared to 33.5 percent.

Price to pay

Kirkland stressed the need to rebuild the nation's infrastructure, a process that will involve billions of dollars and many thousands of jobs. "If we don't address these problems, they will magnify and there will be a price to pay. When a bridge collapses with a school bus load of children, people will understand the cost."

David Carroll, a vice president of LTV Steel Corp., noted that employment at the Aliquippa mills has dropped from 16,000 to about 700. He pointed out that the plant has been modernized, and that Local 1211 is "a leader in working with management. What we don't have are customers."

The Aliquippa residents discussed the job losses with their congressman, Rep. Joseph Kolter (D), and with Senators Arlen Specter and John Heinz, both Republicans. Also present were Representatives, Joseph Gaydos (D), John Murtha (D), Thomas Ridge (R) and Austin Murphy (D), all from Pennsylvania, Douglas Applegate (D-Ohio) and Peter Visclosky (D-Ind.).

Plan to boost excise taxes denounced

A stiff $75-billion boost in federal excise taxes, proposed by Senate Budget Committee Chairman Bob Packwood (R-Ore.), would hit low-income families six times harder than individuals with the highest incomes, Citizens for Tax Justice charged.

The Packwood proposal would wipe out almost half the benefits for typical middle-income families contained in the House-passed tax reform bill, Robert S. McIntyre, CTJ's director of federal tax policy, declared as he denounced the "fundamentally regressive character" of the proposal.

The plan to raise federal sales taxes would "turn tax reform on its head," McIntyre said, as he released results of a study showing that:

- The higher taxes on gasoline, cigarettes, transportation services, beer and other products proposed by Packwood would wipe out almost 80 percent of the House-passed tax cut for families earning less than $11,000 a year.
- The excise tax boost would eliminate 49 percent of the House tax cut for typical middle-income families—those making between $11,000 and $23,000 a year—and 48 percent of the tax benefits for those in the $23,000-$47,000 category
- In sharp contrast, the richest Americans would be only slightly affected by Packwood's higher excise taxes and would be allowed to keep 89 percent of the tax cuts due under the House measure.

The CTJ study also found that the excise tax package would place a heavy burden on the very old and the very young. A median-income family headed by an individual over age 65 would pay 46 percent more in increased federal sales taxes, while families headed by individuals under age 24 would pay an 85-percent higher rate.

The Packwood plan would use the $75 billion raised through higher excise taxes to keep numerous corporate tax breaks, including oil and gas preferences, defense contractor loopholes, and the fast business depreciation schedule adopted in 1981 that has produced a record number of American corporations that now pay no federal income taxes on their profits.

Unions step up drive to halt import devastation

The collapse of the nation's exporting capacity and the destruction of bedrock domestic industries by the flood of foreign imports threaten America's living standard, AFL-CIO Vice Presidents William H. Bywater, Owen Bieber and Lynn R. Williams told Congress.

Testifying before the House Ways & Means Subcommittee on Trade, the federation officials called for a major overhaul of trade legislation and blamed the current crisis on the "misguided and unfair" economic policies of the Reagan Administration and the "unfair practices" of foreign competitors.

Bywater, president of the Electronic Workers, lashed out at the Administration's five-year record of ineptitude, as he endorsed legislation drafted by the Ways & Means staff to stem the tide of imports.

Massive federal budget deficits, brought about by the huge 1981 tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy and the skyrocketing military budget have led to a vastly overvalued dollar, he said, making it "more difficult for domestic producers to sell their products abroad and easier for foreign producers to sell their products here."

When Reagan took office in 1981, Bywater pointed out, the United States had a trade surplus in manufactured goods of $13 billion. In 1985, he continued, the manufacturing trade deficit, alone, stood at $113 billion because of the Administration's "do-nothing" policy. The total trade deficit last year was a record-shattering $148.5 billion.

This has contributed to the continued deterioration of employment in the United States, Bywater said, citing a recent Commerce Dept. study showing that in 1984 alone, 2.3 million jobs in the domestic manufacturing sector were wiped out by imports.

Bieber, president of the Auto Workers, also homed in on the employment aspects of the crisis, declaring that "many of our best manufacturing jobs have been lost, eroding middle-income jobs in many communities and moving America toward a two-tier society, one in which there are many low-paid jobs and only a relative handful of high-paying jobs."

Debtor-nation status

The UAW official noted that America slipped into debtor-nation status in 1985 for the first time in 60 years, and said the strain put on the U.S. economy by its mounting foreign debt means an outflow of dollars that might otherwise be used to revitalize domestic industrial strength.

Bieber endorsed the basic goals of the committee bill, but said that "the danger posed by the excessive trade deficit requires stronger and more certain action," including sanctions against those nations whose balance of trade with this country exceeds specific targets.

He urged that trade legislation also include a provision making the suppression of basic labor rights abroad an unfair trade practice. In many developing countries, he explained, "repression of workers and their organizations is a central part" of government efforts to lure investment by multinational corporations.

Bieber added that, because the United States has given inadequate consideration to solving its trade problems, many American-based companies have "joined the ranks of the foreign producers through wholly owned subsidiaries or joint ventures with companies abroad." This, he said, adds to America's import glut and reduces the opportunity for other American firms to send exports to those countries.

President Lynn Williams of the Steelworkers called for a "dramatic change" in America's trade relationships, declaring:

"As a nation, we can no longer sustain unlimited, unregulated and unrestrained import penetration. Enough is enough.

"What we need now is a process of policy adjustment. Not the adjustment of unemployed workers to new jobs, but the adjustment of trade flows to new economic realities."

Earlier, at a regional hearing in Pittsburgh, Williams told a House Government Operations subcommittee that the Reagan Administration's "voluntary restraint" arrangements negotiated with 27 countries have failed to achieve the President's goal of limiting steel imports to 20.2 percent of the domestic market.

"Unfortunately, as the period for negotiated arrangements draws to a close, the President's target has been substantially exceeded," the USWA president said, with estimates placing the level at between 23.2 and 24.5 percent.

Staggering losses

"Total losses in the industry in the last four years were close to $7 billion," he told the subcommittee. "Since 1974, 15 steel companies have gone out of business. Thirty complete steel plants have been closed and 560 production units in other plants have been terminated. Total employment has shrunk by more than 50 percent. Thirty million tons of capacity have been eliminated.

"No amount of relief will compensate for the injury already received," Williams declared, as he urged continuation of the voluntary restraint agreements to permit some semblance of recovery, restructuring and reinvestment in the nation's steel production facilities.

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BREAKING NEW GROUND:

BARGAINING IN 1986

By Jacqueline Simon

Nineteen eighty-five was a year of transition for the U.S. economy and, as such, presented workers with formidable challenges in the sphere of collective bargaining. While some industries enjoyed record prosperity, others struggled with only moderate success to adjust to changes in national and international markets. Solidarity, flexibility, creativity, and in some cases, good old-fashioned militancy turned what could have been a dreadful year into one with a solid record of success and progress.

Labor's advances came last year in spite of modest performance in several of the most heavily unionized sectors of the economy. The $148.5 billion foreign trade deficit stands as grim testimony to the fact that our country's manufacturing base continues to erode in the face of low-wage competition; $113 billion or 76 percent of that deficit measures the U.S. trade imbalance in manufactured goods.

Internationalization is emerging as the key economic phenomenon of the 1980s. International competition, finance, and mobility of capital together form a complex array of problems whose effects are likely to continue to set difficult parameters for collective bargaining in the United States. So far, the effect of this global competition has been intense downward pressure on wages, and the standard of living American workers have worked so long and hard to achieve. The current scenario, however, is neither inevitable nor immutable. Part of the task of American workers is to make sure that the positive potential of international trade prevails. And the battles have by no means been lost, as the results of the 1985 round of negotiations attest. Where substantial wage gains could not be realized, unions made significant headway in areas such as job and union security, pay equity, health care coverage, and contract language protecting and promoting worker contributions to the political process through Political Action Committees (PACs).

The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) publishes several measures of annual wage and overall compensation improvements; each has its particular strengths and shortcomings. Although one BLS study found that wage increases negotiated in private industry in 1985 averaged 2.3 percent in the first contract year and 2.7 percent annually over the life of the contract, a different picture emerges once these numbers are disaggregated. Continuing a trend of "back-loading" contracts begun in 1983, well over a third of the 2,193,000 workers who bargained in 1985 in the private sector will receive wage increases that are lower in the first year than in subsequent years. Among those workers (63 percent of the total) who did obtain first-year increases in the major contracts signed in 1985, the average wage increase was 4.2 percent. Despite the publicity given to wage concessions by unions, only three percent of all workers covered by new collective bargaining accords took wage decreases.

The data on union settlements, it should be noted, exclude bonuses, profit-sharing plans, stocks, cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs), lump-sum payments, and other types of non-wage financial compensation. As a consequence, the percentage wage adjustments do not reflect accurately the total compensation gains won by unions in private sector collective bargaining. This point is especially relevant this year, since almost one-third of the workers covered by 1985 settlements will receive lump-sum payments. Of the workers scheduled to receive lump-sum payments, 84 percent will also receive a wage rate increase over the life of the contract. And as Table A shows, a considerable portion of those who received no wage rate increase did receive a lump-sum payment.

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Much attention has been focused on the fact that wage increases of non-union workers were higher on a percentage basis than those won by unionized workers in 1985 collective bargaining settlements (in manufacturing the average non-union increase was 4.1 percent to the union increase of 3.2 percent, and in nonmanufacturing the ratio of union to non-union was 3.1 percent to 4.9 percent). It is wrong, however, to infer from this that non-unionized workers receive higher compensation than union members. On the contrary, by any standard it still pays to be a union member. Data from the BLS Household Survey confirm this, showing average weekly earnings of union members in 1985 at $423, 26 percent above the $315 average earned by workers who do not have the benefit of union representation. When these data are broken down by race, sex, and age, the results are similar. In every demographic group, union members fare better than their non-union counterparts. And as Table B indicates, the median weekly earnings of union members, broken down into private industry and government, outpaced non-union earnings consistently.

The inflation rate, as measured by the Consumer Price Index for Urban Wage Earners & Clerical Workers (CPI-W), rose 3.6 percent from December 1984 to December 1985. This index includes changes in prices for goods and services such as food, shelter, energy, medical care, and transportation. A comparison of the rate of increase in prices with pay rate increases won in collective bargaining gives a rough measure of the direction of "real" wages, or the buying power of workers' pay.

Table C lists the wage and salary increases won in 1985 by industry, demonstrating that in many cases wages and salaries alone have kept pace with overall price increases. In addition, as Table D indicates, measures of wages combined with benefits show increases that approach or exceed the rate of inflation without taking into account lump-sum payments. These data are from the BLS tabulation of the Employment Cost Index (ECI), a fixed-weight index that measures movements in total expenditures by employers for hiring workers. These measures are designed to include the total compensation of workers. Cost-of-living clauses (COLAs) are another way workers protect the value of their compensation from erosion by inflation. New COLA clauses were enacted for approximately 41,000 workers in the private sector in 1985, according to BLS data. An overall decline in the prevalence of COLA clauses occurred in 1985, however, as settlements covering 471,000 workers eliminated them altogether and in other cases previous rates of coverage were lowered.

The collective bargaining schedule for 1986 is heavy. Contracts up for renegotiation cover more than two-fifths of the seven million workers in private industry and a third of the 2.1 million employees of state and local government who are under major agreements. The industries in which contracts expire in 1986 include petroleum refining, construction, aluminum, farm machinery, steel, copper, and aerospace. The telephone communications industry is involved in its first negotiations since the 1984 break-up of AT&T; most major contracts in the health care industry will be renegotiated this year, and the Longshoremen will renegotiate the union's master agreement with major shipping associations and companies. School teachers and school staffs comprise the majority of public employees whose contracts expire in 1986.

The Congressional Budget Office and other economic forecasters estimate that 1986 will produce an expansion in the 3 percent range. As in 1985, forecasters expect the official unemployment rate to remain in the 7 percent range. Inflation is predicted at 3.7 percent, but some economists warn that as the trade-weighted value of the dollar falls, the United States will start to import some inflation along with its trade-induced unemployment. However, the tremendous decline in oil prices holds the promise of counteracting some of these pressures.

But macroeconomic forecasts do not determine the outcome of collective bargaining in specific industries or with specific companies, and workers and unions will continue to press for substantial gains in 1986 negotiations. Also, as shown in Table E, the majority of deferred wage increases negotiated in previous years and set to go into effect in 1986 are in the 3-6 percent range, not including scheduled COLAs. This is likely to provide a substantial increase in the real wages of those workers.

Comparable Worth

"Comparable worth" and "pay equity," as issues for collective bargaining, clearly began to gain momentum in 1985 with a series of important victories. Despite a recommendation from the conservative U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that the federal government should not encourage or impose the concept of comparable worth on employers, it has emerged in 1985 as a winning strategy in both organizing and collective bargaining. This issue appears to be a classic example of a progressive social change getting its earliest and most crucial support and furtherance through the efforts of workers, unions and the collective bargaining process.

In January 1985, the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees (HERE) negotiated a contract with Yale University that addressed the issue of comparable worth in several ways. The union demonstrated that within the bargaining unit blacks and women were both paid less than whites and men doing comparable work. This was the case even though blacks and women had, on average, greater seniority. HERE maintained that not only was there internal discrimination, but also that the bargaining unit was underpaid as a whole due to its primarily female composition.

The new contract eliminates the lowest salary grade, shifting all workers in the lowest grade into the next higher grade. (Virtually all these workers were female and a majority were black.) Promotion from one salary step to another is now automatic and based on seniority. Prior to this settlement, most workers had little opportunity to progress

through the 11 salary steps, and this provision is designed to reduce dramatically the male-female, black-white pay differentials. The combination of grade and salary increases will bring the salaries of HERE members up to a range of $13,400 to $18,000 by the end of 3-year contract, according to HERE estimates.

The Machinists' strategy of coordinated bargaining with General Dynamics in Pomona, Calif., succeeded in turning the tide against the two-tier wage schedule that had been in effect during the previous 3-year contract. As a result of this victory for pay equity, all employees doing the same type of work will be brought into wage parity.

The settlements won by the State, County & Municipal Employees and the Service Employees with the City of Los Angeles resolved a complaint the unions had filed in 1981 with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The contract provides pay equity adjustments of 11 percent to 15 percent, which will go to most employees in female-dominated job classifications. These payments are to reduce gender-based wage differentials and will be paid as a supplement to the 9 percent increase won for all employees covered by the accord. The employees who received the special pay increases are overwhelmingly in clerical and librarian positions. The agreement seeks to equalize their pay with maintenance workers, gardener caretakers, and other employees in jobs found to be of comparable worth.

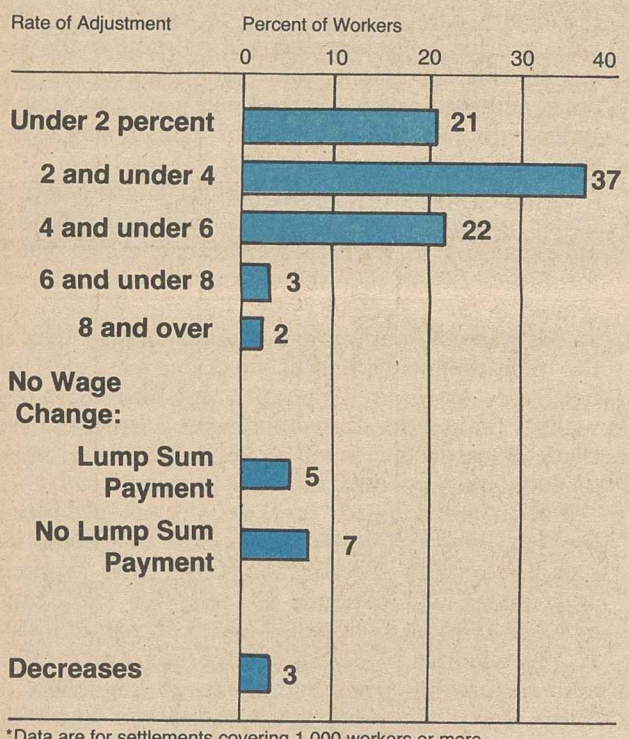
AFSCME and SEIU negotiated pay equity adjustments with Los Angeles County as well, gaining an additional 3 percent for 140 workers, above the 12.5 percent negotiated for the entire bargaining unit. AFSCME also won pay equity adjustments of 3.5 percent of payroll for its unit of clerical and social and human services employees of the State of Connecticut. The union also negotiated pay equity adjustments of 3 percent to 15 percent for approximately half its members employed by the the State of Minnesota. The Connecticut State Employees Association (CSEA) and AFSCME signed 3-year contracts with the state stipulating that in each of the second and third years, 1 percent of the payroll will be designated for pay equity upgrades. In its first agreement with the City of Chicago, AFSCME negotiated a contract that upgraded 79 job classifications and provided supplementary pay increases to 3,500 mostly female employees.

As a prelude to negotiations with both the Massachusetts Board of Regents and the City of Minneapolis over pay equity or comparable worth, AFSCME secured contract provisions requiring the establishment of joint committees to study the issue. A joint labor-management Job Evaluation Committee was also established in the AFSCME contract with Chicago to recommend further adjustments.

As part of a new contract signed this year with the University of New Haven, the SEIU will take part in a joint committee to study job classsifications, with special attention focused on pay equity. A fund of 2 percent of payroll costs will be available next July 1 to increase salaries of misclassified employees.

Chart A

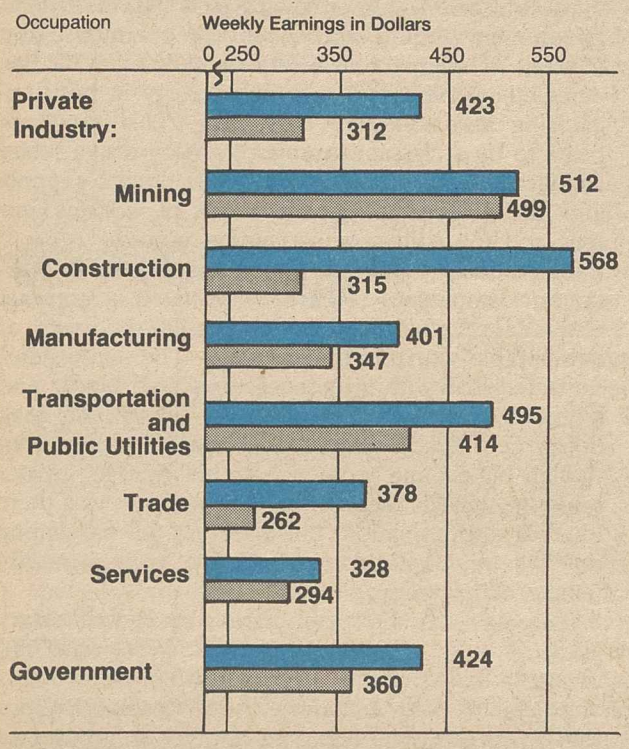
Average Annual Wage Adjustments over the Life of the Contract, 1985*



*Data are for settlements covering 1,000 workers or more.
SOURCE: BLS

Chart B

1985 Median Weekly Earnings: Union and Nonunion Compared



SOURCE: BLS Household Data

New Paid Holiday

The national holiday celebrating the memory of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was added as a vacation day or paid holiday in several contracts negotiated in 1985 by, among others, AFSCME locals in Missouri, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and in Jacksonville, Fla.; the Amalgamated Transit Union in Marlewood, N.J., and Los Angeles; Retail, Wholesale, & Dept. Store Union at Bloomingdale's department store in New York; and the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees in Southern California. The Ladies' Garment Workers in New York signed a contract with the Plastic & Metal Manufacturers' Association providing for Dr. King's birthday off beginning in 1988. In a new contract settled by arbitration between the U.S. Postal Service and the Letter Carriers, the Postal Workers and the Laborers, Martin Luther King Jr. Day was added as a tenth holiday. The Clothing & Textile Workers in New York won the day off for members covered by agreements in the children's clothing industry and with sportswear manufacturers. The Electrical Workers at the Potomac Electric Power Co. in Washington and the Power & Water Division of Los Angeles also will receive Dr. King's birthday as an extra paid holiday.

Job Security

To forestall companies' efforts to move production either overseas or to non-union regions in order to exploit low-wage labor forces, union members in the United States have sought contract language that protects jobs and provides funding for retraining in the event of permanent layoffs. The scourge of plant closings in some manufacturing industries has resulted in some trade-offs between pay increases and job security. Plant closings, however, are not the only phenomenon against which union members must protect themselves. Contracting out and technological displacement, along with capital flight, pose serious threats to the employment security of working people and, as such, figured prominently at the bargaining table this year.

In the electronics industry, substantial job security provisions were won in new contracts negotiated with the General Electric and Westinghouse Corporations by the Coordinated Bargaining Committee of GE & Westinghouse Unions, which includes the Electronic Workers, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Machinists, Automobile Workers, Allied Industrial Workers, Steelworkers, Carpenters, Sheet Metal Workers, Flint Glass Workers, Plumbers & Pipefitters, Firemen & Oilers, and the unaffiliated United Electrical Workers and Teamsters.

The GE and Westinghouse agreements expand the coverage of the Job and Income Security program to include not only production workers, but salaried, maintenance, and service shop workers and those who suffer directly from cutbacks and plant closings. Recall rights of laid-off workers were improved and the program provides GE workers with transfer rights to any of three GE plants within 250 miles of the plant where layoffs occur, 39 weeks (instead of 26 weeks) of guaranteed pay for workers affected by job losses resulting from contracting out or technological displacement, and an immediate pension plus a $5,000 bonus for employees age 60 or above with 15 years of service who elect to be considered for early retirement in lieu of "bumping" a shorter-service worker. Those aged 55-60 with 25 years of service can receive 50 percent pay continuation until they become eligible for pension or social security benefits. Education and training subsidies for displaced workers were increased to $3,000 from $1,800.

The Food & Commercial Workers negotiated one-year job guarantees with Wilson Foods Corp. even if a plant, division or department is closed. Further job security provisions of the contract include six months advance notice of plant closings, continuation of health care benefits for six months after layoffs due to plant closings, job retraining for dislocated workers and relocation assistance for six months after closings. When a closing is pending, the company must hire a union-designated counselor who will discuss with workers, on company time, the various types of assistance available under the contract and in the community. The counselor will also be available to help workers for up to six months after a closing. In addition to a guarantee of a 36-hour workweek, the UFCW won an agreement that freezes corporate officers' salaries during 1986 and 1987 unless profits go over $5 million.

The UAW also made job security a top priority in the union's negotiations with several automobile companies. The era of concessions for Chrysler workers came to a happy ending this year with the signing of a new contract which restores parity with compensation at General Motors and Ford. In terms of job security, the Chrysler agreement requires the company to set aside a fund of $187 million to protect employees with at least one year of service from layoffs due to automation, out-sourcing, shifting of work from one plant to another, or negotiated productivity increases. The fund will be used to pay affected employees wage rates they had prior to the displacement and will allow them to continue to accrue pension credits and receive all benefits. As in the GM and Ford agreements of 1984, affected workers will have the opportunity to be placed in retraining programs or temporary assignments and have preferential access to new job openings in other plants. The UAW also negotiated a job security program at American Motors in Milwaukee and Kenosha, Wis., that includes a promise to keep the plants open for the remaining life of two AMC car models, the Encore and the Alliance. Auto workers in Toledo, Ohio, who produce Jeeps also won establishment of a $16 million job security program patterned after those won by the union throughout the industry.

The job security provisions outlined in the UAW pact with General Motors for the Saturn plant, which is slated to begin production in 1989, constitute some of the most distinctive and unusual aspects of the tentative agreement reached this year. The accord marks a departure from the type of contracts that have prevailed in the auto industry since the inception of the UAW in 1935, especially in terms of the prominence given to the issues of job security and worker input into decision-making. In the initial years, workers in the Saturn plant will receive 80 percent of the industry standard wage in return for contract language promising life-time employment for 80 percent of production workers. The workers protected by the job security language will be called "full members," and will not be laid off "except in situations arising from unforeseen or catastrophic events or severe economic conditions." The Saturn agreement, however, is not set in concrete. Indeed, extreme flexibility is built in. For example, the interpretation of "catastrophic events" may be decided by joint labor-management committees which have the prerogative of rejecting layoffs in favor of reduced work hours or a temporary shutdown.

The UAW's agreement with the New United Motor Manufacturing Inc. (NUMMI), the joint venture of GM and Toyota in Fremont, Calif., makes job security a central issue. Before any employee represented by the union may be laid off, the accord obliges the company to cut the salaries of officers and management staff and restore to the bargaining unit any work that has been contracted out. Layoffs will be a last resort, allowed only after the company demonstrates that its long-term viability is in danger. The UAW secured contract language guaranteeing the union access to confidential corporate financial data to verify these claims, should they arise.

The precarious situation of many airlines in the wake of deregulation put job security at the top of the bargaining agenda for many unions in the airline industry this year. The Transport Workers' new contract with Pan American World Airways has job security and severance provisions that include a $5,000 supplemental moving bonus, a $5,000-$15,000 buyout of mechanics to terminate employment, payments of up to $30,000 with continued benefits if displaced by a commissary closing, and

guaranteed permanent employment to all workers on the payroll after Jan. 1, 1986. The Transport Workers' contract with American Airlines also contains a no-layoffs clause. The Airline Pilots and Machinists forged an agreement with Carl Icahn on the terms of his takeover of TWA with a promise from Icahn not to sell TWA to Frank Lorenzo—who had established his anti-union credentials at Texas Air, New York Air and Continental—and not to lay off large numbers of employees.

The Association of Flight Attendants reached an agreement with United Airlines that guarantees job protection in the event of United being taken over or merged. It also brings into the bargaining unit the flight attendants from Pan Am's Pacific routes that United recently took over. In another job security provision of the contract, the number of foreign nationals who can be used on Asian routes was limited to 1.5 percent, with foreign nationals to be laid off first in the event of job reductions. The agreement includes an "early-out" option of a $30,000 lump sum if an attendant has ten years or more of service when leaving the company.

The detailed job classification systems that have been a standard job protection feature of many labor contracts in the past are another source of security that employers have sought to undermine under the banner of "flexibility." Protecting the right of union members to impose limits on management's ability to downgrade tasks or combine several jobs into one is an important aspect of job security. The Communications Workers won increased job security from Ohio Bell after members in Cleveland opposed the company's attempt to erode the service representative job classification. The company staffed its "Dial One Plus" operations (the name given to the long distance options made available by the breakup of AT&T) with operators and clerks paid at a lower rate than was customary for employees whose duties involved explaining services to clients. The issue was resolved when the international union intervened and forced the company to phase out the Dial One Plus office and hire new service representatives to do the work.

In an effort to discourage both outsourcing and the use of excessive overtime, the UAW signed a new contract with International Harvester containing a novel and promising formula for protecting the jobs of the 8,000 members employed there. The job security provision comes in the form of a six-year "Job Content Preservation Program" that requires a minimum "union content" in all products manufactured by the company. The program calls for a calculation of the union labor time currently embodied in each unit of Harvester's production and aims to maintain that same level in future production. This "job content level" will be measured for a one-year base period ending March 1985 and will become the target for future production. This target, however, will be adjusted each year by 4 percent to account for productivity increases, whether or not they actually occur.

If the UAW hours worked fall below the target level, the company has six months to make up the difference. This obligation may be met in a number of ways: laid-off workers can be recalled, less overtime may be scheduled, work previously contracted out can be brought "in-house," extra paid holidays can be declared, training programs may be instituted, or extra money may be given to the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits Fund. (Overtime is discouraged because overtime hours are not counted as UAW work hours and cannot be used to meet the obligations set forth in the contract).

The Clothing & Textile Workers' new contract with J.P. Stevens put job security at the top of the list of bargaining priorities because of the vulnerability of jobs in the textile industry to imports from low-wage countries. The settlement won improved layoff recall procedures, increased severance pay, and training provisions. Job security will continue to dominate the concerns of textile workers whose livelihoods are threatened by the continuing flood of imports encouraged by the Reagan Administration's trade policies.

The Machinists working at General Dynamics in Pomona, Calif., won new contract language that requires the creation of a joint union-management committee to consider the employment effects of the introduction of new labor-saving technology.

Contract clauses that provide for joint deliberations on issues of new technology also appeared in several contracts negotiated by the Service Employees. As part of their first contract, SEIU members who work at the Cook County, Ill., Recorder of Deeds and Sheriff's Departments will receive three months' advance notice of any technological change. The contract signed by SEIU with the City of Boston also requires notification of the union prior to the introduction of new technology.

SEIU negotiated several contracts in the health care industry as well which contain strong job security language. In a contract with Alta-Bates in San Francisco, the union negotiated the establishment of joint labor-management committees for worker retraining and placement in the event of layoffs. Numerous SEIU contracts in the health care industry included stronger rules on job bidding, bumping and filling of vacancies. In addition, restrictions on the use of volunteers, student workers, and part-time workers were negotiated in several contracts as a means to preserve jobs. Such employment, the union charged, undermines the pay and and conditions of both full and part-time employees.

Health Care Cost Containment

Contract provisions aimed at health care cost containment continued to be prevalent in 1985. Settlements covering more than 400,000 workers included incentives to hold down the costs of treatment and insurance. Keeping the price of health insurance down is clearly in the interests of working people, especially since many companies have used rising costs, as well as rising public concern over the issue, in attempts to justify reduced employee coverage or the shifting of premium costs to workers instead of adopting cost saving strategies.

The Rubber Workers, in a contract with Uniroyal covering 36,000 workers, adopted several cost saving provisions that do not reduce the amount or level of coverage. The agreement requires precertification review for non-emergency hospital confinements, second opinions for certain types of surgery, X-rays and laboratory tests performed on an outpatient basis in non-emergency situations, and a novel provision to fill most prescriptions through a mail-order pharmaceutical service. The URW also signed a new contract with Goodyear that gives workers a choice between a comprehensive medical plan that includes a savings program and a "medical necessity" program featuring no deductibles or worker co-payments. Workers at Goodyear will now also have access to a newly instituted "wellness" program, featuring periodic examinations, automobile seat-belt use campaigns, stop-smoking clinics and stress reduction assistance.

Workers represented by unions in the CBC settlements with Westinghouse and GE won several health care cost saving measures as well as benefit improvements that include an increase in weekly sickness and accident benefits (to $250), an increase in the number of sick leave days that can be carried over from year to year (from 20 to 30), a new vision plan, improved dental benefits (including orthodontia for dependents), and full payment for generic brand drugs. The cost containment procedures include higher deductibles ($100 for individuals and $250 for a worker and dependents), mandatory second opinions for non-emergency surgery, precertification of hospital admission in non-emergency situations, and reviews to determine the medically appropriate length of hospital stay and the level of care. Workers belonging to the IBEW, IUE, and the IAM reached agreements containing similar health care cost containment provisions with the electronics division of Rockwell International.

The American Federation of Teachers local in Pittsburgh instituted cost-saving items in its health insurance program, as part of a new contract settled a year before the old agreement was to expire.

Reduction in Hours

The Graphic Communications International Union continued to win reductions in hours for a considerable number of members. The standard full-time workweek was reduced to 35 hours under GCIU settlements in Seattle, Philadelphia, and New York; to 32.5 hours in Newark, N.J., and to 37.5 hours in Chattanooga, Tenn., Evansville, Ind., and Salt Lake City.

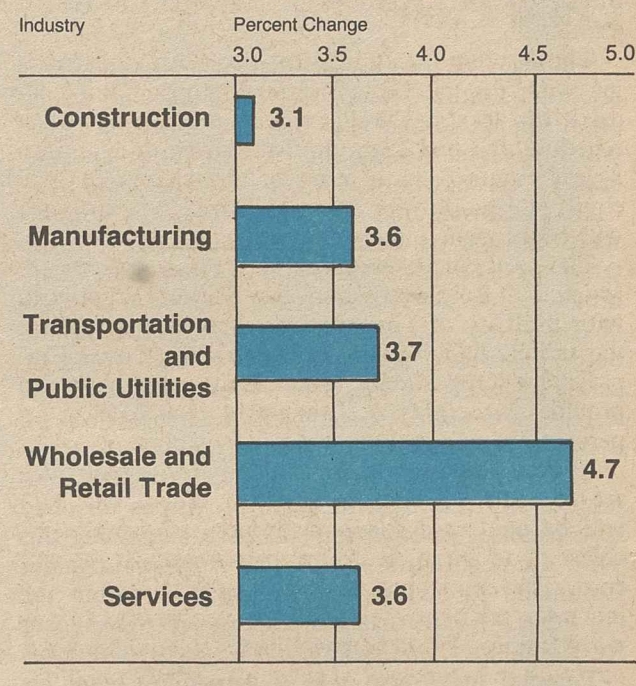
COPE Checkoffs

The Machinists' Non-Partisan Political League should receive a boost from a new provision in its contract covering 4,000 members at General Dynamics in Pomona, Calif. Weekly checkoffs of voluntary contributions to the MNPPL became a part of the contract for the first time, at no cost to the IAM, thereby facilitating fund-raising for union political action.

The UAW's PAC will continue to receive contributions from members at the Chrysler Corp., which will be collected free of charge to the union by means of voluntary checkoffs. The emergence of voluntary political action or COPE contribution checkoffs as a feature of many collective bargaining agreements shows that members support active involvement of their unions in local, state, and federal elections and debates over public policy issues that affect all aspects of their lives. Contract clauses that strengthen the funding of union political action pro-

Chart C

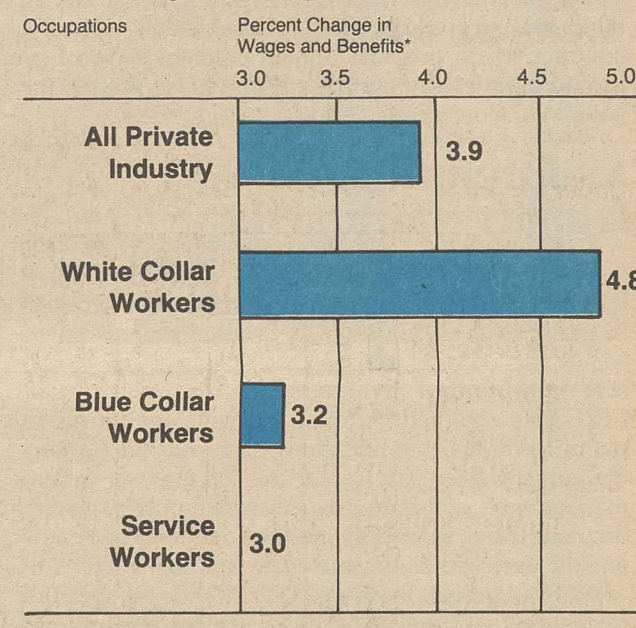
First Year Wage and Salary Increases in 1985, by Industry



SOURCE: BLS

Chart D

Wage and Benefit Increases in 1985, by Occupation

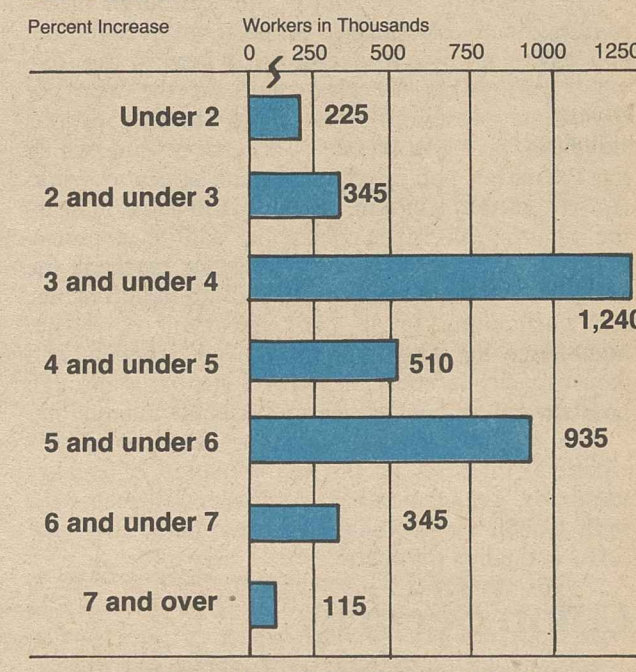


*Benefits include: paid leave, supplemental/premium pay, insurance, pension and savings plans, Social Security insurance, and unemployment insurance and other legally required insurance, severance pay, stock ownership, profit sharing, and employee discounts. Tips, room and board, and in-kind payments are excluded. Data are from Employment Cost Index, for the 12 months ending December 1985.

SOURCE: BLS

Chart E

Deferred Wage Adjustments in 1986*



Total number of increases 3,715

*Workers are distributed according to the average adjustment for all workers in each bargaining situation considered. Deferred wage increases include guaranteed minimum adjustments under COLA clauses, but do not include variable, negotiated COLAs.

grams thus assure that the voice of organized labor is heard on all issues, including labor law, tax law, trade policy, educational policy, regulation of industry, and myriad other political issues.

Child Care

Members of nine unions that make up the Hotel & Motel Trades Council of New York won an unusual benefit in the new five-year contract signed with the Hotel Association of New York—nursery care for the newborn children of employees.

In California, the SEIU negotiated a contract with the state on behalf of registered nurses under which a State Labor-Management Child Care Committee with equal representation from each side will develop plans for a system of non-profit corporations to provide child care services that would receive funding from the state. A revolving fund will also be established to fund child care services for dependent children of state employees.

The American Federation of Government Employees won the right to make provisions for child care facilities an issue for collective bargaining this year. In negotiations with the Airport Logistics Command (a civilian-staffed operation within the Air Force), AFGE obtained employer-provided space for a child day care facility, to be run by the union.

Parental leave also was a bargaining issue for several SEIU locals in the health care industry. Nurses represented by SEIU at the San Francisco Dept. of Public Health now have the right to maternity leave, along with the right to use sick leave and vacation time in their maternity leave. Child care leave of up to one year also may be granted to any parent of a newly born or legally adopted child up to age five. Female nurses negotiating with the City of Boston won the right to maternity leave for up to one year after delivery, without losing any of their seniority rights. SEIU Local 1000 signed a contract which provides unpaid parental leave of up to one year to any permanent employee who is the parent of a newborn child.

Maintenance of Quality Standards

The preservation of professional standards of quality has become an issue of great concern to workers in the health care industry as hospital managements across the country respond to demands for health care cost control by attempting to reduce staff. SEIU has obtained contract language for nurses in many locations that addresses this issue. In California, at the Medical Center of Tarzana, a union-management committee is to meet monthly to recommend ways to improve patient care and to review patient care standards related to staffing. SEIU Local 285's contract with the City of Boston specifies that nurses will not be asked to assume responsibilities beyond their level of competence, that supervision will always be available, and that a joint committee will meet bimonthly to discuss staffing problems and devise ongoing criteria to determine staffing needs. The administration must respond in writing to committee recommendations, explaining its reasons for accepting or rejecting the proposals.

SEIU contracts with the Methodist Medical Center of Oak Ridge, Tenn., the McKeesport Hospital in Pennsylvania, and Runnymede Hospital also include provisions for the establishment of joint labor-management committees to act on the issues of adequate staffing and assignment of duties in accordance with the employees' skills.

The Teachers' new contract in Pittsburgh incorporates issues of quality, professional recognition, and having a voice in decisions on how to improve what goes on in the classroom. At the heart of these new provisions is a set of "teacher professionalism/peer involvement" criteria toward which the Pittsburgh public school system agrees to work. As part of the program, teachers will have increasing input into decisions concerning staff development, in-service training, evaluation roles for teachers, the budget impact of administrator staffing requirements, and curriculum. In all, the effect will be to acknowledge the professional status of teachers and their capacity to effect meaningful standards through peer review and increased professional interaction.

The UAW's Saturn agreement also recognizes workers' interests in the maintenance of quality standards, giving members of production teams the right to halt the production process when they perceive a quality infraction.

Union Security

Agency shop provisions at both General Electric and Westinghouse constituted a major victory for the 13-union Coordinated Bargaining Committee led by the IUE. The unions estimate that the new policy, which requires non-union workers either to become union members or pay dues to the union for its services, will bring in thousands of new members. Winning increased union security via an agency shop provision during this round of negotiations was especially significant in the light of GE's long history of reluctance to accept the fact that active unionism was there to stay. Westinghouse, on the other hand, attempted to frame its 1985 negotiations with the CBC around the theme that it no longer considered itself a competitor of GE and that the concept of an "industry pattern" was an anachronism for the electronics/electrical machinery sector. However, solidarity among the CBC unions produced contracts with both companies that were virtually identical. Each provided wage, pension, health benefit, and leave improvements, in addition to the agency shop.

In the construction industry, the Detroit Buildings Trades Council signed a contract with Kajima International, Inc. to build the $450-million Mazda auto assembly plant in Flat Rock, Mich. The construction project will use only union building trades crafts, and wages and benefits will match those established in local contracts.

Unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. also reached agreement with the Morrison-Knudsen Company Inc. to have the $3.5-billion plant of GM's Saturn Project built by union labor. Wages and benefits will be determined by a joint review committee and will be based on the Construction Labor Research Council's Southeastern States Survey.

Agency shop provisions also were won by AFSCME in agreements with the Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio, public schools.

Health and Safety

The SEIU won improved safeguards for users of video display terminals (VDTs) in negotiations over technological change and worker safety. Improvements in contract language came primarily in two areas: the right for pregnant users of VDTs to transfer and increasing union control over the purchase of new equipment. At the University of New Haven, SEIU members won the right to a ten-minute break after 50 minutes of continuous work at a VDT and the right to temporary transfer away from VDT use during pregnancy without loss of pay, seniority, or other benefits. A newly formed joint committee on health and safety will have authority to make recommendations about the purchase of new equipment, and a $15,000 fund was established to pay for modifications to already purchased equipment, training and medical care for VDT users.

In an agreement with the City of Boston, SEIU members in the clerical-technical unit also won the right to transfer during pregnancy. The union will also be notified and its concerns considered and discussed whenever new technology is to be introduced. The contract also includes mandatory breaks for VDT users and an agreement by the city to purchase equipment in accordance with minimum specified standards for comfort, health and safety.

The SEIU also won a two-hour limit on consecutive VDT use in its negotiations with the University of Illinois in Chicago. In Santa Clara County, Calif., SEIU members in the school system's technical and business services unit won extensive language covering health and safety aspects of VDT use. Reimbursement for the cost of eye examinations beyond that covered by standard health benefits will be provided to workers who use a VDT for 50 percent or more of their workday. They will also be assured 15-minute breaks for every two hours of continuous VDT use, periodic inspection of VDT equipment, the right to request transfer during pregnancy, glare shields for all VDTs, and lap shields upon request. In addition, any new equipment purchased must meet ergonomic and safety standards.

These are some of the key developments in collective bargaining that took place in 1985, particularly those events that appear to be new trends that have emerged from major bargaining situations. While the gains reported correspond to the unique needs and capacities of the workers and companies involved, they set the stage for future negotiations and demonstrate that workers and their unions are continuing to make considerable progress through collective bargaining. In addition to the contracts described here, unions representing thousands of other workers throughout the country who negotiated in 1985 made important gains in wages and benefits, some unique and not found in the major contracts. During 1986, union contract settlements large and small will continue to secure improvements for working men and women.

1986 Collective Bargaining Schedule

Major contract negotiations this year

STEEL: **The Steelworkers' contracts with the major steel companies expire in August. The companies have announced their intention to abandon pattern bargaining and negotiate separate contracts.**

TELEPHONE COMMUNICATION: **The Communication Workers and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers are bargaining with A.T.&T. and the new regional companies for the first time since the breakup of the corporation. The national agreement expires in August.**

CONSTRUCTION: **Agreements covering 606,000 construction workers (57 percent of all construction workers under major contracts) will expire between April and June.**

PETROLEUM REFINING: **Contracts of the Oil, Chemical, & Atomic Workers, the Operating Engineers, the Seafarers, and some independent unions with the major oil refining companies expired in January.**

ALUMINUM: **The Steelworkers and the Aluminum, Brick & Glass Workers' contracts with major aluminum companies are set to expire in May. Bargaining with the three largest companies—ALCOA, Reynolds Metals, and Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Co.—is expected to set the industry pattern.**

Other negotiations

HEALTH CARE: **The Service Employees' contract with the Greater New York Health Care Facilities Association expired in March. The Retail, Wholesale, & Dept. Store Union's contract with the 50-member League of Voluntary Hospitals and Nursing Homes in New York City expires in August. In the past, these two contracts have set patterns for almost 20,000 additional health care workers in the area.**

FOOD STORES: **Key contracts of the Food & Commercial Workers with foodstore chains in California, New Jersey, New York, and Illinois expire over a period from February to September.**

FARM MACHINERY: **The Auto Workers' contracts with Caterpillar, Deere, and Klockmen Humboldt-Deutz of West Germany are set to expire in June.**

COPPER: **In May, a coalition of unions led by the Steelworkers will negotiate with major copper companies including Kennecott Corp., Magma Copper, Inspiration Consolidated Copper, American Smelting & Refining Co., and U.S. Metals Co.**

LONGSHORING: **The Longshoremen's Association will negotiate new contracts for 50,000 dockworkers in 36 East and Gulf Coast ports. Current contracts expire in September.**

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT: **239 major state and local government contracts are due to expire during 1986. Workers in public education constitute the largest bloc of employees (273,000) for whom new agreements will be negotiated.**

CAN: **National agreements between the Machinists and American Can Co. and Continental Can expired in February and March.**

Catholic body decries unemployment tragedy, calls for 'family wage'

Assailing the "tragic problem of unemployment," the Catholic church has issued a sweeping document that stresses the need for job creation, the payment of a "family wage" that will support workers and their dependents, and "the use of capital to promote the common good."

The "Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation" was issued by the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and released in the United States by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

"The solution of most of the serious problems related to poverty is to be found in the promotion of a true civilization of work," the 15,000-word document declared, calling for "a culture which recognizes the eminent dignity of the worker."

Pointing out that "unemployment keeps large sectors of the population, and notably the young," in marginal economic conditions, the Catholic church insisted that "the creation of jobs is a primary social task facing individuals and private enterprise, as well as the state."

Wages "cannot be considered as a mere commodity," the Vatican document emphasized, and must be sufficient so that workers and their families "have access to a truly human standard of living in the material, social, cultural and spiritual orders."

Human dignity

Declaring that "it is the dignity of the person which constitutes the criterion for judging work, not the other way around," the church said that "over and above a sharing in the fruits of work," employees should be allowed involvement in project planning and defining job responsibilities.

The Vatican document called for a system of labor-management relations that would bring about "a profound and peaceful revolution in people's outlooks and in institutional and political structures." It put particular stress on the need for "a sense of solidarity involving not only rights to be defended but also the duties to be performed."

In what was regarded as an obvious reference to the pay equity campaign sweeping the United States, the church said that "the value of any human work does not depend on the kind of work done; it is based on the fact that the one who does it is a person." The document called this "an ethical criterion whose implications cannot be overlooked."

The Vatican sharply admonished management on its responsibilities to society, not merely to its stockholders, asserting:

Management obligations

"The priority of work over capital places an obligation in justice upon employers to consider the welfare of the workers before the increase of profits. They have a moral obligation not to keep capital unproductive and in making investments to think first of the common good. The latter requires a prior effort to consolidate jobs or create new ones in the production of goods that are really useful.

"The right to private property is inconceivable without responsibilities to the common good. It is subordinated to the higher principle which states that goods are meant for all."

Calling for "reforms before it is too late," the document declared that "access for everyone to the goods needed for a human, personal and family life worthy of the name is a primary demand of social justice" in industry and "in a particular way in the area of agricultural work" where poverty is so widespread.

The "serious socio-economic problems" around the globe call for "new fronts of solidarity," the document went on—"solidarity of the poor among themselves, solidarity with the poor to which the rich are called, solidarity among the workers and with the workers." Institutions, social organizations and government, "must share in a general movement of solidarity," it added.

The church emphasized that solidarity also embraces "the responsibilities of the richer countries toward the poorer ones," declaring that "social justice" dictates assistance to the developing countries.

Call for solidarity

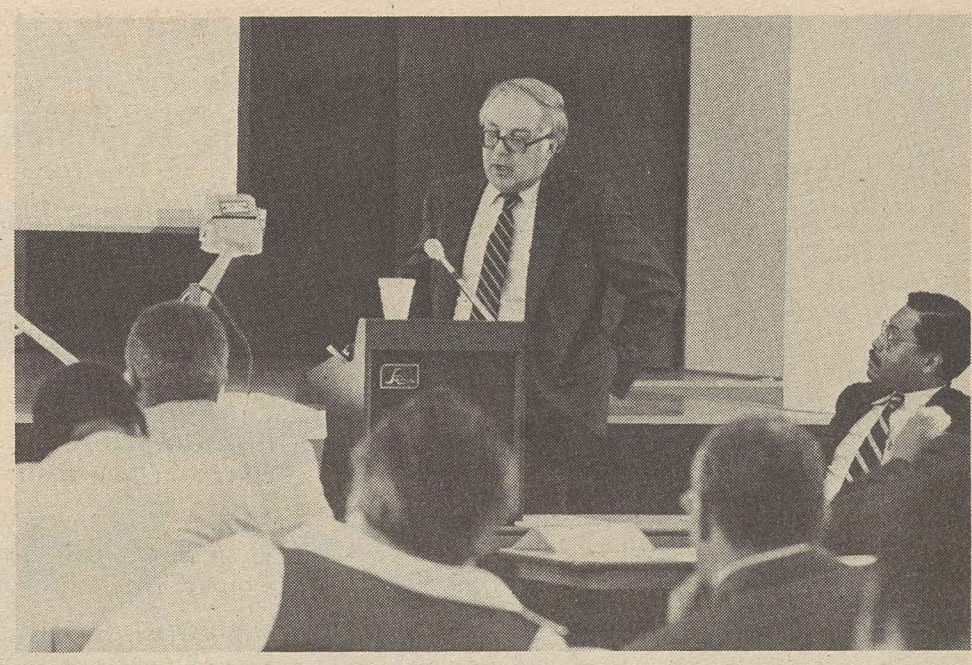
International solidarity "is a necessity of the moral order," the church said. "It is essential not only in cases of extreme urgency but also for aiding true development. This is a shared task, which requires a concerted and constant effort to find concrete technical solutions and also to create a new mentality among our contemporaries. World peace depends on this to a great extent."

In its treatment on Catholic social doctrine, the Instruction also dealt with the issue of political oppression, criticizing governments which permit "violence exercised by the powerful against the poor and arbitrary action by the police."

At the same time, it deplored the "systematic recourse to violence" employed by those trying to overthrow tyrannical governments, declaring:

"One can never approve, whether perpetrated by established power or insurgents, crimes such as reprisals against the general population, torture or methods of terrorism and deliberate provocation aimed at causing deaths during popular demonstrations."

The document was signed by Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, prefect of the Vatican doctrinal congregation, and Archbishop Alberto Bovone, the congregation's secretary. It was presented as a "companion piece" to a 1984 instruction dealing with liberation theology.



AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald reviews employment and the economy at the federation's Civil Rights Institute.

Rights institute presses goals of working women, minorities

America's workers deserve better treatment than they have received at the hands of the Reagan Administration, Electronic Workers President William Bywater declared in his keynote address to the AFL-CIO's 17th annual Civil Rights Institute.

Bywater pressed labor's case for economic and fair trade policies that would keep jobs in the United States, instead of allowing corporations to chase after the lowest wages, fewest safety laws and weakest environmental restrictions.

Bywater's remarks opened the weeklong conference at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, where nearly 100 delegates from 29 unions met to review the civil rights gains made by women and minority workers and to map future strategies.

Federation Civil Rights Director Richard Womack charged that the Reagan Administration abandoned "this country's principles of freedom and justice for all" by dismantling vital social programs that benefit minority workers and women, pushing an additional 1.5 million persons into poverty. The Administration continues its assault on civil rights achievements by appointing individuals to such programs as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "officials who oppose the very program they have been chosen to direct," he declared. "We cry for quality appointments and we get exterminators."

Womack called the civil rights movement a fight not for "black or white or brown Americans" but "a struggle for the heart and soul of America," and urged that the mutual efforts that brought about the Civil Rights Act and other landmark achievements be continued and strengthened.

That theme was sounded by other conference speakers including Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); Alfredo Montoya, executive director of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement; Mary Frances Berry, member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission; Frederick O'Neal, president of the Actors & Artistes; Norman Hill, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Rabbi David Sapperstein.

Changing workforce

AFL-CIO Vice President John J. Sweeney reviewed the federation's report, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," noting that women and minority workers now make up the fastest growing segment in today's workforce. These workers not only benefit most from unionization because they traditionally are underpaid, but will "help the labor movement grow in the years ahead," he said.

Sweeney, who is president of the Service Employees, said the service sector promises "great potential" for union organizing drives, but he acknowledged that such campaigns are difficult. Still, he said, "our black nursing home workers and Hispanic building service members have benefitted from our efforts."

He outlined the labor movement's campaigns for child care and pay equity and opposing wage discrimination, declaring that these efforts are necessary to "meet the special needs of different groups of workers."

The conference program included seminars on affirmative action, pay equity, and rights of the handicapped. An update on South Africa and anti-apartheid activities was presented by Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, and Nana Mohama of the federation's African-American Labor Center.

Other speakers at the institute included AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert McGlotten, COPE Director John Perkins, Research Director Rudy Oswald, and IUE Education Director Gloria Johnson.

JLC convention condemns Reagan's anti-labor policies

New York—The Reagan Administration came under a two-pronged assault at the biennial convention of the Jewish Labor Committee for "attacking and eroding the rights of workers" and for using the budget process to slash existing social programs.

Rep. William H. Gray III (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Budget Committee, accused Reagan of "playing 'Dirty Harry' and pointing his veto gun" at Congress in an effort to make social programs pay the price for an unprecedented arms buildup.

In its five years in office, Gray told delegates, the Administration has doubled the national debt, driving it up to the "astronomical" $2-trillion level, "depleting the pocketbooks of workers, senior citizens, the poor and minorities."

Delegates roared their approval of a resolution blaming Reagan for creating an "officially sanctioned anti-labor atmosphere" that has "encouraged the most short-sighted and selfish employers and corporations to attack unions and reduce workers' rights to form and join unions."

The convention voiced the JLC's support for the Machinists' efforts to win a fair and equitable settlement in the two-year-old strike against El Al Airlines and reaffirmed its backing for the AFL-CIO boycott of the carrier until a new contract is negotiated.

Labor's concerns

Delegates also adopted resolutions dealing with the economy, South Africa, the Middle East, Soviet Jewry and terrorism. Resolutions Committee Chairman Bert Seidman, director of the AFL-CIO Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security Dept., said the resolutions reflected labor's position on human rights and equal opportunity.

In a message to the convention, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland hailed the JLC for its role as a bridge between the labor movement and the Jewish community and for being "unswerving in adherence to the quest for liberty and justice."

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres sent a cable praising the organization's role in "forging the strong alliance between the Israeli and American labor movements," noting that unions in both nations share "the values of social justice, democracy and the importance of free trade unionism."

Herb Magidson, secretary-treasurer of the New York State United Teachers and a vice president of the Teachers, was re-elected president of the JLC. Also re-elected were Morton Bahr, president of the Communications Workers as treasurer and AFT President Albert Shanker as secretary.

Conference cancelled over bargaining stall

A national conference on "Work and Family," cosponsored by the Labor Dept. and the Bureau of National Affairs, was cancelled when participants from the AFL-CIO, National Association of Manufacturers and Labor Dept. said they would not cross an informational picket line set up by BNA workers.

Members of Newspaper Guild Local 35 have been stymied in their efforts to reach a contract settlement with BNA management since their contract expired Feb. 28. The union announced plans to picket during the two-day conference, scheduled for Apr. 14-15, to draw attention to BNA management's reneging on its commitment to bargain.

The AFL-CIO, at the request of the Guild local and the Labor Dept., had attempted to resolve the dispute but found that the "preconditions for negotiations" that were set by BNA management could not be accepted by "the local or any other self-respecting union."

The Labor Dept. said the conference will be rescheduled in the near future.

It will examine some concerns of the rapidly growing number of working parents, including child care, leave policies, flexible work schedules and employee assistance.

Richard Livingston dies, retired Carpenters' official

Bethesda, Md.—Richard E. Livingston, secretary of the Carpenters for 21 years until his retirement in 1978, died Apr. 14 of pulmonary and respiratory failure at Suburban Hospital. He was 73.

Livingston joined the Carpenters Buffalo Local 9 in 1938. In the 1950s, he served as a union representative on the St. Lawrence Seaway Project in upstate New York. He was first elected secretary of the international union in 1957 and re-elected at five subsequent conventions.

He also served as an officer of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Dept. and secretary and vice chairman of the federation's Secretary-Treasurers' Conference.

Legislative agenda

Machinists President William Winpisinger opens the IAM's two-day legislative conference in the nation's capital with a call for "fair taxes and fair trade." The 255 delegates heard union officers and congressional representatives discuss the problems of imports and the impact of Gramm-Rudman balanced budget requirements. The local union presidents and legislative activists spent afternoons meeting with their senators and representatives on Capitol Hill and then joined the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.'s legislative conference later in the week.

Majority rule demanded for South Africa

The AFL-CIO renewed its commitment to the peaceful transfer of power to the black majority in South Africa and urged Congress to establish a blue-ribbon commission from labor, business and government to recommend concrete steps that can be taken to achieve that goal.

Patrick J. O'Farrell, executive director of the African-American Labor Center, testified before two House Foreign Affairs subcommittees to urge "maximum pressure on South Africa to introduce meaningful and speedy reforms with the clear intent of eliminating the policy of apartheid and establishing majority rule."

O'Farrell acknowledged problems and divisions within South Africa that defy "simplistic solutions." But the positive side, he stressed, is "the unflinching determination of the black masses to rid themselves of apartheid" and "the rapid strides the black trade unions continue to make in the struggle for their human and trade union rights."

Stiffer sanctions

More pertinent measures are needed than a ban on the importation of South African gold kruggerrands into the United States, O'Farrell urged. He called for:

- Unconditional release of all trade union and political prisoners.
- Abandonment of the internal security laws under which people have been jailed and tortured.
- Ending restrictions on the movement of blacks, and a job-creation program in anticipation of the greater mobility.

O'Farrell said one of the functions of the proposed tripartite commission should be to report on the effectiveness of the executive order that President Reagan issued to forestall congressional enactment of South African sanctions.

He stressed the AFL-CIO's "long and proud record of opposition to oppression" and support for those who are "struggling to overthrow their oppressors."

The AFL-CIO's sponsorship of a consumer boycott of the Shell Oil Co., in conjunction with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, is part of labor's attack on apartheid, O'Farrell testified. He told the panel that the request for the boycott came from South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers and the Mineworkers International Federation.

Longshoremen outline goals as negotiations open

Norfolk, Va.—Wage increases and improvements in employer contributions to welfare and pension plans topped the Longshoremen's agenda as negotiations got under way here with waterfront employers from Maine to Virginia.

The union's proposals ran head-on into management demands for an immediate wage cut, a freeze on fringe benefit contributions, and sharp reductions in manning.

ILA President Thomas W. Gleason sharply assailed the employers' demands, branding the management group "the wrecking committee" and charging that the proposal would mean "worse conditions than when I first started working on the docks in 1915."

The ILA went to the table seeking to renegotiate its master agreement with all employer groups, but associations from North Carolina southward withdrew from the management steering committee.

The ILA proposal called for a $1.25-an-hour pay raise in each of the three years of the new contract—raising wages from the present $17 to $20.75 by the third year. It also asked for a 25-cent hourly boost each year in contributions to the welfare fund and an increase in pension contributions that would raise them to $4 on Oct. 1 and $4.50 in the contract's final year.

Management countered with a demand for an immediate $1-an-hour slash in wages and freezing them at the $16 level for three years. In addition to keeping welfare contributions at $2.50 an hour and pension contributions at $3.75, the employers also called for sharply reduced contributions for new workers—$1.50 an hour for pensions and 15 cents an hour for welfare benefits.

In addition, the employers called for an end to the payments they make into a job-security insurance plan that safeguards existing fringe-benefit funds and proposed that work crews on container gangs be slashed by 50 percent.

The talks are scheduled to resume in Miami on May 13.

Senate slams door on bid for punitive anti-labor law

Continued from Page 1

a strike if he didn't pay protection money can be prosecuted under the Hobbs Act, but not a striker who damaged his employer's property.

Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), a former prosecuting attorney, argued effectively in the Senate debate that state and local courts are well equipped to deal with picket-line misconduct.

A spokesman for Grassley said the vote indicated that further consideration of the legislation is "out of the picture for now."

In other developments:

- The Senate Finance Committee voted down an attempt to tax workers on the value of employer-provided life insurance and included in its still incomplete tax-reform package improvements in pension provisions that had been urged by the AFL-CIO.

The worker benefit tax, which labor strongly opposed, was beaten on a voice vote. It was proposed by Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) to offset part of the revenue losses caused by earlier committee actions to restore corporation tax loopholes the House had voted to close.

Pension changes adopted by the committee include major elements of a labor-endorsed bill that had been cosponsored by Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.) and Rep. William L. Clay (D-Mo.).

Vesting rights

As included in the Senate tax bill, single-employer pension plans would have to be vested within five years, starting in 1989. The vesting period is 10 years.

It would also assure that plans that integrate employer-provided pensions with social security don't operate so as to deprive lower-paid workers of all or most of their private pension entitlement.

The Senate committee also remedied one defect of the House-passed tax reform bill, affecting workers whose pensions were based on both worker and employer contributions. These are mostly public-sector employees, covered by the federal civil service retirement system or by various state and local pension plans.

Since the retirees have already paid taxes on their payroll deductions, present law does not tax their pension benefits until the amount they receive exceeds the sum they contributed to it. The House bill includes an Administration-sought provision to exempt only the portion of each pension payment determined to have been funded by the employee contribution. The union-supported amendment, proposed by Sen. Chafee, would keep present law.

- A labor-supported attempt to end the blacklist of air traffic controllers fired by President Reagan met a setback in the Senate. A "sense of the Senate" resolution by Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.) asking Reagan to allow the rehiring of the fired controllers to meet a critical shortage was blocked by a 57-39 vote to table it.

South African police attack unionists

Geneva—Police attacks on union members occur often in South Africa's "homeland" of Bophuthatswana, the International Metalworkers' Federation reported. Some shop stewards and rank-and-file members have been beaten by police for wearing T-shirts displaying a union emblem.

After it received reports of attacks by police on members of the Metal & Allied Workers Union and the National Automobile & Allied Workers Union, the IMF called on corporations in South Africa to publicly express their support of trade unions rights.

The latest trade union leader to be attacked was Sam Mashiani, who was removed from a bus while going home to Jericho in Bophuthstswana and beaten by police, the IMF said. Mashiani works for Lumex, an electrical company and a subsidiary of Barlow Rand. There have been a number of other assaults by police on union members and shop stewards who were caught wearing union T-shirts, according to the IMF.

"This is naked terror action by the Bophuthatswana police against trade unionists going about their lawful business," said IMF Gen. Sec. Herman Rebhan.

He said the IMF will make organizations outside South Africa aware of "this vicious anti-union campaign of violent intimidation" by the police and "we urge them, including the multinational companies, to condemn it as clearly as possible."

Rollcall vote on Hobbs Act

This is the 54-44 vote by which the Senate refused to consider an anti-union bill that would amend the Hobbs Act so that a federal anti-racketeering law could be used to prosecute strikers.

FOR LABOR'S POSITION

Democrats 39

Baucus (Mont.)	Exon (Neb.)	Kennedy (Mass.)	Moynihan (N.Y.)
Biden (Del.)	Ford (Ky.)	Kerry (Mass.)	Nunn (Ga.)
Bingaman (N.M.)	Glenn (Ohio)	Lautenberg (N.J.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Bradley (N.J.)	Gore (Tenn.)	Leahy (Vt.)	Riegle (Mich.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Harkin (Iowa)	Levin (Mich.)	Rockefeller (W.Va.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Hart (Colo.)	Long (La.)	Sarbanes (Md.)
Cranston (Calif.)	Heflin (Ala.)	Matsunaga (Hawaii)	Sasser (Tenn.)
Dixon (Ill.)	Hollings (S.C.)	Melcher (Mont.)	Simon (Ill.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Inouye (Hawaii)	Metzenbaum (Ohio)	Stennis (Miss.)
Eagleton (Mo.)	Johnston (La.)	Mitchell (Me.)	

Republicans 15

Andrews (N.D.)	Evans (Wash.)	Mathias (Md.)	Stafford (Vt.)
D'Amato (N.Y.)	Gorton (Wash.)	Murkowski (Alaska)	Stevens (Alaska)
Danforth (Mo.)	Hatfield (Ore.)	Packwood (Ore.)	Weicker (Conn.)
Durenberger (Minn.)	Heinz (Pa.)	Specter (Pa.)	

AGAINST LABOR'S POSITION

Democrats 8

Bentsen (Tex.)	Bumpers (Ark.)	DeConcini (Ariz.)	Pryor (Ark.)
Boren (Okla.)	Chiles (Fla.)	Pell (R.I.)	Zorinsky (Neb.)

Republicans 36

Abdnor (S.D.)	East (N.C.)	Kasten (Wis.)	Roth (Del.)
Armstrong (Colo.)	Garn (Utah)	Laxalt (Nev.)	Rudman (N.H.)
Boschwitz (Minn.)	Gramm (Tex.)	Lugar (Ind.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Chafee (R.I.)	Grassley (Iowa)	Mattingly (Ga.)	Symms (Ida.)
Cochran (Miss.)	Hatch (Utah)	McClure (Ida.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Cohen (Me.)	Hecht (Nev.)	McConnell (Ky.)	Trible (Va.)
Denton (Ala.)	Helms (N.C.)	Nickles (Okla.)	Wallop (Wyo.)
Dole (Kan.)	Humphrey (N.H.)	Pressler (S.D.)	Warner (Va.)
Domenici (N.M.)	Kassebaum (Kan.)	Quayle (Ind.)	Wilson (Calif.)

Absent: Goldwater (R-Ariz.), Hawkins (R-Fla.)

EDITORIALS

The Senate's Verdict

THERE NEVER was a case for distorting the intent of the Hobbs Act by turning a federal law aimed at racketeers into a weapon that employers could use against workers engaged in a lawful strike.

To make such a connection, one would have to equate a strike for higher pay with the crime of "extortion" of money from an employer. Granted, there are some employers who would scream that any union contract demand is "extortion," but the Supreme Court wisely didn't share that view.

Nevertheless, charges of union "violence" are the stock in trade of the National Right to Work Committee and the constant in the organization's fund-raising and advertising campaigns. At Senate hearings early in the Reagan Administration, it dredged up the incredible assertion that the Supreme Court decision which the Hobbs Act amendments sought to reverse had "emboldened union officials" to commit "murder."

At that 1981 hearing, the Reagan Administration gave lip service to the right-wing cause. But the Justice Dept. witness, an assistant attorney general, acknowledged that he didn't know of any crimes that have gone unprosecuted because of lack of Hobbs Act jurisdiction. Nor had he found state and local authorities "reluctant" to act against violence in labor disputes.

That's still the case, and it's the principal reason the Senate saw no good cause to change the law.

Violence and destruction of property in connection with strikes is rare, as even labor's foes must concede.

When it occurs, it is a violation of state or local law and is punished as such. If a specific federal law is violated, the offense becomes subject to prosecution under federal law. Arson or bombing, for example, are federal offenses and can be dealt with under federal law—whether committed by union members, employers or third parties.

That is as it should be. No amendment of the Hobbs Act is needed to accomplish that purpose.

The Hobbs Act is a weapon against racketeers.

Thanks to the Senate vote, it will continue to be used for that purpose.

On the merits of the debate, it is not surprising that 54 senators voted against bringing up the Hobbs Act bill.

It is surprising that 44 senators did not.

Guessing Game

THE REAGAN Administration is painting a rosy picture of economic growth for the first quarter of 1986—but it could turn out to be just as wrong as it was three months ago when it said the economy was bustling in the final quarter of 1985.

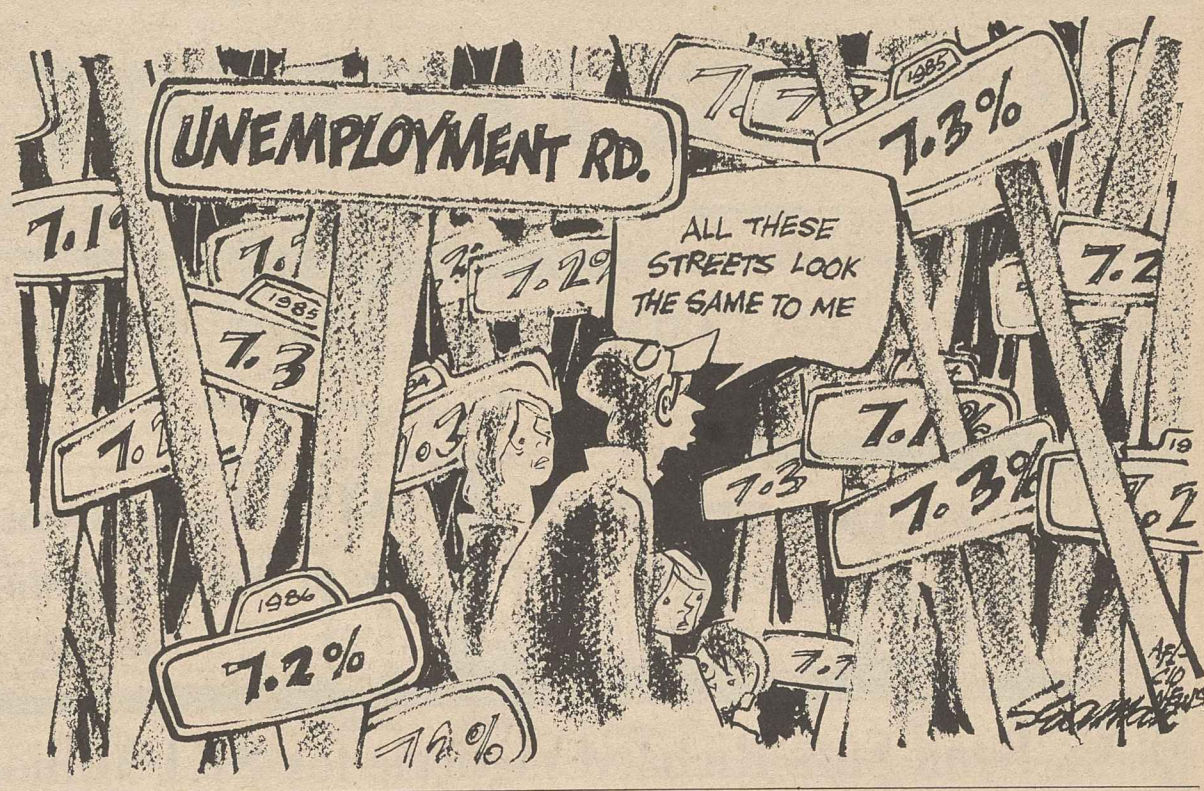
In its latest report, the government said that the gross national product grew at an annual rate of 3.2 percent in the January-March period. It was an even more optimistic scenario than the one it presented back in January, when it said that GNP had grown 2.4 percent from October through December.

The trouble is that initial GNP figures are based on incomplete data and are subject to revision. In the case of January's figures, the Commerce Dept. had to revise them. Twice. And downward in both cases. In the end, the growth rate for the final quarter of the previous year was a piddling seven-tenths of 1 percent.

There's a lot at stake in the accuracy of the figures because, among other things, there's a provision in the Gramm-Rudman budget-balancing act that says, in effect, that if the economy performs poorly for two successive quarters, all bets are off as far as budget cuts are concerned. The law defines poor performance as a growth rate of less than 1 percent in each of two quarters.

If it turns out that the government is as wrong this time as it was three months ago, Congress is going to be faced with the job of voting on the suspension of budget cuts for this fiscal year, the next fiscal year, or both. Such action would expose the inherent weaknesses of that piece of legislation in which both the Executive and Legislative branches of government sought to duck the hard choices required to end Ronald Reagan's runaway budget deficits.

Perhaps none of this will happen. Perhaps, this time, the government will not have overstated its estimate of how the economy is performing. But don't bet on it.



Washington Window

Don't discount threat from LaRouche cult

By Press Associates Inc.

Maybe there's a bright side to the Lyndon LaRouche cult.

LaRouche doesn't appear to be any kind of threat as a presidential candidate. He offers a mish-mash of good and bad ideas; he attacks his critics as being insane or drug pushers; his conspiratorial view is perhaps too wild to be plausible.

Yet LaRouche and his followers must be taken seriously. The victories of LaRouche candidates in the Illinois statewide primaries shocked the Democratic Party. The results also should awaken responsible politicians of both parties.

The LaRouche phenomenon should be looked on as a symptom of serious and growing problems around the nation.

One of the greatest achievements of President Reagan and his image-conscious team has been to create a national Potemkin responsible for record-high deficits. Government spending is the cause of the nation's problems. Economic recovery continues strong. If you can't get a job, it's your own fault.

The LaRouche people have exposed the Reagan myth that all is well in America. As Illinois pollster J. Michael McKeon told the Washington Post, the LaRouche candidates have learned how to tap into the anger and frustrations "that are out here in blue-collar America."

Drifting away

McKeon said two years of polling have shown a drift away from both national parties by union members and working class voters hurt by unemployment and crime. "There is a mood of frustration and anger settling in deeper and deeper," McKeon said. "These are people who have been left behind and can never catch up. They are vulnerable in all sorts of ways. Somebody gets mugged and the whole neighborhood gets so mad they can't see straight."

McKeon, speaking in hard-hit Joliet, Ill., said his blue-collar neighbors are tough on crime and hate drug dealers. "They'd like to see them all killed—Ramboed. This is what the LaRouche candidates have been saying, too. Maybe the national politicians haven't been listening. But voters out here have."

The LaRouche candidates are claiming to speak for "the unrepresented majority, the forgotten majority." According to Congressional Quarterly, LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee claims to have some 800 candidates in the field. This includes 15 for the Senate, 146 for the House, and more than 600 for state legislative and party positions. LaRouche is aiming at influence in Congress, running candidates in 27 states.

Exposing 'fascists'

Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) has criticized the Democratic Party for not exposing LaRouche candidates, "to keep these fascists out of our ranks and off our ballots."

The Democrats should do that and more. They should not allow Reagan to define the terms of political debate as he has, leaving people to the fate of the marketplace. As Prof. James Tobin of Yale, a Nobel prizewinner, put it, "Reagan has scared the Democrats out of talking about macroeconomic policy. That's left them with no proposals." Tobin calls Reagan's 1981 tax cuts "one of the biggest mistakes in economic policy in history."

In fact, the House Education & Labor Committee under the leadership of Chairman Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) has recognized the importance of macroeconomic policies and done work on direct federal job creation programs.

It needs to be said, however, that a Congress that can't pass a watered-down plant shutdown notice bill may well be out of touch with the needs of people and their communities. These Democrats and liberal Republicans can meet the LaRouche challenge by visiting distressed areas and listening to the forgotten people talk about jobs, crime, health care, housing and their hopes for the future of their children.

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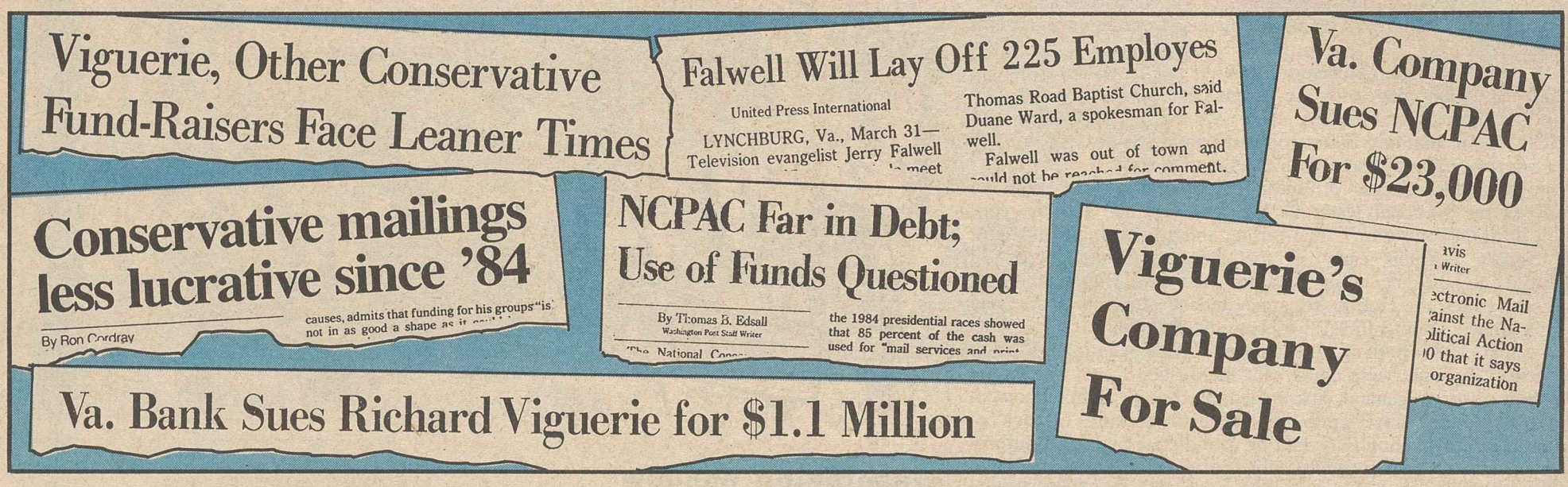
MEMO FROM COPE



'New Right': a Case of Paradise Lost

There's trouble in Paradise.

The "new right" has lost its innocence. It is exiled from the political Eden of its early years.

As the headlines above indicate, it was not just one apple but an entire orchard full of them that "new right" leaders bit into.

Not only their own weakness in the face of temptation, but events and the successes they scored, conspired to render the "new right" and its leaders now less unified, less funded, less trusted and less effective than in their salad days of a few years ago.

Like a tournament golfer blowing a lead while everyone chasing him merely plays an unspectacular but steady game, they have fallen back to the rest of the field.

The "new right" remains a significant political factor—to the Republican Party, to the candidates it endorses and the issues it embraces. But its hot hand has cooled off and if it can be warmed up again at all, it will be a long time coming.

What happened? Plenty.

Some of it follows, though not necessarily in the order it occurred, or of importance.

- *Success,* and the promises lavished on those trusting folks whose steady flood of contributions made it possible, bred huge expectations but modest delivery.

The world—five years after the election of Reagan and 10 after the first big "new right" splash in Senate elections of 1976—is still a perilous and fractious place. Communists still hold office in Moscow. Panama still gets the Canal.

Domestically most of the broad goals of "new right" true believers are unrealized. Jesse Helms is not Secretary of State, though he tries to act like it often enough. Jerry Falwell has not been named to head a new Cabinet Department of Virtue, Disapproval and Indignation. (In fact, in recent polls Falwell turns up as one of the most unpopular of public figures.)

Welfare programs remain on the books, albeit cut back drastically, many of them, by the Reagan Administration. Unions remain on the scene. The public school system endures. In addition, the right wing has not scored significantly on its myriad of single issues.

- *Proliferation* has diluted the strength of the "new right." It has as many spin-offs as Mary Tyler Moore. From an original "new right" cluster of perhaps 5-8 beseeching the true believers, scores and scores of them have sprouted—all writing letters, begging funds, issuing dire warnings, sounding the alarm of the imminent end of Western Civilization if you don't come across *now.* Sooner or later, some of those poor folks were bound to catch on that the more they send, the more is demanded, and to say "ah, to hell with it."

(An example of how those dunned constantly by right wing groups might grow discouraged comes in a March 1986 fund-raising letter from Falwell. Here's some poor guy who's shelled out repeatedly for years, helped elect Reagan President and ultraconservatives to the Senate and House, and Falwell is still telling him he's got to give again to help "make as many Americans as possible aware of . . . the leftist takeover of America.")

- *The mud* hurled gleefully and indiscriminately at its political foes has blown back to begrime the "new right." The ugliness of much of its political advertising aimed at Democrats finally caused a backlash among some Republicans, as well. Not only that, "new right" targets, caught unawares in the early years, now fight back effectively against the mud-slingers, no longer intimidated by them.
- *"Them" has become "us."* That is, the "them" who ran the country and loused it up is now "us" running the show, and if it's still loused up it's tough to make a valid case against "them" anymore, except among the hardest of the hard core. The realization tends to dry up funds, just as proliferation does.
- And speaking of funds, with the early mother lode if not mined out, certainly depleted, wholesale cutbacks in "new right" operations are occurring. In addition, once buddy-buddy rightist leaders are at one another's throats over money.

Jerry Falwell has to fire 225 employees. Richard Viguerie, who started it all with his direct mail operation, sells off his headquarters building, lays off large numbers of staff, unloads his major publications, suffers a 40 percent drop in business .

Viguerie is sued by a bank for $1.1 million on grounds of non-payment of debt. He faces several lesser suits. In turn, Viguerie is owed more than $3 million by National Conservative PAC and in aggregate another $1 million by several "new right" groups who used his mail service. He'd like to be paid by them, but they're scrambling for money, too.

Of potentially greater damage to the "new right" as a political force than any so far mentioned is the arrogance and consistency with which it breaks faith with the true believers who fund it.

The fact is little of the huge sums right wing groups extract from their supporters is spent for purposes the contributors intend. Most of the money goes to collect more money, not to elect favored candidates or to pursue favored issues.

A study by the conservative American Enterprise Institute of $10.1 million NCPAC claims to have spent on 1984 elections shows 85 percent went into mailings (mostly seeking more funds). Seven percent went to payroll, office and other expenses. Only eight percent was put out for advertising and other political uses.

NCPAC's use of contributors' funds is typical of "new right" groups. They will protest, but look we're spreading the good word. Since they are communicating only with the already fully committed, the excuse doesn't wash, and sooner or later huge numbers of the patient, generous, willing donors will—when they find their mail boxes stuffed with right wing fund appeals—pitch them in the wastebasket unopened.

That's when it will truly be "Paradise Lost" for the "new right."

LaRouche Senate Entries

Following are the 13 states in which supporters of extremist Lyndon LaRouche entered in the Democratic primary for U.S. Senate. In a 14th state, Iowa, the candidate claimed by LaRouche—Juan Cortez—contends he was unaware of the way-out policies of LaRouche when he agreed to seek nomination. His present status as a candidate is not certain.

***California*—Brian Lantz; *Georgia*—Gerald Belsky; *Illinois*—Sheila Jones (primary over; she lost—still might run as independent); *Indiana*—Georgia Irey; *Maryland*—Debra Freeman; *Missouri*—John Gallagher; *New Hampshire*—Robert Patton; *New York*—Webster Tapley; *North Dakota*—Anna Belle Bourgois; *Ohio*—Don Scott; *Oklahoma*—George Gentry; *Pennsylvania*—George Elder, and Washington—Mark Calvey.**

****

Speaking of LaRouche and his candidates: A poll in Illinois *after* that state's primary, in which two of LaRouche's own won freakish statewide victories, found that 72 percent of voters by now have heard of LaRouche and 88 percent of those have a negative opinion of him. That says a lot for the effectiveness of exposure even if, as in the case of Illinois, it's a bit tardy.

1 Vote *Really* Counts When Only 3 are Cast

One vote *really* counted in the recent election for Rock County, Wis., board.

The only one who *wanted* the job was David Henningfield. He wrote in his own name. Aaron Kerwin *didn't* want the job, but someone else wrote in *his* name.

Cartoon character Bullwinkle Moose is *ineligible* to serve, but a voter wrote in Bullwinkle's name.

That's all the votes that were cast. Result: a three-way tie at 1-1-1. Bullwinkle dropped, or was thrown, out.

Even though Kerwin was uninterested in serving, he agreed to a coin flip. Fortunately, he lost. Result: Henningfield, who got one vote, got the job.

Dial 'D' for Chamber?

Like one vote, one digit counts. To its immense embarrassment, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce recently learned that lesson.

The Chamber issued the 1986 edition of its Congressional Handbook, complete with up-to-date, accurate information on a whole lot of things about Congress, but not on the office phone numbers of members of the House.

The first three digits on all House numbers are 225. The Chamber had them 224 (the Senate's first three). So much for the 1986 (or was it '85?) handbook.

Officials of affiliates meet with federation's top officers at AFL-CIO headquarters.

AFL-CIO news

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Kirkland asks full affiliation with state feds

By Gene Zack

The drive to elect public officials sympathetic to the aspirations of working people puts an increasing burden on state federations, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said in calling for an intensified effort to insure full affiliation with these labor organizations.

State bodies hold the key to "labor's ultimate success or failure" in both the political and legislative arenas, Kirkland said as he and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue met with the presidents of affiliated national and international unions who are not members of the Executive Council.

Kirkland disputed allegations in the news media that organized labor is "losing its clout" in politics. He pointed to the defeat of the balanced-budget constitutional amendment and an anti-labor amendment to the Hobbs Act in the Senate, House passage of polygraph and double-breasting measures and the defeat of the Administration's proposal to tax fringe benefits as evidence that labor can win tough legislative battles.

But, he pointed out, the constitutional amendment issue is still alive, and the supporters of such an approach to a mandated balanced budget need only two more states to force a convention. Just a few weeks earlier, Kirkland added, labor and its allies were able to defeat such a proposal in the Kentucky legislature.

State fed role

More and more, he continued, labor's battles are being fought out in the state legislatures. And with the wholesale changes in political party rules dealing with national offices and the proliferation of presidential primaries, "the fight to represent the trade union point of view falls heavily on the state bodies," he declared.

Kirkland pointed out that while the figures vary widely from state to state, at present only some 55 percent of all local unions are affiliated with state central bodies. "We can't expect the state federations to put out a 100 percent effort when they are operating at only 50 percent of capacity," he emphasized.

For the past 18 months, Kirkland told the union presidents, the federation has concentrated on improving the level of affiliation, and 60 international unions have already responded positively by appointing officers or staff to work with their local unions and the various state central bodies.

The council will receive a progress report at its May session to determine whether the affiliation percentage is showing substantial improvement. "If it is

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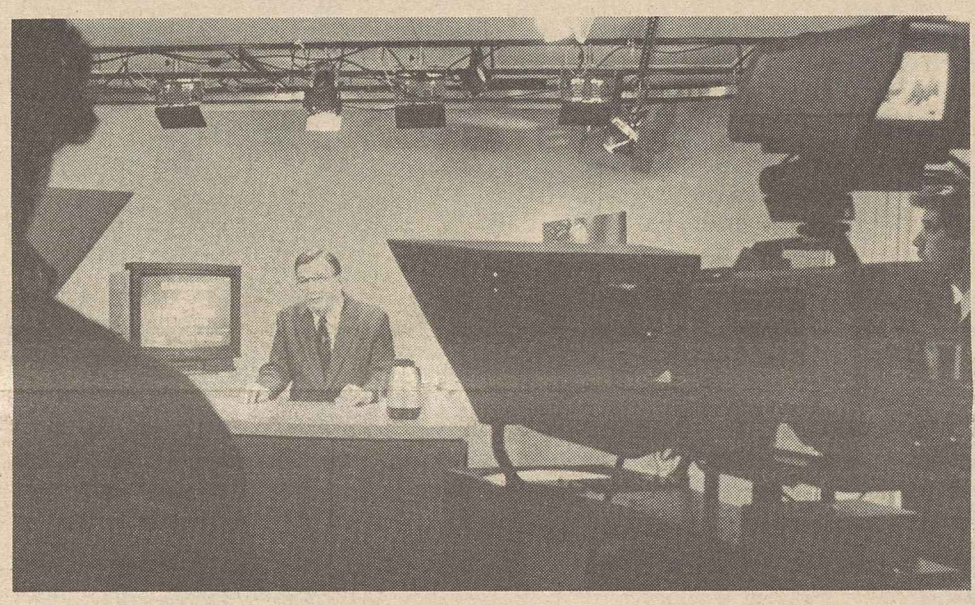
Health care issue focus of labor teleconference



Kirkland opens teleconference on health care bargaining.

Rising costs, giveback push draw protest

By Candice Johnson

Union members across the nation shared ideas and strategies to combat management demands for givebacks in health care coverage during the AFL-CIO's teleconference on "Bargaining for Health Care Benefits."

The satellite video seminar connected nearly 750 participants, who tuned in the program from sites at 17 universities and talked with union officials and health care experts in Washington.

Federation President Lane Kirkland stressed in opening the two-day session that the "disastrous impact of high health costs" on American workers required both tactics to "fend off employers' efforts to gut" existing health care plans and labor-management cooperation "to develop positive strategies to contain costs."

Kirkland said the "AFL-CIO is committed to the view that labor and management can initiate joint programs at the bargaining table and in local coalitions that eliminate unnecessary hospitalization, surgery, and medical procedures while improving the efficiency of plan adminstration."

The teleconference was developed by the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security and the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, while the satellite transmission was coordinated by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

The satellite hook-up allowed participants to ask questions and offer comments on a range of health care bargaining issues,

Continued on Page 5

Time off for parenting urged at House hearing

The AFL-CIO "welcomes and supports" a parental and medical leave bill that would guarantee the right of working parents to take up to four months of unpaid leave on the birth, adoption or serious illness of a child, Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue testified at House hearings.

The labor-supported bill would also allow up to six months of unpaid medical leave to cover the serious illness of a worker. Both sections of the bill would apply to private firms with five or more employees, and cover all public sector workers.

Parental leave would be available to employees of either sex. Workers who take parental or medical leave would have any company health insurance benefits continued during the leave period and a guarantee of re-employment in the same or a comparable job.

Nothing in the bill would reduce any paid sick leave or other benefits provided to workers under a union contract or a company's health plan.

While paid leave would be preferable, the legislation would represent "major progress for this country," Donahue said. He noted that most other industrial countries already have such laws.

Donahue testified before two Education & Labor subcommittees whose chairmen—William L. Clay (D-Mo.) and Austin J. Murphy (D-Pa.)—are among the 68 House sponsors of the bill. Two other cosponsors, Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) and Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio), chair Post Office & Civil Service subcommittees that have held hearings on the bill's coverage for federal employees. Barbara

Continued on Page 4

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE **ALERT!**

PAGE 8

Take-home pay buys no more despite drop in price index

American workers are trapped in economic stagnation despite a continued decline in the consumer price index as Labor Dept. reports showed that real spendable earnings last month logged in at their March 1985 level.

The gloomy report on workers' buying power came just hours after the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that prices dropped six-tenths of 1 percent in March after falling one half of 1 percent in February. It was the first back-to-back decline in the inflation index in 20 years and left the price index 1.9 percent above the year-ago month.

Adding to a confused economic picture, the Commerce Dept. reported that orders for big-ticket manufactured goods tumbled 2.5 percent last month, the sharpest drop in a year. If defense orders were excluded, durable goods orders would have plummeted 5.7 percent in March. Shipments of durable goods declined 2.1 percent during the month.

The drop in consumer prices was due almost exclusively to the continued skid in world oil prices, with the cost of gasoline nosediving a record 12 percent and heating oil prices dropping 5.5 percent last month. Without these declines, the CPI actually would have risen three-tenths of 1 percent in March.

The oil price figures disguised what was happening elsewhere in the prices that consumers pay for goods and services, with

Continued on Page 4

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4/26/86

House vote to curb double-breasting

The AFL-CIO strongly supported a bill the House passed on Apr. 17 to curb "double-breasted" construction contractors who set up non-union subsidiaries to avoid paying union-negotiated wages and benefits.

On the 229-173 rollcall, 200 Democrats and 29 Republicans cast right votes (R) for the bill. Voting wrong (W) were 39 Democrats and 134 Republicans.

Numerals show congressional districts. A—absent and not paired; PR—paired right; PW—paired wrong.

ALABAMA
1. Callahan (R) W
2. Dickinson (R) A
3. Nichols (D) A
4. Bevill (D) R
5. Flippo (D) R
6. Erdreich (D) R
7. Shelby (D) R

ALASKA
AL Young (R) R

ARIZONA
1. McCain (R) W
2. Udall (D) R
3. Stump (R) W
4. Rudd (R) PW
5. Kolbe (R) W

ARKANSAS
1. Alexander (D) R
2. Robinson (D) R
3. Hammerschmidt (R) W
4. Anthony (D) W

CALIFORNIA
1. Bosco (D) R
2. Chappie (R) W
3. Matsui (D) R
4. Fazio (D) R
5. Burton (D) R
6. Boxer (D) R
7. Miller (D) R
8. Dellums (D) R
9. Stark (D) R
10. Edwards (D) R
11. Lantos (D) R
12. Zschau (R) W
13. Mineta (D) R
14. Shumway (R) W
15. Coelho (D) R
16. Panetta (D) R
17. Pashayan (R) R
18. Lehman (D) R
19. Lagomarsino (R) W
20. Thomas (R) W
21. Fiedler (R) W
22. Moorhead (R) W
23. Beilenson (D) R
24. Waxman (D) R
25. Roybal (D) R
26. Berman (D) R
27. Levine (D) PR
28. Dixon (D) R
29. Hawkins (D) R
30. Martinez (D) R
31. Dymally (D) R
32. Anderson (D) R
33. Dreier (R) W
34. Torres (D) R
35. Lewis (R) W
36. Brown (D) R
37. McCandless (R) W
38. Dornan (R) W
39. Dannemeyer (R) W
40. Badham (R) W
41. Lowery (R) A
42. Lungren (R) W
43. Packard (R) W
44. Bates (D) R
45. Hunter (R) W

COLORADO
1. Schroeder (D) R
2. Wirth (D) R
3. Strang (R) W
4. Brown (R) W
5. Kramer (R) A
6. Schaefer (R) A

CONNECTICUT
1. Kennelly (D) R
2. Gejdenson (D) R
3. Morrison (D) R
4. McKinney (R) R
5. Rowland (R) R
6. Johnson (R) R

DELAWARE
AL Carper (D) R

FLORIDA
1. Hutto (D) W
2. Fuqua (D) W
3. Bennett (D) R
4. Chappell (D) W
5. McCollum (R) W
6. MacKay (D) W
7. Gibbons (D) W
8. Young (R) A
9. Bilirakis (R) W
10. Ireland (R) W
11. Nelson (D) W
12. Lewis (R) W
13. Mack (R) W
14. Mica (D) W
15. Shaw (R) W
16. Smith (D) R
17. Lehman (D) R
18. Pepper (D) R
19. Fascell (D) R

GEORGIA
1. Thomas (D) W
2. Hatcher (D) PW
3. Ray (D) W
4. Swindall (R) W
5. Fowler (D) W
6. Gingrich (R) W
7. Darden (D) A
8. Rowland (D) W
9. Jenkins (D) W
10. Barnard (D) W

HAWAII
1. Heftel (D) R
2. Akaka (D) R

IDAHO
1. Craig (R) W
2. Stallings (D) R

ILLINOIS
1. Hayes (D) R
2. Savage (D) R
3. Russo (D) R
4. O'Brien (R) PW
5. Lipinski (D) R
6. Hyde (R) PW
7. Collins (D) R
8. Rostenkowski (D) R
9. Yates (D) R
10. Porter (R) W
11. Annunzio (D) R
12. Crane (R) A
13. Fawell (R) W
14. Grotberg (R) A
15. Madigan (R) W
16. Martin (R) W
17. Evans (D) R
18. Michel (R) W
19. Bruce (D) R
20. Durbin (D) R
21. Price (D) R
22. Gray (D) R

INDIANA
1. Visclosky (D) R
2. Sharp (D) R
3. Hiler (R) W
4. Coats (R) W
5. Hillis (R) W
6. Burton (R) W
7. Myers (R) W
8. McCloskey (D) R
9. Hamilton (D) W
10. Jacobs (D) R

IOWA
1. Leach (R) W
2. Tauke (R) W
3. Evans (R) A
4. Smith (D) R
5. Lightfoot (R) W
6. Bedell (D) R

KANSAS
1. Roberts (R) W
2. Slattery (D) R
3. Meyers (R) W
4. Glickman (D) R
5. Whittaker (R) W

KENTUCKY
1. Hubbard (D) R
2. Natcher (D) R
3. Mazzoli (D) W
4. Snyder (R) W
5. Rogers (R) W
6. Hopkins (R) W
7. Perkins (D) R

LOUISIANA
1. Livingston (R) W
2. Boggs (D) R
3. Tauzin (D) W
4. Roemer (D) W
5. Huckaby (D) W
6. Moore (R) W
7. Breaux (D) R
8. Long (D) R

MAINE
1. McKernan (R) W
2. Snowe (R) W

MARYLAND
1. Dyson (D) R
2. Bentley (R) A
3. Mikulski (D) R
4. Holt (R) W
5. Hoyer (D) R
6. Byron (D) W
7. Mitchell (D) R
8. Barnes (D) R

MASSACHUSETTS
1. Conte (R) R
2. Boland (D) R
3. Early (D) R
4. Frank (D) R
5. Atkins (D) R
6. Mavroules (D) R
7. Markey (D) R
8. O'Neill (D) Speaker
9. Moakley (D) R
10. Studds (D) R
11. Donnelly (D) R

MICHIGAN
1. Conyers (D) R
2. Pursell (R) W
3. Wolpe (D) R
4. Siljander (R) W
5. Henry (R) W
6. Carr (D) R
7. Kildee (D) R
8. Traxler (D) R
9. Vander Jagt (R) W
10. Schuette (R) W
11. Davis (R) PR
12. Bonior (D) R
13. Crockett (D) R
14. Hertel (D) R
15. Ford (D) R
16. Dingell (D) R
17. Levin (D) R
18. Broomfield (R) W

MINNESOTA
1. Penny (D) R
2. Weber (R) W
3. Frenzel (R) W
4. Vento (D) R
5. Sabo (D) R
6. Sikorski (D) R
7. Stangeland (R) W
8. Oberstar (D) R

MISSISSIPPI
1. Whitten (D) R
2. Franklin (R) W
3. Montgomery (D) W
4. Dowdy (D) R
5. Lott (R) W

MISSOURI
1. Clay (D) R
2. Young (D) R
3. Gephardt (D) PR
4. Skelton (D) R
5. Wheat (D) R
6. Coleman (R) W
7. Taylor (R) W
8. Emerson (R) W
9. Volkmer (D) R

MONTANA
1. Williams (D) R
2. Marlenee (R) W

NEBRASKA
1. Bereuter (R) W
2. Daub (R) W
3. Smith (R) W

NEVADA
1. Reid (D) W
2. Vucanovich (R) W

NEW HAMPSHIRE
1. Smith (R) W
2. Gregg (R) W

NEW JERSEY
1. Florio (D) PR
2. Hughes (D) R
3. Howard (D) R
4. Smith (R) R
5. Roukema (R) W
6. Dwyer (D) R
7. Rinaldo (R) R
8. Roe (D) R
9. Torricelli (D) R
10. Rodino (D) R
11. Gallo (R) R
12. Courter (R) R
13. Saxton (R) R
14. Guarini (D) R

NEW MEXICO
1. Lujan (R) A
2. Skeen (R) W
3. Richardson (D) R

NEW YORK
1. Carney (R) W
2. Downey (D) R
3. Mrazek (D) R
4. Lent (R) R
5. McGrath (R) R
6. Vacancy
7. Ackerman (D) R
8. Scheuer (D) R
9. Manton (D) R
10. Schumer (D) R
11. Towns (D) R
12. Owens (D) R
13. Solarz (D) R
14. Molinari (R) R
15. Green (R) R
16. Rangel (D) R
17. Weiss (D) R
18. Garcia (D) R
19. Biaggi (D) R
20. DioGuardi (R) R
21. Fish (R) R
22. Gilman (R) R
23. Stratton (D) R
24. Solomon (R) W
25. Boehlert (R) W
26. Martin (R) R
27. Wortley (R) R
28. McHugh (D) R
29. Horton (R) R
30. Eckert (R) W
31. Kemp (R) R
32. LaFalce (D) R
33. Nowak (D) R
34. Lundine (D) R

NORTH CAROLINA
1. Jones (D) R
2. Valentine (D) W
3. Whitley (D) W
4. Cobey (R) W
5. Neal (D) W
6. Coble (R) W
7. Rose (D) W
8. Hefner (D) W
9. McMillan (R) W
10. Broyhill (R) W
11. Hendon (R) W

NORTH DAKOTA
AL Dorgan (D) R

OHIO
1. Luken (D) R
2. Gradison (R) W
3. Hall (D) R
4. Oxley (R) W
5. Latta (R) W
6. McEwen (R) W
7. DeWine (R) W
8. Kindness (R) W
9. Kaptur (D) R
10. Miller (R) W
11. Eckart (D) R
12. Kasich (R) W
13. Pease (D) R
14. Seiberling (D) R
15. Wylie (R) R
16. Regula (R) R
17. Traficant (D) R
18. Applegate (D) R
19. Feighan (D) R
20. Oakar (D) R
21. Stokes (D) R

OKLAHOMA
1. Jones (D) A
2. Synar (D) W
3. Watkins (D) W
4. McCurdy (D) W
5. Edwards (R) W
6. English (D) W

OREGON
1. AuCoin (D) R
2. Smith, Robert (R) W
3. Wyden (D) R
4. Weaver (D) R
5. Smith, Denny (R) A

PENNSYLVANIA
1. Foglietta (D) R
2. Gray (D) A
3. Borski (D) R
4. Kolter (D) R
5. Schulze (R) W
6. Yatron (D) R
7. Edgar (D) R
8. Kostmayer (D) R
9. Shuster (R) W
10. McDade (R) R
11. Kanjorski (D) R
12. Murtha (D) R
13. Coughlin (R) W
14. Coyne (D) R
15. Ritter (R) W
16. Walker (R) W
17. Gekas (R) W
18. Walgren (D) R
19. Goodling (R) W
20. Gaydos (D) R
21. Ridge (R) R
22. Murphy (D) R
23. Clinger (R) R

RHODE ISLAND
1. St Germain (D) R
2. Schneider (R) R

SOUTH CAROLINA
1. Hartnett (R) W
2. Spence (R) W
3. Derrick (D) W
4. Campbell (R) PW
5. Spratt (D) W
6. Tallon (D) R

SOUTH DAKOTA
AL Daschle (D) R

TENNESSEE
1. Quillen (R) W
2. Duncan (R) W
3. Lloyd (D) A
4. Cooper (D) W
5. Boner (D) R
6. Gordon (D) R
7. Sundquist (R) W
8. Jones (D) A
9. Ford (D) PR

TEXAS
1. Chapman (D) R
2. Wilson (D) R
3. Bartlett (R) W
4. Hall (D) W
5. Bryant (D) R
6. Barton (R) W
7. Archer (R) W
8. Fields (R) W
9. Brooks (D) R
10. Pickle (D) R
11. Leath (D) W
12. Wright (D) R
13. Boulter (R) W
14. Sweeney (R) W
15. de la Garza (D) R
16. Coleman (D) R
17. Stenholm (D) W
18. Leland (D) R
19. Combest (R) W
20. Gonzalez (D) R
21. Loeffler (R) PW
22. DeLay (R) W
23. Bustamante (D) R
24. Frost (D) R
25. Andrews (D) R
26. Armey (R) W
27. Ortiz (D) R

UTAH
1. Hansen (R) W
2. Monson (R) W
3. Nielson (R) W

VERMONT
AL Jeffords (R) W

VIRGINIA
1. Bateman (R) W
2. Whitehurst (R) A
3. Bliley (R) W
4. Sisisky (D) PR
5. Daniel (D) W
6. Olin (D) W
7. Slaughter (R) W
8. Parris (R) A
9. Boucher (D) R
10. Wolf (R) W

WASHINGTON
1. Miller (R) R
2. Swift (D) R
3. Bonker (D) R
4. Morrison (R) W
5. Foley (D) R
6. Dicks (D) R
7. Lowry (D) R
8. Chandler (R) W

WEST VIRGINIA
1. Mollohan (D) R
2. Staggers (D) R
3. Wise (D) R
4. Rahall (D) R

WISCONSIN
1. Aspin (D) R
2. Kastenmeier (D) R
3. Gunderson (R) W
4. Kleczka (D) R
5. Moody (D) R
6. Petri (R) W
7. Obey (D) R
8. Roth (R) W
9. Sensenbrenner (R) W

WYOMING
AL Cheney (R) W

At annual convention

Bargaining concerns dominate CWA agenda

By Arlee C. Green

Bargaining issues affecting half a million workers were the focus of a Communications Workers convention that also completed a three-year restructuring of the union's executive board.

CWA President Morton Bahr stressed in his keynote address the union's proposals for "significant pay raises" to reflect increased productivity, "guaranteed employment security," an end to contracting out work, and improvements in health care.

Bargaining with the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. will step up to a daily basis, Bahr said, noting that a strike vote among the 155,000 members covered by the AT&T contract will be completed by May 15.

Keying on the bargaining theme of "justice," Bahr said the union's message will be carried to employers and the public in a $1 million campaign that stresses that CWA members want "fair settlements from profitable companies."

The campaign features newspaper ads, radio spots, "Call Mom" gift certificates near Mother's Day, audio and video tapes on bargaining and a nationwide teleconference for shop stewards in some 50 cities on May 24, just a week before the AT&T contract expires.

Bahr told the more than 2,000 delegates that the union anticipates AT&T will seek a two-tier wage system, and bonus payments in lieu of pay raises.

At a news conference, Bahr took issue with an AT&T official's contention that clerks and operators, female-dominated positions, are overpaid 20 to 30 percent. Bahr warned that "any attempt to downgrade the jobs and pay of women" could trigger a strike.

CWA recently reached an accord at General Telephone of California covering 20,000 members. On Aug. 9, contracts covering 300,000 workers at the seven Bell operating companies will expire.

In his address, Bahr highlighted the recent successes in organizing, including the unanimous election win for a 500-member unit at the Board of Social Services in Passaic County, N.J. Since the last convention, Bahr noted, the Telephone Traffic Unions of New York state have added 10,000 members to the CWA rolls and the Telegraph Workers' convention delegates recently chose CWA as a possible merger partner for its 5,800 members.

Annual parleys retained

Convention delegates voted down a constitutional amendment proposed by the CWA executive board to change from annual to biennial conventions. An attempt to set conventions 18 months apart was also defeated.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told the delegates that there are "signs of a changing climate" in Washington politics. For six years under the Reagan Administration, labor has been on the defensive. But now the signs of change have appeared on Capitol Hill, he said.

Kirkland stressed the solid wins labor achieved recently, including the Senate defeats of "an outrageously anti-union amendment to the Hobbs Act," and of another effort to pass a balanced budget amendment. In the House, labor succeeded in gaining passage of bills against double-breasted contracting and use of lie detectors in employment.

Restructuring completed

Completing the restructuring begun at the 1984 convention, the delegates elected two executive vice presidents, four vice presidents and eight district vice presidents to three-year terms. At last year's convention, delegates elected Bahr, Sec.-Treas. James B. Booe, and Executive Vice President Barbara Easterling to four-year terms.

Returned to office by acclamation were John C. Carroll and M.E. Nichols as executive vice presidents, Connie Bryant to the newly-created post of vice president-public workers, and James E. Irvine as vice president-AT&T Technologies and John D. Browning to the new post of vice president-telecommunications.

For the district posts, re-elected to office were Jan D. Pierce, District 1; R. Ben Porch, District 3; Martin J. Hughes, District 4, and Walter Maulis, District 7. New district vice presidents are Pete Catucci, District 2; T.O. Parsons, District 6; Harry Ibsen, District 9, and Vincent Maisano, District 13.

Resolutions adopted by the convention included opposition to government contracting-out, support for programs to aid workers in dealing with technological change, and for improvements in the health care delivery system, and a call for local unions to affiliate with AFL-CIO central bodies.

Among the key convention speakers were Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), Rep. Jim Wright (D-Tex.), Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez, and clothing & Textile Workers Executive Vice President Charles Sallee.

CWA President Morton Bahr and Sec.-Treas. James B. Booe, right, confer.

Telegraph union votes to explore merger with CWA

St. Louis—The Telegraph Workers voted in a special convention to seek a merger with the Communications Workers. Delegates also approved a restructuring of the UTW to eliminate the full-time posts of secretary-treasurer and vice president, and reduce the number of regions from five to three.

In an election for the union's top office, former UTW President Dan Beckstead narrowly defeated incumbent Richard C. Brockert.

The top three officers, Brockert, Sec.-Treas. Jerry Grim and Vice President Reva Kociolek will serve out their current terms, which expire in October.

The convention explored merger proposals by the Communications Workers, Machinists, Auto Workers and Electrical Workers. CWA drew 58 of the 115 votes.

Merger talks between the UTW and the CWA are under way and the unions hope to adopt a merger plan by late summer.

Overtime rights take effect for public sector workers

Employees of state and local governments must now be compensated for overtime they are required to work.

Under legislation passed last November, which took effect on Apr. 15, some 7.5 million nonsupervisory public workers are now entitled to time-and-one-half pay after 40 hours a week—unless they or their unions have agreed to take compensatory time off instead.

If compensatory time off is taken, employees are entitled to the same time-and-one-half premium. Thus, two hours of overtime work would result in three hours of "comp time."

The provisions of the legislation have been codified by the Labor Dept. in proposed regulations that will not will not become final until after interested groups have had a chance to comment. But the law's protections are already in effect.

Back in 1974, Congress voted to extend the Fair Labor Standards Act to local and state governments. But the extension never took effect because the Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional in a 5-4 decision.

Last year, also by a 5-4 vote the court reversed itself and reinstated the extention of coverage. City and state governments, complaining they couldn't afford the cost of overtime payments, pressed Congress to repeal the coverage. Public sector unions fought the takeback legislation.

With the outcome uncertain, both sides and key members of Congress from both parties began informal talks that led to a compromise agreement that quickly was enacted into law, with an Apr. 15 effective date.

The legislation limits the accumulation of compensatory time to 240 hours for most workers and 480 hours for public safety and emergency workers. After the limit is reached, all overtime must be paid in cash. The Labor Dept. proposed regulations have been published in the Federal Register and the deadline for comments in June 2.

Al Bilik, director of the state-local division of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept., said the proposed regulations "establish beyond question the right of state and local employees to cash compensation at time-and-one-half for overtime work," and their right to "negotiate the alternative method of compensatory time off."

The important element, he said, is that overtime compensation is now "an absolute guarantee" for public employees.

Tax reform goals flouted by bid to raise excise levy

Higher excise taxes have no place in tax reform legislation, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert McGlotten insisted at Senate Finance Committee hearings.

McGlotten expressed the AFL-CIO's dismay at key elements of the tax package the committee has been putting together for consideration by the full Senate.

It would reopen many of the business loopholes that were closed in the House-passed tax reform bill and would add some new ones. To make up for the revenue loss, existing excise taxes would be increased and businesses could no longer take a deduction on excise taxes.

That's not tax reform, McGlotten insisted. Higher excise taxes would quickly translate into higher prices and "consumers with lower incomes who must spend relatively large proportions of their incomes will feel the burden most heavily." Excise taxes are a form of sales tax that add an extra cost to the purchase of specified products or services, covering items ranging from cigarettes and liquor to telephone calls, gasoline and airline tickets.

The Senate committee has painted itself into a corner by a series of votes to enlarge tax loopholes, in many cases adding to inequities in present law.

With the bill being shaped in committee moving away from the original goals of tax reform and tax simplification, Finance Committee Chairman Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) postponed any further voting on its provisions to allow "private consultation" among committee members.

Administration backing

On the controversial excise tax proposal, the Treasury Dept. said the Reagan Administration could support some increase in excise taxes if the overall tax bill was "revenue neutral" and income tax rates on individuals and corporations were cut.

An analysis by Citizens for Tax Justice termed the excise tax plan "outrageous" and said it would cost the median-income American family $109 in higher taxes, and eliminated some 11,000 jobs.

McGlotten urged the Senate committee to get back to tax reform rather than "swap one kind of inequity for another." By building on the House-passed bill, he said, Congress can "add fairness to the tax code as well as raise revenue."

Polygraphs lie, UFCW tells Senate

Lie-detector devices are unreliable, demeaning and should be barred from America's workplaces, the Food & Commercial Workers told the Senate Labor Committee.

UFCW President William H. Wynn termed the polygraph a "psychological rubber hose" that is used to intimidate workers even though it is too unreliable to be used for employment decisions.

The House voted in mid-March to bar the use of polygraph devices in most private employment and Wynn welcomed the bipartisan sponsorship of a companion bill being considered by the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee. Its chief sponsors are Committee Chairman Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), and the ranking minority member, Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

An estimated 2 million polygraph tests a year are given by private employers, a fourfold increase over 10 years ago, Wynn noted. Their advocates argue that they detect and prevent employee theft.

Wynn said internal theft should be combatted by workers and management alike "using all reasonable means available."

Corporate suite fraud

He noted that a 1982 study conducted for the Justice Dept. estimated that securities fraud, corporate kickbacks, embezzlement and insurance fraud cost businesses three times more than employee pilferage.

If polygraph advocates truly believed their claims, Wynn suggested, "they would be here urging Congress to mandate polygraph examinations of corporate officers and directors."

Going a step further, he said, "they might even contend that polygraphs have a role in debates between political candidates so the voting public would be able to choose the more truthful candidate."

Wynn spoke of workers who told the truth being branded as "liars" by a polygraph result.

He noted the frequent comparison of a polygraph to an electric chair. "It is similar," Wynn said, noting the procedure for attaching wires to the body. And while the intimidating effect of some polygraph examinations sometimes results in confessions of theft, "so would the rack and thumbscrew," equally inappropriate in today's workplace.

"The truth is that lie detectors do not always tell the truth," Wynn testified. "The truth is that workers' lives have been ruined by half-truths. Only after it was too late was it discovered that someone got hold of the wrong half."

Capitol Hill protest

Machinists picket on Capitol Hill in support of congressional restaurant and cafeteria workers who have been denied the right to union representation. More than 75 percent of the workers had signed union authorization cards asking the IAM to bargain for them. Congressional employees are not protected by federal labor law, but the IAM is suing Capitol Architect George White for violating the first amendment rights of the 200 workers. The union accused White of harassing union supporters. The IAM's federal court suit seeks a "free and fair" election and punitive damages because of White's bad faith actions.

New challenges

Union lawyers tackle employer abuses

Chicago—Trade unions face challenges on a variety of new fronts ranging from employee screening to employer misuse of immigration laws as well as in the traditional areas of collective bargaining, strikes and picketing, labor lawyers were told at a two-day conference here.

The fifth annual AFL-CIO Union Lawyers Conference drew more than 500 labor attorneys from across the country who participated in 15 workshops that allowed them to share ideas and experiences in protecting the interests of workers and their unions.

Conferees examined the legal issues involved in strikes and picketing, continuing a discussion begun in March at a San Francisco forum of the AFL-CIO Lawyers Coordinating Committee. They reviewed the strategies that will be pursued in 1986 contract negotiations and management's efforts to avoid contractual obligations through reorganization and mergers.

In a discussion on the "vanishing employer," the lawyers touched on such matters as "double breasting," work reallocation within a firm, employee leasing as a form of subcontracting and the use of independent contracts—devices used by management to undercut collective bargaining agreements.

Two workshops focused on the need to safeguard employee retirement benefits won through collective bargaining, including the legal issues that arise when employers attempt to terminate overfunded pension and benefit plans and the claims retirees might have under the federal age discrimination law.

On the immigration issue, the lawyers raised the question of the rights of undocumented workers and analyzed the National Labor Relations Board's position limiting back-pay awards to these workers. The discussion also touched on federal protections designed to prevent unfair use by employers of workers who enter this country under temporary visas.

A workshop on employee screening concentrated on the issues that arise when employers attempt to force workers to submit to tests for drug and alcohol abuse or for AIDS. Participants explored ways to challenge the validity of such tests and the need to protect employees from being required to undergo testing as a condition of getting or keeping their jobs.

Lawyers representing public sector unions discussed the effect of the 1985 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act in the wake of the Supreme Court's 5-4 decision holding that the overtime provision of the law applies to employees of state and local governments.

Labor backs bill to assure right to take parental leave

Continued from Page 1

Hutchinson, women's department director for the Government Employees and an AFL-CIO vice president, testified before that joint panel.

Clay said the proposed legislation reflects "a growing consensus" that working parents should be able to spend time with a new child without risking their jobs.

Donahue noted that the legislation is in line with the AFL-CIO Executive Council statement on Work and the Family, which asked legislation "to insure that parents can take a reasonable parental leave . . . without risking loss of their jobs."

In the absence of legal obligations, he noted, company leave policies vary greatly. "Many totally ignore the father's role and even when allowing a mother time off, provide no guarantee that a job will be available when she returns."

Too often, he said, parents are denied the option of spending time at home with a new child "because to do so will endanger their employment."

The protections sought in the bill, Donahue testified, are especially needed "in those low-wage industries that seem to be a leading growth area in our economy."

In one area, involving multiemployer health plans in which premiums paid by each employer are based on hours worked, some technical problems need to be resolved, Donahue said.

At the earlier federal-sector hearings, the AFGE noted that some of its contracts with federal agencies provide parental leave. Hutchinson urged that the legislation make clear that establishing basic leave rights for federal workers won't preclude the negotiation of more generous conditions.

Take-home pay buys no more despite drop in price index

Continued from Page 1

virtually every other category showing increases.

They were paced by a sharp 1-percent hike in medical care costs which have risen at an annual rate of 8.7 percent in the first three months of the year. Housing prices rose two-tenths of a percent in March while food prices inched up one-tenth of 1 percent.

The Labor Dept. said that hourly earnings declined significantly in three major industries between March 1985 and March 1986. The steepest drop came in the construction industry, where real earnings fell a sharp 5.5 percent. Earnings went down 2.7 percent in mining, due largely to the impact of plunging oil prices, and retail earnings were down 2 percent.

By contrast, real earnings advanced 3.9 percent in finance, insurance and real estate, and 2.6 percent in service industries. The buying power of manufacturing wages rose 1.3 percent during the year, while real earnings went up four-tenths of 1 percent in transportation and two-tenths of 1 percent in wholesale trades.

Meanwhile, the Federal Reserve Board cut its discount rate—the rate at which banks and savings institutions borrow from the central banking system—by one-half of 1 percent to 6.5 percent, the lowest level since May 1978.

However, many bankers and economists said the action was insufficient to lift the economy out of its doldrums. "We are flirting with recession," warned Philip Braverman, chief economist at Irving Securities Inc., who called the action "less than the economy needs," and predicted a similar cut early next month following the international economic summit in Tokyo.

Banks follow suit

Most of the nation's largest banks reacted quickly to the Federal Reserve Board action, lowering their prime rate half a percentage point to 8.5 percent—the lowest level in nearly eight years. Some analysts expressed the belief the cut should have been even larger, accusing lenders of "dragging their feet" despite the fact that their borrowing costs have dropped dramatically in recent months.

In another development, the Labor Dept. reported that eight states had double-digit unemployment rates in February and 22 states had jobless rates over 8 percent—higher than the national average.

Louisiana had the highest rate with 13.2 percent unemployed, followed by West Virginia with 13.1 percent. Other double-digit states were Kentucky, 12.5 percent; Alaska, 11.5 percent; Mississippi, 11.2 percent; Wyoming, 10.3 percent; Idaho, 10.2 percent, and Illinois, 10.1 percent.

OECD urged to drive down unemployment

Paris—Charging that the developing countries have no "credible strategy" for addressing the problem of persistent joblessness, trade union leaders declared that tumbling world crude oil prices offer an opportunity for adopting policies to eliminate "mass unemployment and social division."

The call for implementing policies that foster growth came in a statement presented to the ministerial meeting here of the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development by the Trade Union Advisory Council which includes the AFL-CIO.

"Unemployment continued to rise in 1985 and is forecast to remain at present levels over the next 18 months," the representatives of 40 national trade union centers told the OECD ministers as they called for coordinated actions between governments, and tripartite labor-management-government cooperation to put people back to work.

The document also formed the basis for presentation of the labor viewpoint at a meeting in Washington between senior staff members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Monetary Fund. Henry Schechter, deputy director of economic research for the AFL-CIO, represented the federation at the IMF meeting.

Tokyo session

The recommendations will also be presented through the Japanese prime minister to the current summit meeting of the seven major industrial nations in Tokyo.

The TUAC declaration called for:

- Coordinated government action to achieve faster and more balanced growth.
- Cooperation to achieve more stable currencies and lower interest rates.
- Investment policies that would channel more public funds into improving the infrastructure.
- Negotiations with trade unions on managing the effects of structural change.
- A major initiative to assure continuous training and retraining of the workforce.
- A reduction in the workweek to make jobs available to the unemployed.
- A new framework for international trade.

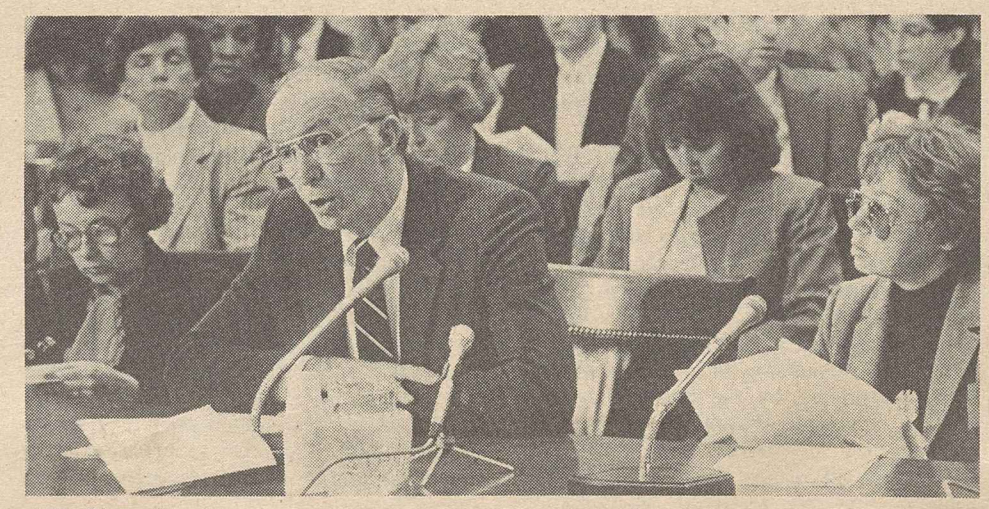
In a separate statement to the OECD ministerial meeting, TUAC was joined by the Business & Industry Advisory Council in a call for policies that would "create growth essentially higher than the approximately 3 percent projected for the OECD area in 1986."

Bishop Metzger dies, spurred organizing

El Paso, Tex.—Retired Bishop Sidney Metzger, who helped organize a nationwide boycott that led to the first union contract with Farah Manufacturing Co., died Apr. 12 of heart failure. He was 83.

Bishop Metzger, who headed the Roman Catholic diocese of El Paso for 36 years, played a key role in the Clothing & Textile Workers' Farah campaign. The boycott ended in 1974 when Farah agreed to negotiate with the union.

Bishop Metzger had been involved in a number of union organizing campaigns in Texas from the time he came to the diocese in 1941.



AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue testifies for parental leave bill, with attorney Janet Kohn, left, and Legislative Rep. Jane O'Grady.

Study finds most firms give shutdown notice

Although Congress has blocked legislation requiring employers to give workers and their unions advance notice of planned shutdowns, claiming it would impose too heavy a burden on industry, the majority of firms involved in mass layoffs already provides such information, a management study reveals.

The survey, conducted by the Conference Board, showed that 88 percent of the firms reporting plant closings between 1982 and 1985 said they provided their employeees with advance notice. Over half the firms said they gave three months or more notice, while 28 percent said they let employees know at least six months in advance.

AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald said the study is "convincing evidence that American industry can live with a requirement that companies provide minimal safeguards to employees who are the ultimate victims of plant closure decisions."

Noting that Congress has resisted plant-closure legislation, under pressure from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and similar special-interest groups, Oswald said the Conference Board survey "makes it clear that such a law would not have an adverse impact on the business community."

The fact that companies with "any vision at all accept their responsibility" to give workers advance notice of shutdowns and mass layoffs should serve as "a new spur to get legislation enacted so that all companies, rather than just some, adopt a fair-play attitude toward their workers," Oswald declared.

Closures widespread

The Conference Board, a half-century-old business information service, said that 44 percent of the 512 companies responding to the survey reported at least one closure during the three-year period and 59 percent experienced either substantial layoffs or closures.

The survey, titled "Company Programs to Ease the Impact of Shutdowns," covered firms in all major sectors of the economy. It showed that more than three-fourths of the manufacturing firms and nearly half the firms in the service sector reported job cutbacks and closures.

"The rapid introduction of new technology, mixed with intense competition, mergers and corporate reorganizations strongly suggest that shutdowns and layoffs will continue," according to Ronald Berenbeim, author of the study.

"While job loss has always been a byproduct of new technology, worker dislocation appears to be occurring at a faster pace today" and will have an impact on a greater number of industries in the years ahead, he added.

The study revealed no clear-cut strategy to guide companies in dealing with shutdowns—a conclusion that Oswald said helps make the case for federal legislation establishing minimum standards.

The study did show, however, that there is an emerging consensus to include four major ingredients in any program dealing with the problem. These include advance notice, severance pay, extended health care benefits and outplacement services.

Some 79 percent of the firms extended health care benefits for displaced workers, with the benefit period limited to five months or less in the majority of cases.

More than 50 percent gave outplacement aid to employees seeking jobs with other firms, but only 22 percent offered retraining because, the study said, most employers believed "the results seldom justify the costs."

Heavy strain

Shutdowns and layoffs put a heavy strain on social service agencies, the study conceded. They are wrestling with the problem of how to serve larger groups of people at a time when "skilled workers who have lost their positions are competing with unskilled workers for marginal jobs."

About half the firms surveyed attributed shutdowns to competitive changes in their markets, primarily due to the continued surge of imports. Nearly a third cited corporate organizational shifts, including mergers and acquisitions.

High court asked to rule deficit bill unconstitutional

The AFL-CIO and its public sector unions urged the Supreme Court to uphold a lower court's finding that a key provision of the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law is unconstitutional without endorsing all of the reasons given in support of that conclusion.

Labor's concern is that a segment of the opinion by a panel of three federal judges could be interpreted as weakening the ability of Congress to preserve the independence of such government agencies as the National Labor Relations Board.

The brief strongly backed the principal conclusion of the court panel—that Congress breached the constitutional separation of powers by giving executive branch enforcement authority to the General Accounting Office, the fiscal watchdog of Congress. The comptroller general, who heads the GAO, is a presidential appointee. But he can be removed for cause before the expiration of his 15-year term only through a joint resolution of Congress.

If Congress fails to meet the Gramm-Rudman's deficit reduction target for a fiscal year, spending authority for government programs is reduced under a formula specified in the law. While both the Congressional Budget Office and the President's Office of Management & Budget have a role in this process, the final decision is made by the comptroller general.

The procedure is clearly unconstitutional, the AFL-CIO contended, because Congress has assigned responsibility for carrying out a law to an official "answerable only to Congress."

Given that clear constitutional violation, the brief asserts, there was no need for the lower court to address the question of what limits Congress may place on the President's ability to remove government officials from office.

Over the years, it noted, Congress has concluded that certain government functions should be "insulated to some degree from political influence or control," and has adopted various means of providing such insulation. These diverse provisions of law raise entirely separate and complex issues that don't affect the Gramm-Rudman case, the AFL-CIO argued.

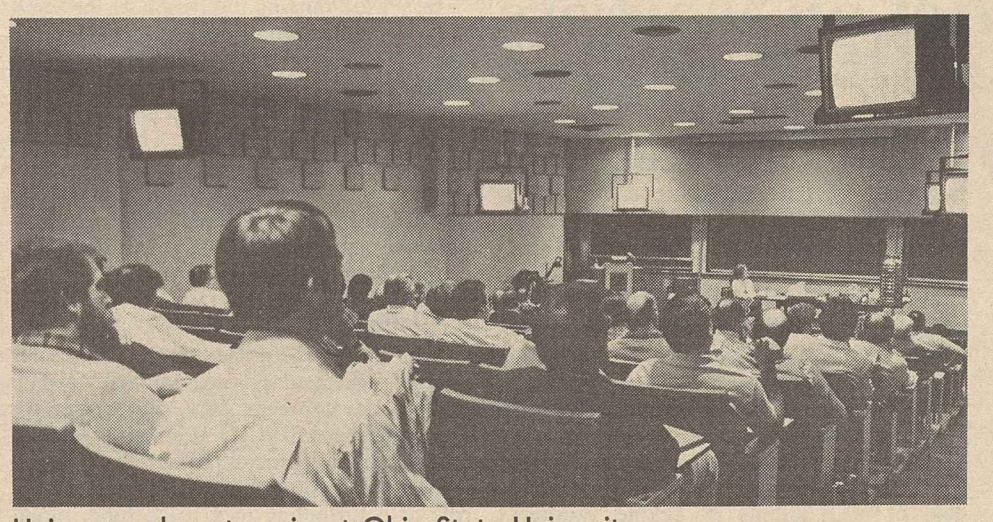
Joining in the brief were the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept., Government Employees, Postal Workers and Letter Carriers.

Tyson's resignation to leave void at OSHA

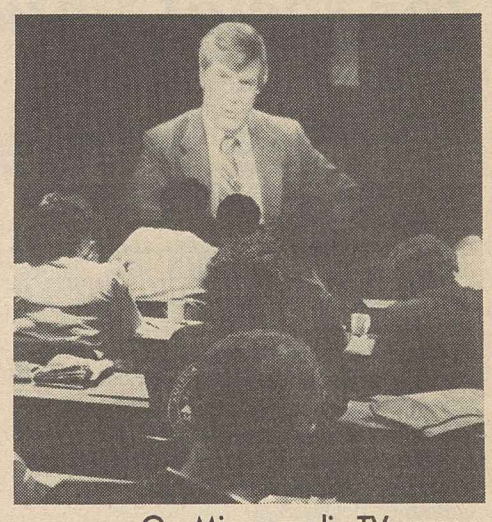
The resignation of Patrick R. Tyson as acting administrator of the Occupational Safety & Health Administration will leave a "significant void" at the agency, the AFL-CIO said. Tyson will leave OSHA May 16 to join an Atlanta law firm.

Margaret Seminario, the federation's safety specialist, warned that even if President Reagan's OSHA nominee John E. Pendergrass is confirmed, "no one will be around him with background" on the basic health and safety issues.

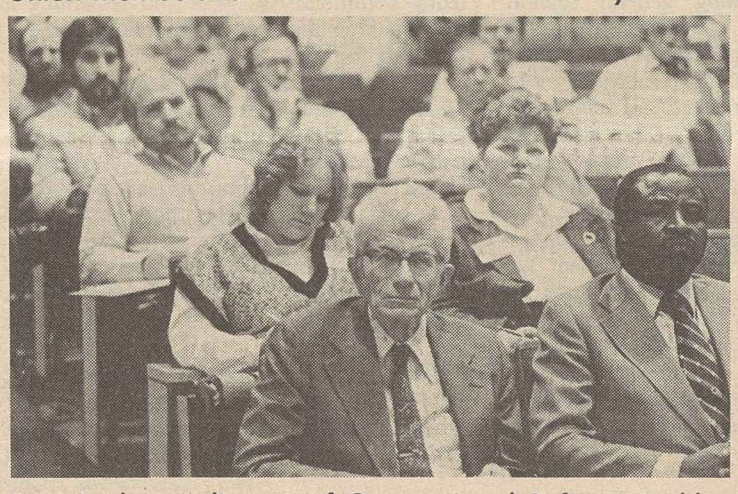
Tyson has headed OSHA since last July after Robert Rowland resigned.



Union members tune in at Ohio State University.



On Minneapolis TV screen.



Bert Seidman, director of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, joins teleconference participants.

Technicians relay program to satellite that was beamed to 17 sites.

On health care costs

TV links planning for negotiations

Continued from Page 1

including employer strategies to shift health care costs to workers, access to data on the workers' use of health benefits, the impact of changing Medicare practices on health coverage, the growth of health maintenance organizations and other prepaid plans, and other questions common to negotiating health care coverage—a critical bargaining issue in the 1980s.

Kirkland underscored labor's goal of a system of national health insurance "that protects every American, rich and poor, employed and unemployed, the kind that every other western industrial nation already has."

In the meantime, he said, labor must press for cost containment initiatives in Congress, in state legislatures and at the bargaining table.

Workers' burden

"Any employer who wants to share health care costs through additional worker deductibles or reduced coverage is part of the problem, and he has to be made to see that the only real solution is to put pressure on the providers and the insurance companies, not on patients," he declared.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney continued that theme, stressing that increasing health care costs can be traced to "doctors who perform unnecessary procedures and charge excessive rates," hospitals that spend "large amounts of money on new high tech equipment and facilities" to attract highly insured patients, and insurers who operate "with no incentive to hold down costs."

Sweeney, who chairs the Executive Council's Health Care Committee, reported that many unions are fighting back at the bargaining table, turning back "employer attempts to cut benefits in the name of cost containment."

Karen Ignagni, assistant director of the federation's Dept. of Safety, Health & Social Security, outlined a number of cost containment measures unions can pursue to not only maintain benefits but to improve the quality of health care available to workers.

Ignagni also reviewed some alternative health care systems, such as HMOs, which often provide total health coverage that includes preventive care for a predetermined price, and "preferred provider organizations," where a group of physicians and other medical professionals negotiates discounts for group health benefit plans.

She stressed that unions should look carefully at these systems, checking the stability of the plan, the number and qualifications of staff, number of persons enrolled, financial base and other factors before committing the local union to the health plan.

Jeff McDonald of the George Meany Center for Labor Studies warned participants that employers increasingly were seeking ways to transfer health care costs to workers and their families through "co-insurance and deductibles without attacking the problem at its source—health care providers."

He told participants to assume that their employers will demand similar benefit reductions and urged them not to wait for the actual demand at the bargaining table but to sit down with management representatives several months before their contract expires.

Union panelists

Both days featured panels of health care specialists from 10 unions moderated by Ignagni, McDonald, and John Fleming of the Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers.

Panelists included Roy Dickinson, Electrical Workers; Pat Glenn, Rubber Workers; Lou Nayman, Teachers; Williams Burns, Food & Commercial Workers; Michael Collins, Operating Engineers; Linda Lampkin, State, County & Municipal Employees; Lana Felton, Hospital & Health Care Employees, and Pat Killeen, Auto Workers.

At the sites, participants discussed specific measures they had taken to prevent health care takeaways or additional problems faced by public employees in setting up a joint labor-management committee. The local discussions also reviewed the impact of cost containment measures on hospital and health care workers and the value of coalition bargaining where many unions are represented at one company.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney addresses DPE conference. Seated, Presidents Morton Bahr of Communications Workers and Gerald W. McEntee of State, County & Municipal Employees.

Technology changes explored for social impact on workers

Teaneck, N.J.—Unions can "humanize" the technological revolution, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue suggested at a "here comes tomorrow" conference sponsored by federation's Dept. for Professional Employees.

The two days of meetings and seminars drew some 360 participants from unions, universities, research institutions and government. DPE Director Jack Golodner opened the conference by urging a critical scrutiny of the social consequences of new technologies.

"The mission of unions is to remind industry and government of these consequences and insist that they be addressed," Golodner declared.

Communications Workers President Morton Bahr stressed the fast pace of computerization and said that by the end of this decade more than 30 million U.S. jobs will require a level of technological skill. Training and retraining are the keys to continued employability, he said.

The trade union movement is keeping up with the changing nature of the workforce, President Gerald W. McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees said, detailing AFL-CIO programs in these areas. AFSCME Sec.-Treas. William Lucy urged new approaches to job creation and an agenda that "takes us beyond the workplace and the bargaining table" into areas of legislation and politics.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney spoke of coordinating organizing targets and cooperation among the federation's unions on organizing goals. Organizing must be on a scale large enough to target all of the facilities operated by a large corporation, Sweeney said.

New York State AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Paul Cole, a vice president of the Teachers, stressed the importance of equipping today's children, and especially the disadvantaged, with the basic academic skills they will need to hold their own in tomorrow's workforce. A key is "learning how to learn," he suggested.

Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and a vice president of the Clothing & Textile Workers, moderated the opening general session. Some 65 speakers, including officers of DPE affiliates, took part in workshops and general sessions. Gloria Johnson, who heads the DPE Committee on Salaried & Professional Women, said in a welcome to the delegates that the purpose of the conference is "learning and teaching" in exploring issues raised by new technologies.

Donahue, who spoke at a luncheon session, said the trade union movement has been "one of the great civilizing, humanizing, democratizing forces of American life." As the nature of work constantly changes, he said, unions have a continuing obligation to improve conditions in the workplace and insure "dignity on the job" for workers.

Kirkland tells leaders:

Strong state bodies vital to labor's future

Continued from Page 1

approaching the 75-percent mark, we may elect to continue to rely on voluntary efforts" to achieve the goal of full participation, he said.

But if there is insufficient progress, Kirkland continued, the council "is prepared to consider at its August meeting some new procedure" under which there would be central financing, with state body affiliation automatically included in a national or international union's affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

Any such action would involve a few years' lead time, he explained, so that an intervening AFL-CIO convention could ratify the council's decision and make the necessary changes in the federation's constitution.

In a wide-ranging discussion of the issue, the union presidents voiced support but raised the issue of the problems now facing small locals with meager or nonexistent treasuries which find it difficult to pay per capita dues to state bodies. They also emphasized that they would have to establish machinery to recapture from their locals the added burdens their national and international unions would have to bear if a central financing system is put into effect.

Taft-Hartley impact

Moving to the issue of collective bargaining, Kirkland pointed out the need to explore development of a mechanism for involving the AFL-CIO at an early stage in the negotiating process, rather than assigning the federation the "ambulance driver" role of contributing to a strike fund, mobilizing community services and launching a boycott after negotiations deteriorate and a union is forced to strike.

Before enactment of Taft-Hartley in 1947, Kirkland said, "we had tangible ways of helping a union by refusing to handle struck goods and by blacklisting struck employers." But the law's prohibition against secondary boycotts ended those practices. "The most profound impact of Taft-Hartley," he said, "was to isolate one union from all of the others and deny us the right to extend mutual aid."

The Committee on the Evolution of Work will be taking a deeper look at whether the federation can do more at an earlier stage, Kirkland told the union leaders. This might include establishing a national strike fund that would be at the disposal of unions in need, preparing community outreach programs, putting non-strike pressures on employers and developing other concerted strategies to make employers aware that they are dealing with the entire trade union movement rather than an individual local or national union.

In the general discussion that followed, the union presidents suggested a number of areas that the federation should explore, including:

- Mobilizing unions with computer capabilities to assist ones that do not have the in-house capability to develop a sophisticated strategy for dealing with management demands for give-backs at the bargaining table.
- The need for an information exchange system among unions with collective bargaining relationships with the same employer, particularly in the case of a giant conglomerate, to counter management's claims that bargaining demands will lead to corporate bankruptcy.
- The sharing of electronic communications resources to help smaller unions get their message out to their members and the general public.
- Establishment of an emergency fund from which locals and small unions could receive interest-free loans to help during the bargaining process and to serve as a war chest if a union is forced to strike.

Donahue reviewed the Procedure for Determining Organizing Responsibilities adopted by the Executive Council at its February meeting to minimize the competition that develops when two or more unions compete to organize the same group of workers.

Minimizing competition

The new procedure utilizes mediators and umpires to resolve such disputes and has already been invoked three times, Donahue said. The first case was settled at the mediation level between two internationals competing for bargaining units in two different communities. Under the agreement, each international agreed to take one community target. The second case is pending, Donahue said, and the third has just been filed.

Pointing to the federation's experience under the Article XX procedure for resolving raiding disputes over existing bargaining units, Donahue said that while nearly 2,400 cases have been filed in the past 30 years, only three unions are in noncompliance.

He predicted similar success for the organizing responsibilities program so that unions that have a substantial prospect for success "can go about the business of organizing new units unchallenged."

Donahue and Ray Denison, president of the newly formed Union Privileges Program, reviewed the efforts being made to extend special benefits to existing members and eventually make them available to so-called associate members—retirees, members who leave the bargaining unit to go to another job, or those who supported a union's unsuccessful organizing effort.

The program is starting out with a low-interest credit card. A number of AFL-CIO affiliated unions already have signed contracts for this service, Denison said.

Discussions are going forward to make additional benefits available to union members, including a variety of insurance programs and legal services.

IUD delegates press for job-site safety

The crisis of an unsafe workplace shared the spotlight with the erosion of American jobs under the onslaught of foreign imports as the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. wound up its annual legislative conference.

Sounding the tone for the conference, IUD Sec.-Treas. Elmer Chatak told delegates: "We've got the information we need to let our senators and representatives know we understand what's at stake. This is an election year. Let them know we'll remember whether or not they voted" to save American jobs and bring safety to the workplace.

And President Richard Trumka of the unaffiliated Mine Workers called for labor to unite and take the legislative offensive instead of responding to assaults from the right wing.

On the crucial issue of safety and health on the job:

- IUD President Howard D. Samuel urged delegates to work for passage of broad-ranging legislation, declaring that the 16-year-old Occupational Safety & Health Act is "not meeting workers' needs." He pointed to growing congressional support for both the Federal Occupational Disease Compensation Act and the High Risk Occupational Disease Notification & Prevention Act, both of which are supported by the department.
- Machinists President William Winpisinger emphasized that although some 100,000 American workers die and 340,000 become disabled each year because of occupational disease, less than 10 percent of the victims or their survivors receive compensation.
- President Joseph M. Misbrener of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers said that industry has failed to make workers aware that they run a high risk of occupational disease and that even when unions negotiate contract language to provide for notification and testing, such provisions are largely negated by lengthy grievance procedures.

In a demonstration of labor unity, IUD delegates were urged to join with their counterparts from the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. in lobbying for legislation to eliminate "double breasting."

Combined strength

The call for a united front came from Carpenters President Patrick Campbell and was followed by a 229-173 House vote in favor of the labor-backed legislation.

President James Norton of the Graphic Communications Union urged delegates to work for permanent extension of a clause in the Copyright Act which requires American authors to have their work printed in the United States or Canda in order to receive full U.S. copyright protection. Extension of this provision, a part of the law since 1891, is essential to the jobs of 1.2 million workers in the American printing industry, Norton said.

On the trade issue:

- President William Bywater of the Electronic Workers took direct aim at American-based companies that export American technology and jobs and pay no taxes on their offshore profits, declaring that "our jobs and our children's future are at stake."
- Sec.-Treas. Jay Mazur of the Ladies' Garment Workers pointed to the loss of 400,000 textile and apparel jobs since President Reagan took office, insisting that "imports cannot be allowed to decimate the remaining jobs" in that beleaguered industry.
- President Milan Stone of the Rubber Workers pointed out that, under the current trade system, aid to injured workers and industries is rarely granted and is seldom effective. He called for passage of the labor-backed Trade Law Modernization Act to "remedy America's trade crisis in a number of industries."
- Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) said that fair play in international trade, reduction in the budget deficit and increased education and training were key ingredients to restoring America's international competitiveness.
- Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio) charged that current trade laws were written for the world of 40 years ago and do not address today's problems, including subsidies and outright government ownership of foreign industries and exploitation of workers.
- Rep. Don Pease (D-Ohio) pledged to work for passage of legislation making the repression of internationally recognized workers' rights an unfair trade practice. Many developing nations, he charged, deny workers freedom of association, permit forced labor and ignore minimum age standards "in order to provide an underpaid pool of workers desperate for jobs."
- Rep. John Bryant (D-Tex.) warned that "foreign flags are flying over the American economy" and noted that, since 1980, foreign ownership of American interests "has more than doubled and has reached a trillion dollars in value."

Ray Pasnick to retire, USWA editor, publicist

Pittsburgh—Raymond W. Pasnick, former public relations director of the Steelworkers and editor for the past several years of the Oldtimer, a publication for USWA retirees, will retire May 1 after 49 years of service.

Pasnick, 70, began his union career as an organizer with the CIO's Aluminum Workers in 1937. When the ALA merged with the Steelworkers in 1944, he joined the midwestern staff of USWA's publication, Steelabor, and went on to head the USWA's public relations department.

EDITORIALS

Fruits of Solidarity

HOUSE PASSAGE of the bill to curb double-breasted contractors was a victory for the entire labor movement—for all of us, not just the construction trades.

Double-breasting is a device some contractors use to weasel out of their commitment to pay union wages and benefits. As in so many other areas of labor-management relations, anti-union employers found a loophole in the law. Then, helped by some dubious interpretations by the NLRB and the courts, they made it big enough to drive a bulldozer through.

Lobbyists for industrial, service, public sector and transportation unions worked alongside representatives of the building trades unions to explain to members of Congress and their staffs why the legislation is needed.

In key congressional districts across the country, meanwhile, the AFL-CIO's grass-roots legislative committees mobilized hometown expressions of support.

And on the eve of the House vote, some 3,000 delegates to the legislative conference of the Building & Construction Trades Dept. went up to Capitol Hill to tell their congressmen that, on this issue, "my union speaks for me." They got an assist from delegates to the Industrial Union Dept. legislative conference, which was also in session.

That's solidarity.

Now its up to all of us, from every segment of the trade union movement, to get the same message to the Senate.

Sending a Message

REPUBLICANS IN Congress have had the opportunity to cast their votes for President Reagan's budget, and they muffed it.

The message to the White House is that they like the President but just don't think much of a budget that would slash needed domestic programs to fund another big rise in military spending.

Earlier this year, Reagan supporters ran television commercials demanding that Congress vote on the President's budget. To the GOP's dismay, House leaders promptly brought it up for a vote—and it was rejected, 312-12.

This past week, Office of Management & Budget Director James C. Miller III—David Stockman's successor—complained in a letter to Republican senators that no action had been taken on the President's request to eliminate 43 domestic programs.

To the unhappiness of many of his fellow Republicans, Budget Committee Chairman Pete V. Dominici called up an amendment that would carry out the President's wishes, even though he personally opposed it. It would have eliminated funds for such programs as sewage treatment plants, rural housing, emergency food and shelter programs, the postal subsidy for non-profit publications, Amtrak and disaster loans.

In the Republican-controlled Senate, the vote was 83-12 against the President's domestic budget priorities.

Truth to Tell

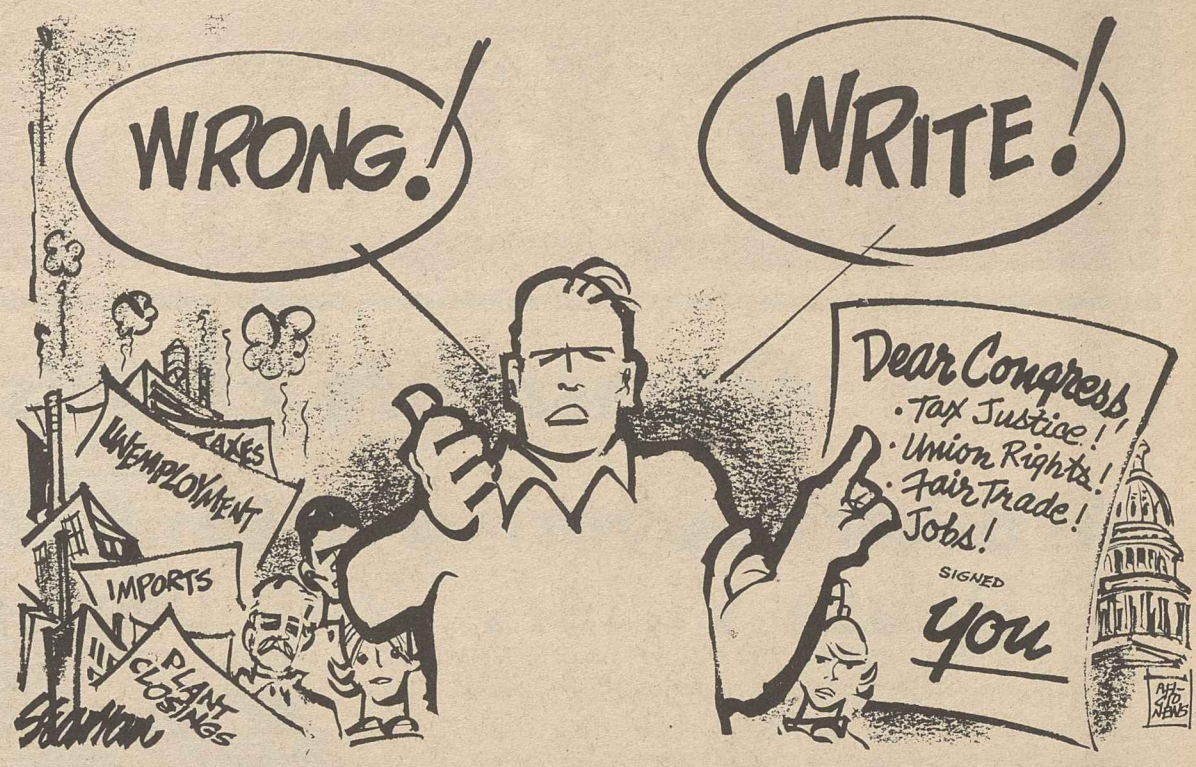
IF POLYGRAPH devices really were dependable "lie detectors," they might have a role in political campaigns. Candidates for public office could be hooked up to the devices during a debate so that voters would know who was telling the truth.

That tongue-in-cheek suggestion came from the president of the Food & Commercial Workers, William H. Wynn, at Senate hearings on legislation to stop employers from using polygraph devices to interrogate workers or job applicants.

It's a fascinating thought, almost enough to make one wish that polygraphs could reliably determine whether a person is telling the truth. It would revolutionize politics, to say nothing of international diplomacy.

On reflection, there would be other grounds for rejecting the concept of strapping public figures into something resembling an electric chair for periodic tests of honesty. But even those who do not cringe at such an invasion of human dignity acknowledge that the margin for error is too great to risk the destruction of a political career or reputation.

Is a worker's job and reputation less valuable?



Washington Window

Reagan's elusive recovery bypasses depressed sectors

By Press Associates Inc.

True or false?

(1) Economic recovery has routed unemployment and created jobs aplenty throughout the land.

(2) Federal job training programs adequately serve the unlucky few whose boat was not lifted by the rising tide of prosperity.

(3) Past jobs programs were largely "make-work," which state and local governments realize even if federal bureaucrats and liberals don't.

All the answers are true if one believes the rhetoric of President Reagan and Administration officials. All the answers are false if one looks at the facts and figures, visits depressed communities from Snowbelt to Sunbelt, and talks to state and local government leaders.

Fact: 38 states had higher unemployment rates in January 1986 than in 1979. Among the nation's 20 communities with the highest unemployment, the official jobless rate now ranges from 11.4 percent to 18.7 percent while the "real" rate—counting discouraged and involuntary part-time workers—runs from 20.5 percent in Monroe, La., to 33.7 percent in McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, Tex.

Limited resources

Fact: The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), which replaced the Comprehensive Employment & Training Act (CETA) in 1981 as the nation's primary employment and training program, has resources to serve only 3 percent of the eligible jobless. These include displaced workers, youth, displaced homemakers and welfare recipients.

Fact: State and local governments know the value of job creation and training programs from past experience. Despite the Reagan-led federal retreat from support of jobs programs, states and cities have struggled to maintain these sorely needed services.

These facts were documented in a recent report by the Full Employment Action Council, a coalition of labor, church and minority groups. Subtitled "Local Programs That Work," the report also discussed three types of successful jobs programs—for youth, hard-to-employ adults, and dislocated factory workers.

• An example of a program for youth is the California Conservation Corps. Begun in 1976, it's among the oldest and largest youth conservation and service corps in the nation, serving about 1,900 young people per year.

Fashioned after the federal Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s, the California corps operates 18 residential centers and 20 nonresidential programs throughout the state.

Conservation corps

Currently there are some 35 corps programs run by state and local governments, usually assisted by federal and private foundation funds.

• The example the report cited on hard-to-employ adults on welfare is the "Options" programs in Baltimore. Started in 1982, the individually tailored program includes, where appropriate, job search assistance, public sector work experience and occupational and remedial training.

"Options" receives funding from JTPA, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and the Work Incentive (WIN) program. So far it has helped more than 3,600 welfare clients become more independent.

• For displaced workers, the example cited was a two-year program for dislocated farm equipment production workers in Fort Wayne, Ind. In 1982, after the imminent closing of an International Harvester Corp. plant was announced, the company and the Auto Workers set up an "Outplacement center."

Services included individual job search counseling, job clubs, subsidized training and education, and workshops on the personal and professional impact of permanent layoffs. More than 4,000 workers were served, with 1,400 soon placed in new jobs and another 500 re-employed by Harvester in other locations.

"Amidst job shortages and skill deficiencies facing the nation's unemployed," the report said, effective job creation and training is urgently needed at all levels, including the federal.

AFL-CIO news

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE

ALERT!

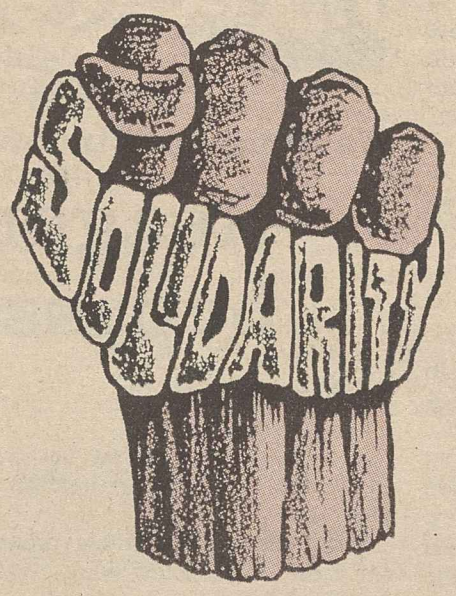
Grassroots Efforts Pay Off!

Workers Savoring Recent Win On Hobbs Act, House Victory With Double-Breasting Bill

Critics of the American labor movement, who have been busy lately spreading rumors about its demise, were noticeably silent this week as workers celebrated key legislative victories in both houses of Congress. In winning passage of important construction industry legislation and stopping proposed picket line laws, they proved that coordinated grassroots lobbying efforts are making labor's clout in Washington, D.C. and at home stronger than ever.

One of the most complete victories in many years came April 17 when a sizeable majority of the House passed H.R. 281, a bill that prevents union contractors from spinning off new companies just to hire non-union. Not only did workers confound their critics who were convinced that the legislation would never pass, but they did it with almost all Democrats and 29 Republicans climbing aboard the bandwagon.

There were several potentially crippling amendments offered but each was beaten back in its turn by huge margins. Special credit goes to rank and file building tradesmen in 44 selected congressional districts who responded with the largest number of letters to their congressmen ever. In addition, delegates of the Building and



Construction Trades Department Legislative Conference are credited for a last-minute barrage of lobbying that carried the message of workers directly to members of Congress in Washington, one-on-one, during the very week of the vote. (See page 2 for complete House vote.)

Hobbs Victory Silences Right-Wing

The perennial drive on the part of conservative zealots to use the muscle of the federal government against striking workers was silenced again this year, this time in a dramatic 44 to 54 vote on the Senate floor April 16. The measure which has been introduced in each of the last several years, could have imposed 20-year prison terms for picket line disturbances. The bill was stopped dead in its tracks when our opponents failed to win a cloture vote on a motion to proceed.

The bill's proponents needed 60 votes for cloture in order to proceed to consideration of the bill. What they received was even less than a simple majority.

Once senators cut through all the rhetoric, they saw clearly that the measure was not only unnecessary, but was an unwarranted and unfair intrusion into the basic rights of workers to picket for improved wages and working conditions. Among these were 15 Republicans who also acknowledged the one-sided nature of the bill and voted in favor of workers.

Leading the fight for striker's rights were Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA), Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-WV), Senators Edward Kennedy (D-MA), Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) and Paul Simon (D-IL). But it was union members on the grassroots level that made the critical difference.

Pensioners Win Key Committee Vote, State And Local Deductions Still Alive

Retiring public employees won a major victory in the Senate Finance Committee April 16 --the preservation of fair tax treatment of their pension payments. It was one of the few important worker provisions not contained in last year's House-passed version of tax reform, and is a key part of labor's tax agenda.

It also appears that there are not enough members at this time on the tax panel who are willing to go along with Chairman Bob Packwood's (R-OR) idea to end the critical deduction for certain state and local taxes. This was good news for workers. Rather than suffer a defeat, Packwood has set aside further voting until he can work out a new draft behind closed doors.

The AFL-CIO at about the same time took the opportunity to outline worker feelings about another recent proposal of Senator Packwood -- increased excise taxes. Testifying before his committee April 21, the federation stressed that excise taxes are the wrong way to raise revenues because they are regressive and would take billions out of the pockets of workers just to lighten the tax load of big corporations.

The excise tax scheme, "amounts to a major breach of faith with the American people," Legislative Director Robert McGlotten said, "From the very beginning, the commitment to tax reform was presented as an effort to provide the revenue needed to lower taxes for most people through measures that would close loopholes and lead to a fairer, simpler tax structure."

Gephardt Measure Would Reduce Dangerous U.S. Trade Deficit

The new omnibus trade bill, which promises to address many key aspects of the nation's trade crisis, is beginning to take shape. Subcommittee mark-up is complete and an amendment by Rep. Donald Pease (D-OH) was adopted that would recognize the need to protect worker rights abroad.

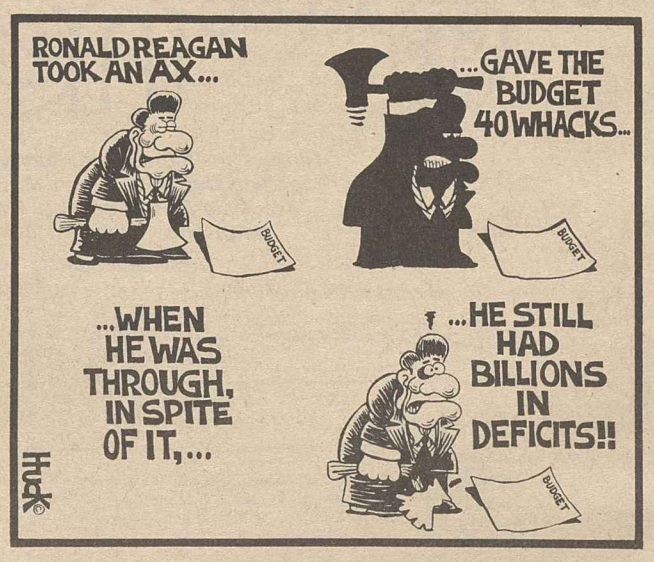
Full mark-up by the Ways and Means Committee is slated for this week and Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-MO) has said he will offer a special deficit-reducing amendment, fashioned along the lines of H.R. 3035. This bill has had the full support of the AFL-CIO and contains the kind of language needed in any broad trade legislation.

Also included in the present version of the bill are special provisions to help the U.S. telecommunications industry. They would force countries that export large amounts of communication equipment into the U.S. to remove barriers to U.S. products in their own countries, or face retaliation.

65 House Members Cosponsor Job Safety Notification Measure

The number of House cosponsors for H.R. 1309, an important measure to provide advance notification to workers exposed to dangerous substances on the job, is at 65 and rising. Sponsored by Rep. Joseph Gaydos (D-PA) the bill has completed hearings and is expected to proceeded to mark-up soon in the House Subcommittee on Health and Safety which Gaydos chairs.

A companion bill S. 2050 is also pending action in the Senate and promises to be a simple and straightforward tool to help protect the lives and health of millions of working Americans.



AFL-CIO news

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On with the show

Ribbon-cutting opens the 1986 Union-Industries Show in Kansas City as AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue is joined by Mayor Richard L. Berkley and President James Hatfield of the federation's Union Label & Service Trades Dept. The five-day run at the city's convention center featured the skills of union members and drew nearly 300,000 persons.

Import surge spurs House panel action on trade remedies

By Gene Zack

The AFL-CIO called for prompt action to end the "devastating trade crisis" as the government reported a staggering 16.3 percent jump in the U.S. trade deficit in March despite tumbling world oil prices.

Responding to the federation's appeal, the House Ways & Means Committee put its stamp of approval on two labor-backed provisions of pending trade legislation and prepared to consider a third.

The worsening trade deficit poses a serious threat to the American economy, Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten warned in a letter to Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.)

To be a "meaningful" response to the deepening problem, McGlotten stressed that the legislation must include three added provisions: effective relief from injury due to imports coupled with safeguards against unfair trade practices; protection against countries with "unwarranted" trade surpluses with the United States, and effective labor rights provisions.

The committee adopted an amendment by Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) to provide an array of possible sanctions against countries engaged in unfair trade practices and those with excessive trade surpluses. It also fought off efforts to kill an amendment by Rep. Donald J. Pease (D-Ohio) aimed at safeguarding basic labor and human rights.

The dimensions of the crisis were evident in Commerce Dept. figures, which showed a trade deficit in March of $14.5 billion, with the biggest impact falling on the industrial sector. Imports of manufactured goods rocketed to a record $25.3 billion, 13.9 percent above the February level.

Record pace

For the first three months of this year, the government said, the total trade deficit stood at nearly $43.5 billion—nearly $10 billion above the first quarter of 1985. On an annual basis, that would translate into a staggering $174 billion deficit for the year—far exceeding 1985's record-breaking $148.5 billion.

Government economists have noted that for each $1 billion shortfall in trade 22,500 U.S. jobs are wiped out.

Under the Gephardt amendment, the President would be given a wide range of options—including suspension of trade benefits, imposition of customs duties,

Continued on Page 3

Court orders contractor to resurrect union firm

By David L. Perlman

A nationwide local of the Plumbers & Pipe Fitters won a 10-year battle against a double-breasted contractor who illegally diverted bargaining unit work to his nonunion operation.

The victory will mean substantial back pay for members of Local 669 who had been employed by Corcoran Automatic Sprinklers Inc. until their employer changed from a mostly union to an entirely nonunion operation.

The case bounced back and forth between the National Labor Relations Board and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia circuit. In the end, the NLRB and the appellate court agreed that the employer's conduct was unlawful and that the damage should be undone.

That's roughly what an NLRB administrative law judge concluded back in 1976, although there were some differences in the proposed remedies.

Line of demarcation

Before 1975, there was a clear distinction between the two firms owned by George Corcoran—the union operation, known as CAS, and the nonunion A-1 Fire Protection Inc.

As the appellate court noted, CAS normally employed from seven to 10 skilled sprinkler installers who were covered by a contract with Local 669. It bid on major construction or commercial installation jobs. By contrast, the A-1 firm handled only small installations and sales of such items as fire extinguishers, smoke detectors and kitchen hood systems.

Starting in 1975, the records of the case show, Corcoran began hiring nonunion sprinkler fitters for his A-1 operation and laying off the union workers at CAS. The A-1 firm now replaced CAS as the bidder on most large contracts. Later, after the initial NLRB hearing, the CAS union operation was closed down completely.

The NLRB first sided with the company, but the union challenged its position before the appellate court. After two remands from the court to the NLRB, the labor board held additional hearings and the union had the opportunity to get additional facts into the hearing record. As one example, a union member who applied for a job with A-1 was told by Corcoran that he was phasing out the union operation and that nonunion workers would never have to fear a layoff.

Other evidence showed that union firms in the industry often bid successfully against nonunion firms. Finally, the NLRB was convinced.

The remaining issue was a remedy. The NLRB ordered Corcoran to give back pay to the union members displaced by his shift to nonunion operations and to restore the conditions that existed before his illegal shift of work by resuming bidding for sprinkler contracts through CAS, the union operation.

Continued on Page 3

Slumping industrial index muddies economic outlook

The nation's leading economic indicators advanced five-tenths of 1 percent in March, but the boom was concentrated in the financial sector while manufacturing industries continued to take a pummelling.

The index, which charts the growth of the economy and forecasts future economic trends, has either advanced or remained steady for 10 consecutive months. It has moved up 9 percent since March 1985, the Commerce Dept. said.

However all the indicators designed to show real growth in the industrial economy were on the down side.

The figures contained little for working people to cheer about. New unemployment insurance claims rose to 393,000 last month, marking the fourth consecutive monthly increase stemming from layoffs.

The data also masked the persistent problems afflicting the industrial sector. New factory orders for consumer goods slipped to $83.2 billion, down sharply for the third consecutive month. Contracts for new plant and equipment declined to $31.8 billion in March from February's level of $34.5 billion.

The bullish financial market, however, drove up the composite index. Stock prices were up nearly four-tenths of 1 percent while the nation's money supply contributed more than three-tenths of 1 percent to the indicators. The number of building permits issued during the month and the level of consumer borrowing also went up, although not as dramatically.

Meanwhile, factory orders tumbled $4.7

Continued on Page 3

Million-dollar club swells

Big bucks for corporate chiefs

Corporate board rooms across the country are awash in green—green dollars, that is—with 146 top executives raking in at least $1 million each last year. It was a far cry from just five years ago, when only four executives reached that lofty plateau.

Those figures emerge from Business Week's annual survey of executive pay, which shows how business leaders lined their pockets with a combination of salaries, bonuses, stock options and other forms of compensation.

It was a bullish year for the top brass, the magazine pointed out, because of a 37-percent boost in compensation from long-term incentive plans stemming from the Wall Street boom. The result, based on a survey of 258 companies, was that the average pay of the chief executive of these companies in 1985 was $1.2 million.

In all, the average corporate executive made $679,000 last year, a 9-percent increase from the previous year that easily outstripped 1985's inflation rate of 3.8 percent.

The figures cited by Business Week stood in sharp contrast to a report just released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, showing that the average wage increase for blue-collar workers last year, including bonuses, was 3.4 percent, while clerical employees recorded gains of 3.9 percent and those in the sales categories had their pay packages increased 5.9 percent. The average annual pay for nonsupervisory workers in 1985 was $16,952.

Double-digit millionaires

But up in the board rooms it was a different story. Setting the pace with a cool $12.7 million was Victor Posher, a Miami Beach financier who heads DWG, a holding company that includes the soft-drink maker, Royal Crown.

Following closely on his heels, with a hefty $11.4 million, was Chrysler Corp.'s Chairman Lee A. Iacocca. And that could be just the tip of the iceberg. Iacocca holds options on more than half a million Chrysler shares which, if he exercises them in the next 60 days, would net him another $10.9 million.

Iacocca wasn't the only top Chrysler executive to walk away from 1985 with his pockets bulging with cash. Joining him on the big-money list were Vice Chairman Gerald Greenwald and President Harold K. Sperlich, who went home with nearly $2.8 million each from the company that in 1980 was rescued from the brink of bankruptcy by the Auto Workers and the American taxpayer.

At the same time, "golden parachutes"—which help provide a soft landing for corporate executives who bail out of

Continued on Page 5

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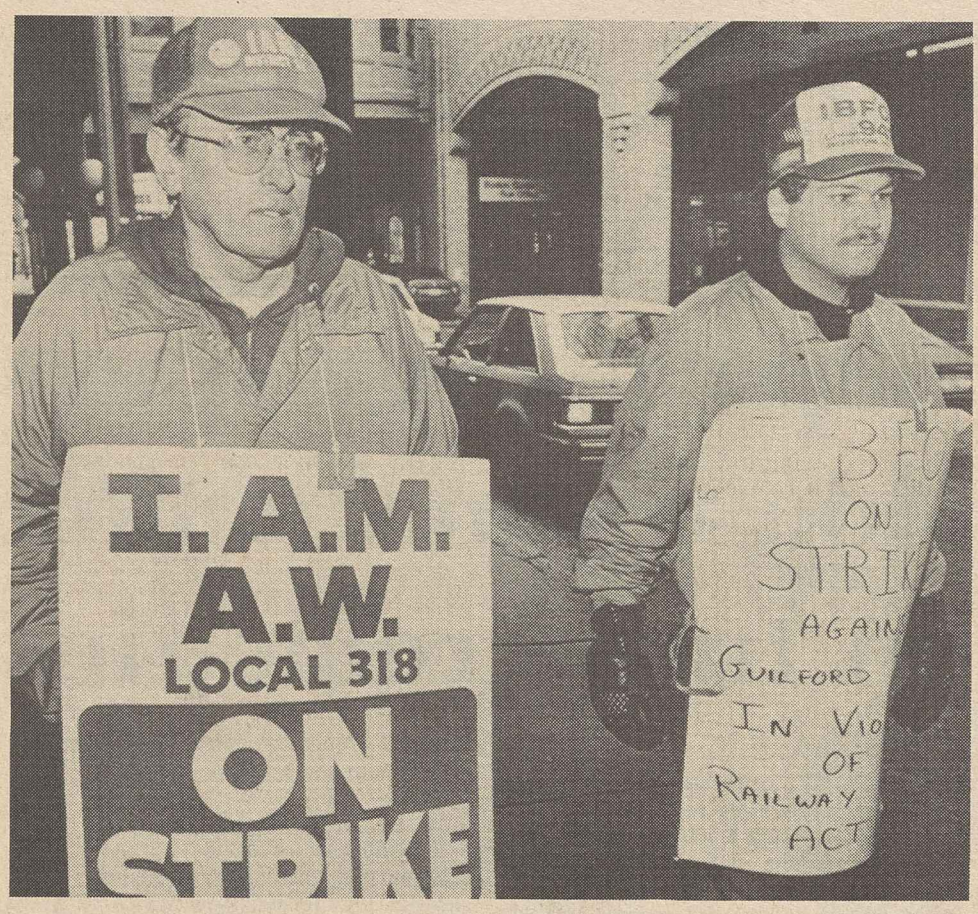


Machinists and Firemen & Oilers picket at Boston's North Station.

Waymen keep up rail strike as unions show solidarity

Boston—Guilford Transportation Industries' attempt to strip seniority from 3,500 of its employees in 11 unions who have honored picket lines set up by the Maintenance of Way Employees was blocked by a federal judge, as the two-month-old BMWE strike spread to other rail carriers.

The unions initiated the strike against Guilford Apr. 25 after workers honoring the BMWE picket lines received letters from company officials threatening them with a loss of seniority to replacements being hired.

Judge Robert Keeton of the U.S. District Court for Massachusetts granted Guilford a temporary injunction ordering members of the 11 unions to return to work until the court hears arguments on a permanent injunction against the strikers. The injunction does not involve the BMWE pickets.

Emergency board urged

As the picketing spread to other carriers, impetus grew for President Reagan to appoint an emergency board. Maine's congressional delegation and several New England governors have urged Reagan to act.

The Waymen struck Mar. 3 after two years of negotiations with Maine Central Railroad and the Portland Terminal Co., both owned by Guilford. The National Mediation Board recessed the bargaining talks in mid-March noting that the carrier had retreated from its previous proposals.

The company was demanding a 20 percent across-the-board pay cut and that the workers pay half the cost of their health insurance premiums. Job security is the top priority for the BMWE bargainers.

The strike spread to carriers that connect to the Maine and Portland lines and included the Boston & Maine Railroad and Delaware & Hudson Railroad, both owned by Guilford. BMWE pickets also set up lines at numerous other locations across the country as the rail carriers scrambled into court to get injunctions to block the picketing.

Other rail carriers who have been picketed include Central Vermont, Norfolk & Western, Union Pacific, Conrail, Chessie System, Missouri Pacific, Santa Fe, Baltimore & Ohio, Pittsburgh & Lake Erie, Norfolk Southern, and the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac railroads.

In Washington, Central Vermont appealed a federal court decision that denied it an injunction against the BMWE picketing.

'Broken promises'

Metal Trades condemn Reagan's ship policy

Although it has spent a trillion dollars on defense since coming to office in 1981, the Reagan Administration has "weakened, not strengthened" overall national security, the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept. charged in a letter to the President.

MTD President Paul Burnsky accused Reagan of reneging on "your 1980 campaign promises and pledges in the 1984 Republican party platform" to revitalize the shipbuilding industry and the merchant marine.

"Policies advanced by your Administration since early 1981 have contributed to further deterioration of our shipbuilding industrial base and the even more rapid decline of the U.S. merchant marine," Burnsky stressed.

The MTD, which represents 22 affiliated AFL-CIO unions, has mounted a major legislative effort to reverse such Administration policies as its termination of construction subsidies, ending loan guarantees for building ships in American yards, and its failure to enforce statutes giving cargo preference to U.S.-flag carriers.

In his letter, Burnsky charged the Administration with:

- Eliminating "Buy American" rules on ships built with federal loan guarantees, thus permitting an influx of foreign-built components with a resulting weakening of the domestic shipbuilding supply industry.
- Supporting efforts to allow foreign-built ships to register under the U.S. flag, making them eligible to carry cargo that the Jones Act historically has reserved for legitimate American-built, American-manned vessels.
- Opposing legislation to authorize U.S. shipyard construction of merchant ships which could serve as a sealift auxiliary in time of crisis.
- Authorizing "wasteful" bidding practices that "often result in higher costs for in-house overhaul and repair" of naval vessels.
- Permitting sharp cutbacks in skilled labor in Long Beach, Calif., and other shipyards.
- Failing to name members to a commission authorized by Congress in 1984 to address "inadequate shipbuilding, military sealift and maritime capabilities."

Misguided policies

At the same time, the MTD assailed Reagan's "grossly misguided foreign trade policies" that have encouraged a flood of imports of essential defense components produced by firms that are "either government-owned, government-subsidized or otherwise government-sponsored entities."

Burnsky asked Reagan how the nation could be sure that foreign-made defense products "will be available from so-called 'friendly' producing countries in time of national emergency, once the U.S. suppliers have gone out of business?"

"How can we be guaranteed delivery of such defense system components and be sure of their technical reliability?" Burnsky questioned in his letter.

The MTD president told Reagan that his "unwise, short-sighted fiscal and economic policies, foreign trade policies not in the best interests of the United States, and defense policies have weakened our defense industrial base and our ability to respond effectively to any global aggression" other than ones of limited duration.

Global child labor scandal revealed by ICFTU report

Brussels—Warning that child labor is a "global scandal" that has reached epidemic proportions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions called for a concerted effort to eliminate the practice and to wipe out "the poverty conditions which are its basic causes."

The ICFTU denounced the "virtual wall of silence" that surrounds the problem, noting that not only employers but "parents and the children themselves are reluctant to reveal details" about wages or working conditions.

In a report titled Breaking Down the Wall of Silence: How to Combat Child Labor, the international labor body made up of 146 national trade union centers in 99 countries, representing 82 million workers—said the problem includes:

- Some 500,000 Brazilian children working more than 49 hours a week.
- An abnormal accident rate among children on farms in Great Britain, where one out of every five victims is under age 15.
- More than 16 million boys and girls working in India, with similar figures reported in Africa and the Middle East.
- Some 800,000 under-age children helping their families survive by harvesting crops in the United States.
- Thousands of children world-wide working in pesticide-soaked fields or health-threatening textile mills.

Other forms of child exploitation include prostitution and the selling of children into domestic service, the ICFTU said.

The report called for concerted action by governments and international bodies to root out poverty, provide better education, health and vocational training facilities, and strict enforcement of international labor standards on the minimum age for employment.

College access for workers studied

Houston—The "needs and common interests" of working people and university higher education programs was the focus of discussion as representatives from organized labor and education officials joined the Association of Urban Universities for a one-day conference here.

Participants discussed ways to provide educational opportunities to "people whose first commitment is to their work, but who are anxious to learn, as well as to earn," said Jim Harrison, AUU president. Harrison said the session provided an exchange on how college programs could be made more available to workers, with universities considering after-work hours and locations and taking into account the special needs of people who are "full-time workers and part-time students."

The one-day meeting brought 30 participants to the AUU's annual program discussion of higher education issues. The AUU represents some 30 urban universities nationwide.

Kenneth Young, executive assistant to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, spoke of the "key role" urban universities can play in providing education programs and stimulating cooperation among labor, management and government representatives.

The "innovative community development programs" established by urban universities can contribute to "an educated and competent workforce" and "higher productivity and real competitiveness" for working people, he said.

Young pointed out that programs that aid dislocated workers by providing job training and counseling are especially needed, "as technologies change, as new occupations are developed and as smokestack industries shrink." He spoke of the continuing partnership between labor and higher education and urged that resources be used "to build—not stifle—support for non-traditional students."

Programs fall short

That partnership is vital because traditional programs "aimed at educating, retraining and re-employing those displaced by technological change and trade are reaching only a disgracefully low five percent of eligible workers," Young stressed. Deep cuts in federal job training funds cannot be made up by the states, leaving jobless workers to fend for themselves, he charged, adding, "somehow, we must find a way to make up the difference."

Young also outlined a number of initiatives now being reviewed by the Labor-Higher Education Council, a group formed by the AFL-CIO and the American Council on Education. They include increasing programs between labor and higher education groups, developing a comprehensive program to aid displaced workers, and studying the federal government's role in education.

Joseph S. Murphy, chancellor of the City University of New York, echoed Young's call for widening educational opportunities for working men and women. He proposed that federal financial aid programs be opened to part-time as well as full-time workers and called for an end to state unemployment compensation restrictions that discourage unemployed workers from pursuing higher education.

The purpose of the urban university is "not just to generate and disseminate knowledge to the few within our classrooms, but to serve as a resource and a potential avenue of advancement to the vast population outside our doors," Murphy stressed.

Panelists, including Harris County AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Don Horn, discussed the accessibility of higher education programs for workers and exchanged views with their labor and academic counterparts on how best to serve the growing market of working students.

The conference reviewed some innovative programs including one urban university where students not pursuing a baccalaureate or associate "two-year" degree are offered a "letter of credential" for completing short courses.

Other labor participants included Jack Golodner, director of the AFL-CIO Professional Employees Dept.; Robert Nielsen, Teachers, and Phil Comstock, Food & Commercial Workers.

Michigan unit votes AFSCME affiliation

The 5,200-member Michigan State Employees Association voted to affiliate with the State, County & Municipal Employees, bringing AFSCME's total membership in that state to 70,000.

AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee said, the union "is very pleased to welcome MSEA into the distinguished company of employees' organizations which have concluded that public employees need to stand together in unity at a time of cutbacks, layoffs, budget crises and the general anti-government climate."

MSEA President John Denniston said the affiliation "gives our membership the resources and protection of a major AFL-CIO union and still maintains our name, our autonomy and our identity."

The agreement between the unions includes retention of MSEA's right to determine its officers, dues structure and policy.

Imports wipe out 40,000 forging industry jobs

Surging imports destroyed more than 40,000 jobs in the domestic forging industry between 1981 and 1984 as foreign penetration of the American market rose from 16 to 24 percent, the U.S. International Trade Commission reported.

The trade deficit in imported forgings and finished assemblies nearly doubled during that period, the commission said, rising from $285 million in 1981 to $528 million in 1984.

The grim statistics drew calls from the Boilermakers and the Molders for legislative action to stem the import tide.

"Imports are killing the domestic industry," said Michael Wood, director of organizing for the Boilermakers, whose membership in the forging industry has dropped from 12,000 to 4,500 in the past five years.

Wood laid much of the blame directly on the doorstep of American manufacturers who have invested in foreign operations to take advantage of low-cost labor and who have built modern facilities abroad that compete with aging domestic plants. "It's the fault of runaway capital and runaway technology," he said.

Molders President Bernard Butsavage criticized the Reagan Administration's "irresponsible attitude" toward the mounting trade crisis. "The Administration is living in the past," he asserted, "while imports erode job opportunities for working men and women."

The impact on the Molders is particularly grave, Butsavage pointed out, because "our members are skilled craftsmen and we don't have the luxury of offsetting job losses with other types of employment."

The ITC said that, in response to increased import competition, U.S. producers have reduced production, slashed employment and lowered prices. As a result, the industry has failed to make adequate investments in new plant and equipment, the commission declared.

In addition to trade legislation that would grant specific relief to the industry, the two unions called for revitalization of American forging plants, pointing out that new technology is essential to meet the growing threat from abroad.

But financing such plans is impossible at present because industry profits have nosedived, he said.

House panel adopts remedies as foreign trade deficit surges

Continued from Page 1

negotiated agreements or administrative measures to improve the competitiveness of U.S. industries—to deal with countries that flood the United States with their goods while denying American-made goods access to their markets.

The Administration would have up to four months to negotiate relief with the offending countries, after which imposition of penalties would be mandatory.

Had the measure been in effect last year when the United States was being swamped by a record-shattering trade deficit, the Gephardt provision would have impacted most heavily on the trading practices of Japan, West Germany and Taiwan.

The amendment was approved despite strong Administration opposition. Alan Holmer of the Office of U.S. Trade Representative contended that it would lead to retaliation by other countries and there were strong hints that President Reagan would veto the measure.

Retention of the Pease amendment marks the first time Congress has attempted to deal with labor's concerns over the exploitation of workers throughout the world. It amends existing trade legislation by requiring the President to respond to violations of basic labor and human rights by curbing access to the U.S. market for goods from offending countries.

Injury standards

Citing the trade deficit's danger to the U.S. economy, McGlotten also urged the committee to amend the bill it's scheduled to send to the House floor in mid-May by bringing existing injury standards into line with international standards and to make certain that once an industry has demonstrated injury it will be granted relief.

At the same time, the federation urged the committee to reject presidential tariff-cutting authority in any new trade negotiations. The talks should should focus on the problems of the domestic manufacturing industry rather than on such issues as international investment and the trade in services, McGlotten insisted.

Administration economists had predicted the collapse of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries cartel, that for years had a stranglehold on the world economy, would ease the trade deficit. In fact, the nation's bill for foreign oil dropped 13 percent last month to $3.3 billion even while the total volume of oil imports was rising 11.1 percent.

But the gain was eclipsed by surging auto, electronic and computer imports which skyrocketed to a record $30.1 billion for the month. The figure was only slightly smaller than the all-time record of $33.5 billion set in January of this year.

Japan's share grows

The deficit with Japan jumped to an all-time high of $5.5 billion, a whopping 27.5 percent higher than the February imbalance. The Japanese now account for one-third of the total U.S. trade deficit, and Congress and the Reagan Administration are under increasing pressure to cut the flow of Japanese goods into this country and to demand that Japan open its market to American-made goods.

The nation's trade imbalance with Western Europe in March was up $700 million to $2.7 billion and the shortfall with Canada was up $400 million to $2.9 billion.

The trade deterioration in March called into question the Administration's forecasts that the nation's trading woes would ease as a result of government action taken last September, in cooperation with other leading free world countries, to drive the value of the dollar lower.

Although the White House predicted that a devalued dollar would make American-made goods more attractively priced in foreign markets and would push up prices of imports, the move has yet to have any positive impact on the trade deficit.

The surge in manufactured imports last month, even in the face of the weaker dollar, led analysts to hedge their bets. They now say that even though the dollar has fallen some 30 percent against foreign currencies in the past six months, the promised benefits of the lower exchange rate will not start showing up in trade statistics until this fall.

Testifying for jobs

Nearly 600 union members and citizens of Aliquippa, Pa., packed Croatian Hall for House Labor subcommittee hearings to voice their support for a federal jobs bill sponsored by Rep. Charles A. Hayes (D-Ill.), a former Food & Commercial Workers vice president. The measure would help implement the goals of the Employment Act of 1946 and the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act of 1978 by affirming that every worker is entitled to a job with adequate wages and by funding projects to provide jobs.

Bank workers keep union, carry on 'Willmar 8' spirit

Willmar, Minn.—Bank employees need and want a union. That's the message that employees of the First American Bank & Trust Co., nearly all of them women, sent to a management that had sought the decertification of Auto Workers Local 2008.

The 22-18 vote against decertification kept alive an effort begun in 1977 by the "Willmar Eight," whose struggle for women's rights in the workplace drew national attention and was the basis for a television film.

The Willmar Eight strikers, who had formed their own union, lost their struggle. But the First American employees picked up the banner some three years ago, incorporated the number "8" into their newly-formed local of the UAW, and won bargaining rights at the First American Bank and a contract.

When negotiations for a new contract hit a snag last month, management declared an impasse and unilaterally put into effect its "last offer" to the union. It challenged a narrow union victory in a decertification election held in February, and the union agreed to a rerun.

The result was an expanded union margin, and an admission by a bank official that "we were very disappointed. We were fairly confident that the results would be different."

The comment from Local 2008 President Pam Sigafoos was that the women who worked at the bank organized because they were "tired of training men" to be promoted over them, the vote showed they still wanted union representation, and that it's time for management to get back to the bargaining table.

Factory slump clouds financial gains

Continued from Page 1

billion or 2.3 percent in March, the largest drop since April 1984, the Commerce Dept. said. The setback followed declines of eight-tenths of 1 percent in January and 2.1 percent in February.

New orders for manufactured goods stood at $194.2 billion, down sharply from February's $198.8 billion. The situation would have been even worse had it not been for a 45-percent explosion in defense orders. Without that distortion, the decline would have been 4.1 percent last month.

In another sign of the continued deterioration of the nation's industrial base, machine tool orders in March were 23 percent below the figure for a year ago, the National Machine Tool Builders' Association said.

The report showed only $214.8 million in machine tool orders, compared with $279.3 million a year earlier. The association said the sluggish picture is evidence that durable-goods manufacturers continue to take a pessimistic view of the economy's performance in the months ahead.

In other economic developments:

- Productivity surged 3.4 percent during the first quarter of 1985, the largest quarterly gain in two years, the Labor Dept. reported. The figures marked a sharp reversal from the last quarter of 1985, when productivity fell at an annual rate of 3.1 percent.

The government said that in manufacturing, which accounts for nearly one-fourth of the nation's economic activity, productivity improved 2.4 percent during the quarter pushing per-unit labor costs down 1.4 percent.

The hourly compensation of workers rose a nominal nine-tenths of 1 percent during the first three months of the year. After factoring in inflation, however, real wages and benefits fell one-half of 1 percent in the period.

- The value of new construction contracts dropped 8 percent in March from the previous month and total construction in the first quarter of 1986 was off 3 percent from a year ago, McGraw-Hill Information Systems Co.'s F.W. Dodge Report showed.

Office and industrial construction plunged 13 percent to an annual rate of $66.9 billion, offsetting a modest 1-percent rise in residential construction which now is running at an annual rate of $106.6 billion.

Coors beer goes flat in Arkansas

Little Rock, Ark.—Coors beer and Coors politics have become hard for Arkansas consumers to swallow as the AFL-CIO's boycott helped push Coors beer sales in the state to the bottom of the barrel.

Coors gushed into Arkansas with a media blitz in 1980 to capture 30 percent of the market. But its sales have slowed to a trickle and it now has just 5 percent of the market.

State Federation President J. Bill Becker pointed out: "Boycotts work. We advertised the boycott, included it on the outside of our mailing envelopes, printed the 'do not buy' lists and spread the word to the state's 90,000 union members."

The Arkansas Gazette noted that the brewery's blitz "bombs out in Arkansas." Local Coors distributors said that Coors' rodeo cowboy type advertising didn't relate to the state's blue-collar workers and that owners Joe and Bill Coors's staunch right-wing ideology didn't sell well either.

Contractor told to restore union

Continued from Page 1

The union asked the court to strengthen the NLRB's recommended remedy. The court did not do so directly. But the decision, written by Judge Harry T. Edwards on behalf of the three-judge appellate panel, interpreted the NLRB order in a manner close to the reinstatement remedy the union had urged.

Judge Edwards also took note of the long delay in resolving the dispute. The "decade of litigation," he suggested, is reminiscent of the fictional case of Jarndyce v. Jarndyce in the Charles Dickens novel, Bleak House, which had nourished several generations of attorneys until the assets of the estate were depleted.

Labor, health experts tell Congress occupational disease data 'unreliable'

Labor and private health professionals assailed the government's "fragmented and unreliable" collection of data on occupational diseases and urged that the federal role be "sharply increased."

Eric Frumin, chairman of the Labor Advisory Committee on Occupational Safety & Health Statistics to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, charged that "widespread and often deliberate underreporting of occupational illnesses by employers," lack of interest by the medical community, and failure of the government to expand data collection efforts combine to thwart the compiling of adequate information on occupational diseases.

In testimony before two House Government Operations subcommittees, Frumin explained that it is important for labor to have "credible occupational disease statistics" in order to "justify our demands for change" in the workplace.

Such data, he said, "will make a critical difference in our ability to secure the protection we need from the horror of cancer, birth defects, disabling lung disease and many other work-related illnesses."

Four government agencies are responsible for surveillance of occupational diseases—National Center for Health Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Occupational Safety & Health Administration and National Institute for Occupational Safety & Health. Over the past half-dozen years, the budgets for all these agencies have been severely slashed.

OSHA's failure

Frumin, safety director for the Clothing & Textile Workers, testified that "it is impossible to rely on employers or their captive physicians to accurately report occupational diseases to workers, local health authorities or OSHA." He charged that OSHA bears the major responsibility for this failure, "as its enforcement program is structured to encourage employers to withhold such reports. . . ."

In detailing the data collection shortcomings of the four federal agencies, Frumin stressed that the efforts to collect occupational disease statistics is "70 years behind communicable disease surveillance." He urged the subcommittees to "fully investigate the government's role and to ensure that these agencies address this problem in a new and comprehensive fashion."

Dr. Philip J. Landrigan, director of the Environmental & Occupational Medicine division of Mount Sinai School of Medicine in New York, gave a scathing assessment of the existing systems for counting cases of occupational disease, calling them "woefully inadequate."

The major consequence of this, he said, is that "we are not able to tell whether the number of cases of principal occupational diseases are on the increase or on the decline, and we can only speculate as to whether preventive measures, legislative initiatives or policy changes have had any effect in reducing the occurrence of these diseases. In essence, we are flying blind."

The lack of adequate national data on the occurrence of major occupational diseases "places us at a serious disadvantage in the fields of health planning, risk assessment and preventive medicine," Landrigan said. "We are years behind the current levels of surveillance over the major communicable diseases. . .and decades behind European nations" in the ability to maintain surveillance of major occupational diseases.

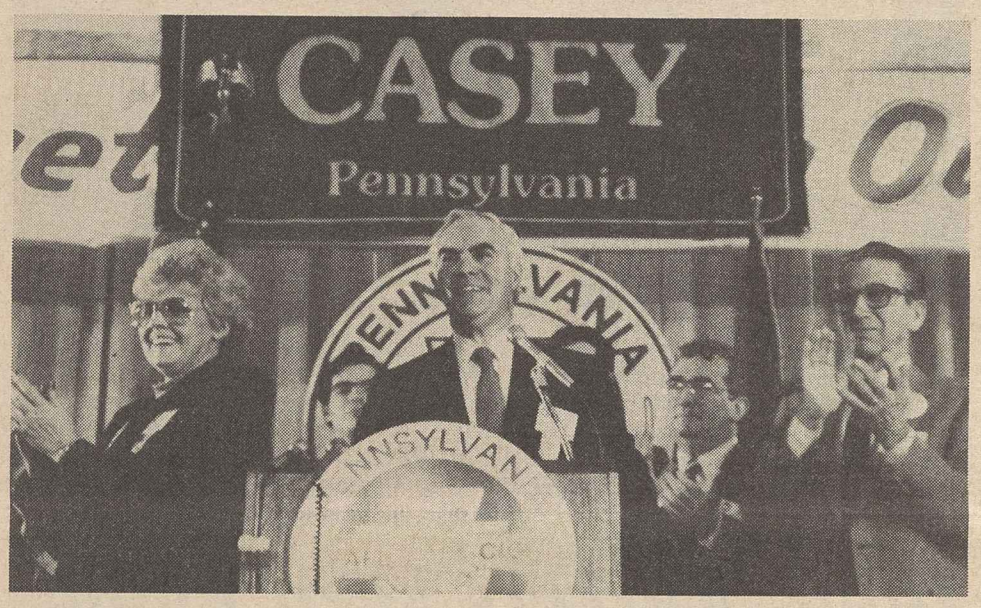
Women's work

The Coalition of Labor Union Women will celebrate Working Women's Awareness Week, May 4-10, with coast-to-coast conferences and rallies focusing on the problems and concerns of working women.

The week-long program will "dispel the myths" about the plight of working women and "will highlight the benefits of trade unionism," CLUW President Joyce Miller said. "We will not be satisfied until all 50 million working women enjoy the benefit of a union contract."

"Contrary to what is generally portrayed, women work because they have to work—they need the money," Miller stressed, adding that the majority of women are working in "low paying, dead-end jobs." Compounding the problem is the lack of an adequate child and dependent care system, she said.

In a letter to Miller, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said the CLUW's observance will focus "increased attention and action" on working women's concerns. He noted that the week coincides with congressional hearings on pending legislation affecting working women.



Robert Casey, center, labor-backed candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, joins State AFL-CIO officers: Sec.-Treas. Judith Heh, Executive Vice President Robert McIntyre and President Julius Uehlein.

Pennsylvania fed delegates underline job-creation goals

Pittsburgh—Labor's fight for jobs and workers' rights topped the agenda of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO convention, as delegates adopted a legislative action plan to aid workers and the unemployed.

Pointing to the loss of 300,000 manufacturing jobs in the state since 1980, the 1,500 delegates pressed for federal legislation that would fulfill the promises of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act and urged that state-run economic development, job training and worker assistance programs be upgraded. The convention condemned Reagan Administration economic policies that have kept unemployment levels in the state at recession-level rates for the last six years.

State AFL-CIO President Julius Uehlein, Executive Vice President Robert McIntyre and Sec.-Treas. Judith Heh were re-elected by acclamation to four-year terms. Delegates also elected 58 vice presidents to two-year terms.

Top priority

In his report to the convention, Uehlein called jobs "the number one priority for Pennsylvania labor." He also outlined the state federation's legislative goals including health and safety protections for state workers, improved health care and controlled medical costs, and an overhaul of the state's workers' compensation system.

Uehlein stressed the need for greater coordination in legislative activities among the state federation's 96 affiliates and called for increased grass-roots activities, active participation in coalitions that share labor's goals, and greater use of its direct mail list, covering some 1.2 million union members, about 20 percent of the state's population.

In a series of resolutions, delegates called for legislation to reduce the impact of plant closings on workers and their communities, pressed for job training programs that target dislocated and permanently laid-off workers, and urged stricter import limits.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney called on union members to take a major role in setting the direction and shape of the upcoming state and federal political campaigns. "The Democratic Party succeeded and became great in the past because it proudly represented working people, minorities, women and farmers, he said. And labor must insure, Sweeney stressed, "that the values of the average working man and woman are at the forefront of the Democratic Party's platform in 1986 and 1988."

John Perkins, AFL-CIO COPE director, told the delegates that "on a scale of one to ten, the 1986 elections rate an 11 for labor." Labor will be working "to get every local union that doesn't have one to organize a COPE committee" and to "register and get out the vote of union members," he promised.

Delegates attended a series of workshops covering health care cost containment, safety and health, workers' compensation, political action, community services and labor's legislative program and met with national AFL-CIO representatives to discuss corporate organizing campaigns, phone bank operations and labor communications.

Other speakers included Senators John Heinz and Arlen Specter, both Republicans; Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch; Ladies' Garment Workers Vice President Evelyn Dubrow; Regional Director Walter Waddy; Rep. Robert Edgar (D), who won the state federation's endorsement for the U.S. Senate, and Robert Casey, former Pennsylvania auditor general and labor's endorsed candidate for governor.

Mississippi unions fight cuts in essential state programs

Jackson, Miss.—Delegates to the Mississippi AFL-CIO convention vowed to continue pressing labor's legislative agenda despite the state government's revenue shortfalls and resulting cuts in agency budgets and programs.

The 230 delegates also approved a constitutional change that combines the offices of president and secretary-treasurer. Incumbent President Thomas Knight was elected to the post by acclamation. Former Sec.-Treas. Neal Fowler did not seek election to office.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue outlined the federation's plan to bring state and local central bodies to maximum strength by increasing local union affiliation, declaring that "we have no more urgent task than to build and strengthen this movement at every level."

He stressed that the goal of the affiliation effort "is not only to generate greater resources but to encourage greater participation in the work of central bodies by those already affiliated as well as by those who will be added to the rolls."

Donahue also reviewed the AFL-CIO's new initiatives, including the procedure to resolve organizing disputes and the new benefits program, which promises to use "the bargaining power inherent in our numbers to secure a better deal for our members and their families as consumers."

In a report on the recent legislative session, Knight noted that state legislators were scrambling to compensate for "a serious decline in state revenues." With the state's unemployment rate now at 11.2 percent and many laid-off workers not included in the count, Mississippi is experiencing a severe revenue shortfall and legislators moved to "slash every agency budget," Knight said.

Still, he noted, labor won some victories and turned back efforts by anti-union forces that would have outlawed collective bargaining for public workers and given county surpervisors the right to reject public employee bargaining.

New post

The convention also elected six vice presidents and expanded the executive board to 15 members. In a second constitutional change, the convention approved a part-time vice-chair position to aid the state federation's top officer.

In a series of resolutions, the delegates condemned the Reagan Administration's mishandling of the country's affairs, criticized permissive state regulations that allow out-of-state construction contractors to submit extremely low bids and avoid payroll and other taxes on Mississippi projects, reaffirmed support for public sector collective bargaining, and urged local unions to affiliate with the state federation.

The delegates also adopted a special memorial in honor of the late Claude Ramsay, who served as president of the State AFL-CIO for 25 years until his retirement in January 1986.

Rep. Wayne Dowdy (D) criticized the Reagan veto of the Textile & Apparel Enforcement Act last year and said the nation's trade deficit and import situation now was critical.

Honoring the Irish

John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic Labor Party in Northern Ireland, right, was honored at a Washington dinner sponsored by the National Democratic Institute. Hume has been credited with furthering the nonviolent efforts to reach an Anglo-Irish accord. With Hume are AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and his wife Irena and Walter Mondale, honorary chairman of the institute.

Court binds successor to USWA pact

Independence, Mo.—A successor company that agrees to assume an existing collective bargaining agreement is barred from unilaterally modifying the contract at a later date, a federal court ruled.

The U.S. District Court for Western Missouri held it was illegal for Deutz-Allis Corp., which purchased a combine plant here from Allis-Chalmers Corp. in May 1985, to arbitrarily eliminate cost-of-living adjustments, cut health insurance coverage and the vacation program, terminate supplemental allowances for retirees and eliminate the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits plan.

There is no basis in common law or labor law, Judge Ross T. Roberts said, allowing "the unilateral withdrawal of a contract."

Roberts issued a declaratory judgment in favor of Steelworkers Local 1958 calling for full reinstatement of all of the contract provisions.

Assumption acknowledged

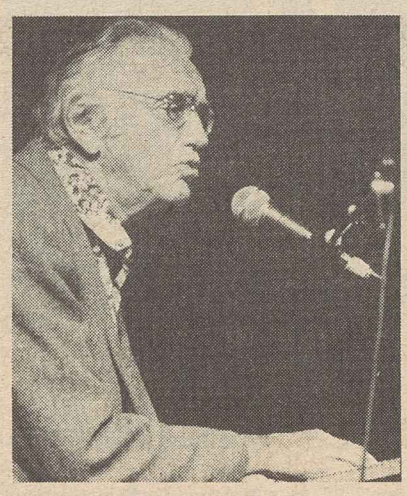
The USWA negotiated the contract with Allis-Chalmers in March 1984. It was to remain in effect through Feb. 14, 1987. The plant was sold to Deutz-Allis in May 1985 and in September of that year the successor company wrote the Steelworkers that "Deutz-Allis herewith records that it has assumed the pre-May 25, 1985 labor agreement."

However, the new management sought to reopen the contract and instituted wholesale changes unilaterally seven months later, claiming that the union had failed to bargain over the givebacks it was demanding.

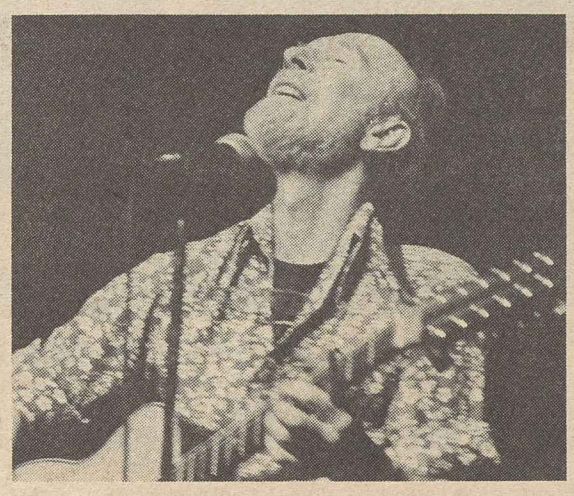
The court held that the company's letter was clear evidence of Deutz-Allis's "intention to accept the old collective bargaining agreement," adding that there was "no credible evidence that the unions had promised any specific action in return for the company's assumption of the contract."

Therefore, Judge Roberts said, the company had no legal basis either for demanding a reopening of contract negotiations or imposing its sought-after changes in the bargaining agreement.

Union folksingers and musicians belt out a final chorus of "Solidarity Forever."



Earl Robinson sings "Joe Hill."



Pete Seeger "talking union" at concert.

'86 wage contracts modest when lump-sum pay excluded

Wage settlements negotiated during the first quarter of 1986 provide first-year average pay increases of only eight-tenths of 1 percent when lump-sum payments aren't included, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

The figures were the weakest since the first quarter of 1983, when the economy was still inching its way back from the depths of the Reagan Recession.

BLS noted that more than one-third of the 283,000 workers covered by major contracts negotiated in the first three months of 1986 will receive lump-sum payments. However these payments are not factored into either wage or compensation measurements.

BLS Associate Commissioner George Stelluto said the agency is "considering" including lump-sum figures in 1987 data and that if they are included, they would be considered part of the compensation package rather than wages.

First-quarter negotiations that provided lump-sum payments had average increases of only four-tenths of 1 percent in the first contract year and raises of nine-tenths of 1 percent annually over the life of the contract. Contracts without lump-sum settlements provided raises of 1 percent in the first year and 2 percent annually over the term of the contract.

The last time the same parties bargained—generally two to three years ago—the average wage increases were 2 percent in the first year and 3.2 percent annually over the life of the contracts, BLS said.

The government said that 159,000 workers covered by contracts settled in the January-March period had no wage change in the first year.

Another 105,000 workers had wage increases averaging 3.9 percent and nearly 19,000 had wage cuts in the first year averaging 9.9 percent. However, 66 percent of all these workers will have a net wage gain over the contract term, according to BLS.

Industries involved

Some 69,000 workers covered by first-quarter settlements were in the construction industry, 42,000 were in retail food stores, 33,000 were in petroleum refining and the remainder were in a variety of other industries.

There is a much heavier bargaining calendar for the second quarter of 1986 than there was in the first quarter. Some 295 major pacts, affecting 933,000 workers, are scheduled to expire or reopen for wage negotiations in the April-June period. In addition, negotiations are continuing or ratification is pending on 89 contracts covering 475,000 workers which expired or were reopened before April 1.

Executive salary increases expand million-dollar club

Continued from Page 1

companies during takeovers or general reorganizations—set some impressive records of their own.

Biggest beneficiary of these generous severance and benefits payouts, Business Week said, was Michael C. Bergerac, who left his post as chairman of Revlon when it was taken over by Pantry Pride. How big was his parachute? A whopping $35 million. Two other Revlon officials, Senior Vice Presidents Michael Sayres and Samuel I. Simmons had to settle for a mere $2.3 million each when Pantry Pride took over.

At Beatrice, the food conglomerate that was the subject of a shotgun buyout, four top officers walked away from the battle without a scratch but with healthy bankrolls. Chief Executive Officer William W. Granger Jr. had a $6.4-million parachute, Chief Financial Officer David E. Lipson received nearly $4.3 million and Executive Vice President Frank E. Grzelecki got nearly $2.6 million, while James L. Dutt was given $3.8 million to help ease the shock of being terminated as chief executive officer.

Back on the salary-bonus-stock option front, the Business Week study showed that the nation's leading defense contractors were exceedingly generous with their top executives. Among the big beneficiaries: Rockwell's Chairman Robert Anderson, $3.6 million; General Dynamics' Chairman David S. Lewis, $3.4 million, and Lockheed's Chairman Roy A. Anderson, nearly $3 million.

The runaway stock market has been a boon to financial titans, Business Week pointed out. Of the top 25 earners, one in five works at an investment banking firm. Biggest winners in this category were John H. Gutfreund, chairman of Phibro-Salomon Inc., at $3.2 milion, and First Boston Chairman Alvin V. Shoemaker at $2.3 million.

Top 10 in Pay

The following corporate executives led all the rest in total compensation according to Business Week:

	Company	Total package in millions
Victor Posher	DWG	$12.7
Lee A. Iaccoca	Chrysler	11.4
T. Boone Pickens Jr.	Mesa Petroleum	8.4
Drew Lewis	Warner Amex	6.0
Robert L. Mitchell	Celanese	4.7
Sidney J. Sheinberg	MCA	4.5
Robert Anderson	Rockwell	3.6
Clifford C. Garvin Jr.	Exxon	3.6
David S. Lewis	General Dynamics	3.4
John H. Gutfreund	Phibro-Salomon	3.2

7 Golden Parachutes

And here's what top corporate executives received to compensate for losing their jobs:

	Company	Reason for Payment	Total in Millions
Michael C. Bergerac	Revlon	Pantry Pride takeover	$35.0
William W.Granger Jr.	Beatrice	Leveraged buyout	6.4
David E. Lipson	Beatrice	Same	4.3
Leonard H. Goldenson	ABC	Capital Cities takeover	3.8
Frederick S. Pierce	ABC	Same	3.8
James L. Dutt	Beatrice	Termination	3.8
John McConnaughy Jr.	Peabody Intl.	Pullman takeover	3.7

Labor's songs recall battle for freedom, justice

By Candice Johnson

"If you want higher wages, let me tell you what to do: You got to talk to the workers in the shop with you; you got to build you a union, got to make it strong, But if you all stick together, now, 'twon't be long."—**From labor song, Talking Union**

Working men and women have been talking union and using music to spread their message of justice and freedom since the earliest days of the nation. The tradition of telling labor's story through song and its more than 200 years of inspiration is vividly described in "Carry It On," a collection of songs and photographs celebrating American workers. The volume was assembled by folksinger Pete Seeger, who sang and played many of the labor classics at a Washington concert to benefit the Labor Heritage Foundation.

In addition to Seeger, the concert featured Earl Robinson, composer of "Joe Hill," songwriter Hazel Dickens, blues writer and singer John Jackson, and labor musicians active in the foundation. The benefit was sponsored by 15 AFL-CIO unions.

Singing along

With the first chords of "Union Maid," the sell-out crowd began singing along and greeted with applause a new verse that urged women to "break out o' that mold we've all been sold" and follow their "fighting history." Seeger offered short histories on how each song came to be written, mixing labor songs with a traditional Spanish melody and a dirge sung by South African workers for their children.

Robinson offered a moving rendition of "Joe Hill" while Billy Brown, a member of the Machinists, used a modern "rap" to tell the story of Solidarity Day, and Joe Glazer and Joe Uehlein introduced today's union-buster, to the tune of "Oh Susannah." "Solidarity Forever" brought the audience to its feet, as the performers clasped hands and repeated the chorus "that the union makes us strong."

The "Carry It On" volume explores early worklife in America, when working men and women—farmers and boatsmen, haulers and factory girls—turned to music to tell the stories that words alone could not convey. The lament of a 19th century homemaker in "Life is a Toil," the frustration of "No Irish Need Apply" or the black slaves' dreams of "Oh Freedom," all chronicled the earliest years of workers' struggles and set the stage for a musical tradition that grew up with the American labor movement.

Labor classics

The book continues with the songs of the factory age—familar tunes including "Union Maid," "Sit Down," and "We Shall Not Be Moved"—and some less well-known, like "Hurry, Hurry, Hurry," its rapid refrain noting that "production rushes on." The 1980's provides song material as well, including Dolly Parton's "9 to 5" and "Forget-Me-Not," a layoff lament from Canada.

The Labor Heritage Foundation was formed in 1982 and is "dedicated to raising the awareness of workers' culture both within the labor movement and among the general public," Foundation President Joe Uehlein said. The group encourages union members "to create new songs and art works" and to help spread labor's message to the public, he stated.

Uehlein said future projects include setting up a referral service for unions seeking songwriters and other artists; training union members to make greater use of music and the arts; providing professional help to rank-and-file artists, and preparing collections of labor songs, art, and poetry.

5 unions win safeguards on plant closure

Members of five unions have won major safeguards against sudden plant closures and technology-spawned changes in the scope of their work, under the terms of three-year contracts with North American Philips Lighting Corp.

The new agreement for the first time will give the 3,500 covered workers six months' advance notice of projected plant closings or product line relocation and 60 days' notice of plans to introduce automated manufacturing machines or robotics. The workers are employed at seven manufacturing facilities and three warehouses formerly owned by Westinghouse.

Negotiators also won a series of incentives for early retirement, ranging from supplemental payments to a special $5,000 bonus for employes over age 60 with 15 years' service if their classification is adversely affected by the introduction of automated equipment.

The contract covers members of the Electronic Workers, Electrical Workers, Flint Glass Workers, Allied Industrial Workers and the unaffiliated United Electrical Workers, who negotiated under the umbrella of the coordinated bargaining program of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.

Accords ratified

Members of the individual unions have completed the process of ratifying the contracts, under which they will receive a 3-percent lump-sum bonus during the first year and wage increases of 3 percent in each of the remaining two years of the contract.

In addition, the contract calls for semi-annual cost-of-living adjustments, beginning in January 1987, in the event that consumer price increases erode the purchasing power of the union wage scale.

Improvements were made in health and life insurance coverage, dental plan, sickness and accident benefits and pensions. Insurance benefits were also increased for retirees eligible for Medicare. In a continuing effort to contain hospital costs, the agreement requires workers to undergo a pre-admission review before entering a hospital and to get a second opinion before undergoing certain types of surgery.

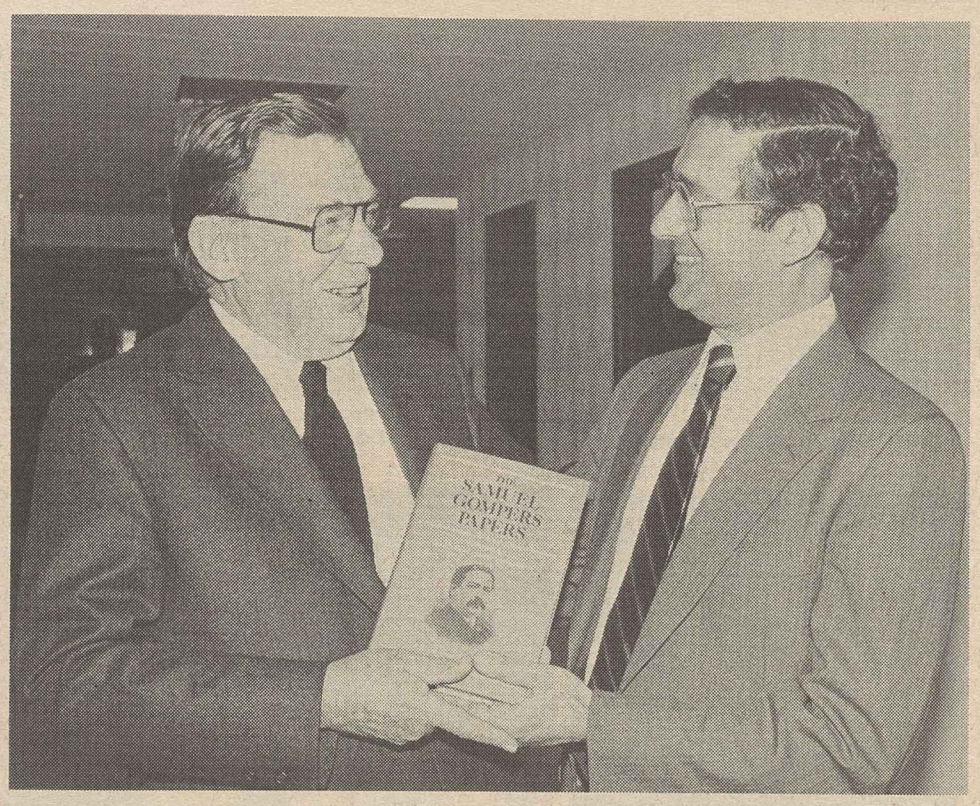
New hires in the four lower job classifications will begin at 85 percent of the minimum salary, attaining the full minimum by the end of their first year through two step increases.

CONVENTIONS

The Novelty & Production Workers will convene May 19-22 in Orlando, Fla.

The Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union will hold its 1986 convention in Bal Harbour, Fla., June 2-6.

The Woodworkers convention has been rescheduled by the union's executive board and will be held in Portland, Ore., Nov. 3-7.



Lane Kirkland and Stuart Kaufman, editor of Gompers Papers.

First of 12 Gompers volumes recounts labor's early days

The first volume of a 12-book series on the life of Samuel Gompers, the federation's founding president, was presented to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland by labor historian Stuart Kaufman. Kaufman is editor of the Samuel Gompers Papers and a historian at the University of Maryland.

Kirkland praised the project for providing insight to "not just the words and deeds of one man, but the economic, political and social life of the nation." The deeds of Gompers and the early labor movement is "a marvelous story that's not over yet," Kirkland said.

The study of Gompers' life allows those in today's labor movement to "better understand our own struggles," Kirkland said, and to realize "there are no final victories and no final defeats."

Kaufman thanked the federation for its support and assistance in providing both financial and "intangible encouragement." He noted that 24 unions, in addition to the AFL-CIO, are providing funds and access to documents.

Kaufman said the first volume served as a "first rollcall" of the early leaders of the labor movement, while book two will highlight the years that Gompers "burst onto the national scene." The series is designed for not just for scholars, but for interested readers within the labor movement, Kaufman said.

The presentation was coordinated by the federation's librarian, Evelyn Johnson, to help celebrate National Library Week. The volume, published by the University of Illinois Press, normally sells for $39.95 but is available to union members for $29.75.

Apprentice training role reaffirmed

Albany, N.Y.—Apprenticeship programs remain a proven way to develop the broad-based knowledge and skills of American workers, authorities in education and training stressed.

Speaking at a conference on "Learning by Doing" convened by the Operating Engineers, former Labor Sec. Ray Marshall said that future workers will need "more academic, abstract and learning skills, but these skills are much better learned by hands-on experience than by typical academic learning processes alone."

Further support for hands-on education came from Ken Pankhurst, director of Policy Analysis in Education for the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development. He told conferees the single most important skill is "a capacity for solving problems by drawing on many disciplines. Problem solving cannot be learned in abstracts," he continued. "It can only be learned by solving problems."

Measuring the achievement of trainees is critical to any education or training program, according to Len Brill of the City and Guilds of London Institute. Modern apprenticeship programs meet these requirements by providing reference materials and reliable tests of a worker's knowledge and abilities, Brill stated. They are a "prime example of the combination of theoretical studies and practical instruction," he said.

Extended use

Assistant Labor Sec. Roger Semerad endorsed the "extension of the apprenticeship model of training into new areas and new industries."

Other speakers at the four-day conference reported on how apprentices receive academic credit for their learning through dual union enrollment programs.

Reese Hammond, IUOE education and training director, told conferees that the union will establish a network for exchanging information on updated apprenticeship courses.

OSHA hit on bid to cut record-keeping

Union safety experts from the Carpenters, Steelworkers and Operating Engineers strongly protested the Occupational Safety & Health Administration's plan to eliminate 22 record-keeping requirements and scoffed at the agency's claim that it will save 8.5 million man-hours of work.

Joseph L. Durst Jr., safety director for the Carpenters, questioned at the OSHA public hearing whether the intent was to reduce paperwork for employers or to satisfy the Office of Management & Budget by "demonstrating savings on paperwork, even if they don't exist in reality."

Durst challenged OSHA's claim of $20 million to be saved by employers if the record-keeping is dropped. He said the actual savings will be minimal because a majority of employers will continue to keep these records for maintenance and liability reasons.

He expressed concern that some employers would become lax if the requirements are dropped in favor of a certification procedure. OSHA proposed certification for rules covering manlifts, hoists, derricks, cranes, mechanical power presses, welding equipment, material handling hooks, pressure tanks, fire extinguishers and underground transportation of explosives.

OSHA plans to end record-keeping requirements covering service station fuel tanks and commercial divers.

Durst pointed out that record-keeping is "an integral part of any good maintenance program and will save (employers) money through preventive maintenance." He added that the agency even agreed with this in its submissions to OMB last fall when it argued the need to retain these record-keeping requirements.

Durst said that OSHA is required by law to show "substantial evidence" that these changes will have no effect on worker safety, and warned that the courts will overturn the final rule if OSHA fails to do so. He asked OSHA to supply "the proof, not mere assertions that these record-keeping rules are not only unnecessary, but erroneous and burdensome."

Needed by inspectors

USWA safety representative John Molovich, a former OSHA inspector, told the hearing that "these kinds of records are things that have been preached by not only myself, but by OSHA and by the union and by the OSHA Training Institute for a number of years."

Molovich, who worked in a steel foundry as a crane inspector, stressed the need for the record-keeping, noting that OSHA inspectors will rely on them when inspecting a large employer, such as a "place that has over 150 cranes. An OSHA inspector cannnot and will not inspect all these cranes." Rather he would check the records to see which cranes have exhibited failures and would "zero in on equipment that is prone to failure."

Ben Hill, safety director for the Operating Engineers, stressed that his members work daily with cranes and the records that are kept provide an integral part of the safety of their operation.

He exhibited some of the types of records that are kept and noted most record-keeping involved only making check-marks.

IUOE Local 324 Financial Sec. Gene Newsom told the hearing of two recent accidents, one fatal, that happened because of poor record-keeping. In both cases, cranes fell off their mobile platforms because the turntable bolts where not properly maintained. In one case there was no record-keeping and in the other it was falsified.

Schedule of Labor Studies Center courses

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies will offer 12 institutes and workshops during May and June. The schedule:

Advanced Editing Skills, May 11-16—A workshop for union editors who have completed the newswriting course and are ready for more work on layout, photo editing and headline writing.

Negotiating Contracts with State & Local Agencies, May 11-16—An institute on preparing initial proposals, developing committee work, record-keeping procedures, opening statements, appropriate contract language and ratification.

Workers Compensation: Proposals for Reform, May 14-16—A seminar for officers of state federations and international union representatives on wage loss, permanent and partial disability and rate making.

Computers for Local Unions, May 18-22—An introduction to computers for unions that are thinking of buying computers or upgrading their present system.

Making Your Case: The Elements of Persuasion, May 18-23—An advanced institute dealing with evidence and proof in grievances before arbitrators and NLRB representation cases.

Labor Law for Organizers, June 8-13—A review of laws governing private sector organizing, election procedure and legal issues arising out of workplace tactics and corporate campaigns.

Individual Rights in the Workplace, June 8-13—An examination of the union representative's role in protecting workers' rights on polygraph tests, pre-hiring test and discipline and discharge cases.

Negotiating for Employee Benefits, June 15-20—An institute for union officers and staff members who negotiate for pensions, health insurance, group life and disability insurance, group dental and deferred income programs.

Occupational Health & Safety, June 22-27—A program for union officials to respond effectively to the complex problems arising from chemical and physical hazards in the workplace.

Alcohol & Drugs: Standards of Discipline & Discharge, June 29-July 3—A detailed examination of the standards for discipline and discharge and related issues of misconduct, in grievance arbitration hearings. Participants must have completed the basic arbitration institute.

TV: The Cool Medium, June 29-July 2—A three-day workshop to coach union leaders on how to face television cameras and work with reporters.

Three AFL-CIO unions will use the center during May for their own staff training: Railway & Airline Clerks, May 4-9 and May 11-14; Communications Workers, May 8-9 and May 18-22, and Electronic Workers, May 27-June 3.

The Dept. of Community Services is meeting with directors of labor agencies on campus May 4-7 to discuss the delivery of community services to union members.

Fifteen African trade unionists, guests of the African American Labor Center, will complete a three-week course May 9.

The American Institute for Free Labor Development is tutoring 20 Brazilian and 22 Caribbean trade unionists during May.

More information about these and other labor studies programs is available from Robert Pleasure, executive director, George Meany Center, 10000 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md. 20903. Telephone 301/431-6400.

EDITORIALS

Creative Immorality

IF THE REAGAN Administration does not already offer a David Stockman Award for the most creative and immoral solution to a budget cut, it should do so.

There's no shortage of candidates, but the top prize is virtually locked up. Far in front of the pack is the genius at the Agriculture Dept.'s Food Safety & Inspection Service who figured out how to manipulate a Gramm-Rudman budget cut so that the entire burden would fall on workers.

The agency, which is responsible for meat and poultry inspections, concluded that it could best meet the budget reduction timetable through a three-day temporary layoff of its employees.

The hitch was that such a layoff would result in fewer inspections. That's a side effect of budget cuts that Congress regrettably did not consider before enacting a rigid deficit reduction formula. But the agency was up to the challenge.

It announced that the payless furlough days would be the government's next three legal holidays—Memorial Day, Independence Day and Labor Day.

The agency's workload wouldn't be affected since few employees are scheduled to work on legal holidays. The only losers would be the employees. They'd end up working the same number of days, but for less pay.

The Government Employees, the union that represents the meat and poultry inspectors, has filed suit to block this outrageous maneuver.

But even if it is struck down, the plan's author has earned a place in the long list of Reagan Administration offenses against federal workers. It was worthy of a Stockman.

A Right to Know

SHOULD WORKERS have a legal right to know about the hazardous substances they encounter in the workplace?

Of course they should. But in many states they don't, and that's a disgrace.

Workplaces may contain toxic chemicals and dangerous substances, but an employer is under no obligation to alert workers to the hazards unless a state law requires it. And even the better state laws go only part way toward reducing the risk.

That's why the AFL-CIO has urged members of Congress to cosponsor the High Risk Disease Notification & Prevention Act, which has been introduced by Representatives Gaydos and Hawkins and by Senators Metzenbaum and Stafford.

It would set up a federal program to identify groups of workers whose jobs involve the risk of occupational disease, counsel them on the hazards, and provide for continuing medical surveillance. Because such a program was not in place, millions of Americans were needlessly exposed to asbestos fibers, cotton dust, and other deadly but preventable hazards.

This is not and should not be a partisan political issue. It may never be possible to eliminate all risk from the world of work. But Congress can and should minimize avoidable risk.

No Generation Gap

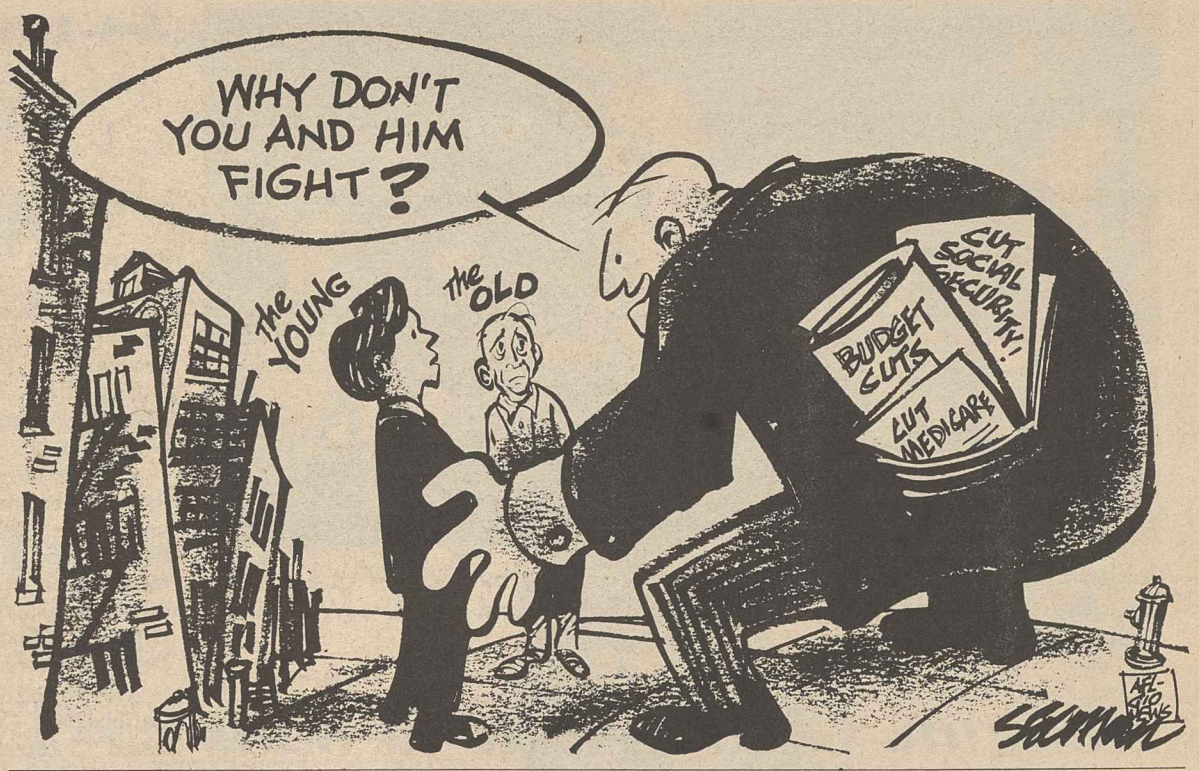
OPPONENTS OF social security are trying to drive a wedge between young and old Americans—between those paying into social security and those drawing benefits. But it won't work.

Working men and women don't want anyone tampering with the incomes of those now on the beneficiary rolls. They want their parents and grandparents to enjoy the benefits of a program which gives dignity to their golden years.

Today's social security recipients don't want anyone tampering with the rights of future beneficiaries, either. They want their children and grandchildren to enjoy a future with financial independence.

Social security is an alliance between workers and retirees to make certain that neither group will be shortchanged.

—From AFL-CIO pamphlet, The Worker's Stake in Social Security.



Washington Window

Working poor strapped with heavier tax burden

By Press Associates Inc.

The old saw that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer seems to be the theme of the nation during the last six years. A new report demonstrates yet another way the poor have lost ground.

According to the Center on Budget & Policy Priorities, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research group, the federal tax burden on the working poor has quintupled during the last six years, while the average federal tax load on affluent families and corporations declined.

For example, a family of four with earnings at the poverty line of $10,991 had paid $1,147 in combined income and payroll taxes for 1985. In 1980, a family of four at the poverty line of $8,414 paid $460 in income and payroll taxes. In 1979, a family earning the then $7,412 poverty income paid $132 in taxes.

The 1985 tax burden for these families equaled 10.4 percent of income, compared to 5.5 percent in 1980 and 1.8 percent in 1979. The center found that many working families with incomes below the poverty line also have suffered higher taxation.

In 1979, a family of four did not begin to owe federal income tax until it earned $1,200 above the $7,412 poverty line. In 1985, however, the family began paying income taxes when earnings reached $9,437 and the poverty line was $10,991.

Working poor suffer

The situation is harsher for a family of six, which begins paying income tax when earnings reach 29 percent below the poverty level. According to the center, the reason for the increased tax burden on the working poor is that the personal exemption, the standard deduction and the earned income tax credit were not raised to keep pace with inflation.

The 1981 tax act, which gave hundreds of billions of dollars to wealthy individuals and corporations, was the first major tax bill in a generation to not raise any of these items to help the poor keep pace with inflation.

So, while the "hogs were feeding," as former Budget Director David Stockman said of the 1981 tax cut, the working poor were getting hungrier.

The personal exemption and standard deduction were indexed to reflect inflation in 1985, but the center said that only slowed without reversing the increased tax burdens on the working poor. Similarly, the earned income credit was increased slightly for 1985, but it was not indexed to inflation.

Undercutting House bill

If Congress and the Reagan Administration neglect these problems in this year's anticipated tax legislation, a family of four will be paying federal income tax on earnings $2,100 below the poverty level by 1987, according to the center.

The tax bill passed by the House would remove some 6.5 million working poor from the tax roles and includes higher standard deductions and personal exemptions and enlarged earned income credits. Adjustments in earned income credits for larger families were neglected.

However, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) has proposed to pay for continued major corporate tax breaks with increased federal excise taxes. The Administration has expressed qualified support for this plan.

The labor-backed Citizens for Tax Justice warned that low-income, elderly and middle-income Americans stand to lose a large share of the income tax relief provided by the House bill if Packwood's regressive tax proposal succeeds.

CTJ found that the Packwood plan would cancel 79 percent of the tax relief for families earning less than $11,000 a year, and median-income families would lose 49 percent of their tax cut. However, families making more than $84,000 a year would keep almost 90 percent of their tax reductions.

Considering the travesties committed under the 1981 tax bill, there is no justification for Congress to take away from the working poor with one hand what it gives with the other.

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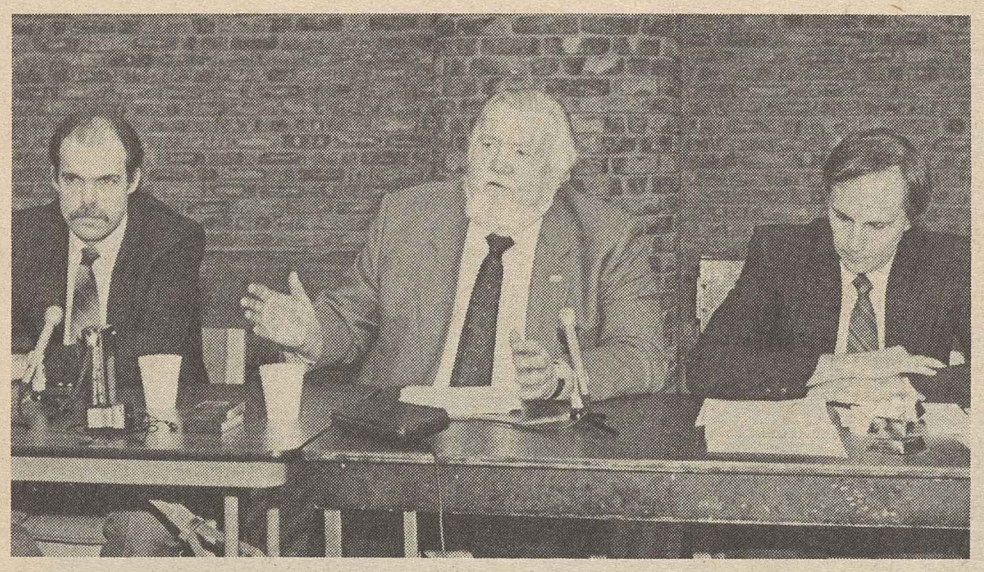

Infiltration of El Salavador's democratic unions by Marxist guerrillas is detailed by Freedom House's Douglas Payne and AIFLD's William C. Doherty and David Jessup at a news conference.

Reagan, GOP Senate at odds as budget showdown looms

The Senate moved closer to a showdown vote on a budget resolution that President Reagan termed "totally unacceptable" because it includes revenue increases as well as spending cuts to meet deficit-reduction targets.

Reagan wants domestic programs slashed further in order to meet deficit reduction targets and increase military spending without raising taxes.

Most senators don't think that's possible, and the President's opposition to any form of tax increase has split the Senate's Republican majority almost down the middle. But Budget Committee Chairman Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.) expects the votes of most Senate Democrats in a shootout with the Reagan White House.

The Budget Committee bill includes more than $19 billion in unspecified new taxes to keep the deficit under the Gramm-Rudman ceiling of $144 billion for the 1987 fiscal year.

President Reagan's proposal to abolish some 43 government programs as an alternative to a tax rise was voted on by the Senate—and voted down, 83-14.

The Senate then adopted a labor-supported amendment to increase funds for education, but rejected a union-backed attempt to continue revenue-sharing grants to states and cities.

The education amendment by Sen. Mark Andrews (R-N.D.) restored $300 million cut from federal programs under the Gramm-Rudman formula and would preserve existing funding levels with an inflation allowance for future years.

An amendment by Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) that sought to continue federal revenue-sharing through the next fiscal year was beaten, 54-41. The authorization for the program expires at the end of September, but the House Government Operations Committee recently voted 28-10 to extend it an additional three years.

The House Budget Committee is holding off its own budget resolution until the Senate acts, leaving the controversy over new tax revenues to be fought out between Senate Republicans and Reagan.

Shaping tax reform

Meanwhile, the Senate Finance Committee has been struggling to find a tax reform package that will win majority support—first within the committee and then on the Senate floor. The House passed its tax reform package last year. The House bill and the various drafts the Senate panel has been considering are intended to be revenue-neutral, with the goal of making the tax system fairer and simpler while raising the same revenue as present law.

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.), who has been trying to put together a "compromise" budget that the White House would accept, said he may seek to kill the Budget Committee resolution and "try later" to reach an agreement.

In an area of special interest to the printing trades, the Senate Judiciary Committee approved a bill to extend the "manufacturing clause" of the Copyright Act for two additional years, until July 1, 1988.

The provision requires that most periodicals and books written in English be printed in the United States in order to get full copyright protection in this country. It has been part of the law since 1891 and Congress overrode President Reagan's veto when it was last extended in 1982.

Job security key to USWA accord at National Steel

Pittsburgh—Members of the Steelworkers at National Steel Corp. plants in three states have ratified a 39-month contract keyed to job security and a share of profits.

Instead of layoffs, the contract specifies that "excess" workers may be used in any plant task, including "nontraditional" jobs such as customer service or technical problem-solving groups, at their regular pay rates.

The USWA contract reduces the hourly wage and cost-of-living allowance of National Steel employees by 42 cents an hour, and the company will post additional savings by ending payments to the supplemental unemployment benefit fund (SUB).

But the reduction will be recouped through an annual bonus payment of at least 50 cents for each hour worked, regardless of the company's profitability. A profitable year will provide bonuses of from 75 cents to $1.50 an hour, with an opportunity for further payments based on productivity.

Covers three plants

The agreement was approved by a 3-2 margin in voting at the three National Steel plants—in Granite City, Ill., Portage, Ind., and Ecorse, Mich.

In contrast to past years, steel industry contracts are being negotiated on a company-by-company basis. National Steel is the second company to reach an agreement. A contract covering USWA members at LTV Steel was ratified last month by a similar margin. Negotiations with three other large steel companies—Bethlehem, Inland and Armco—have been in recess and are expected to resume soon.

To trigger crisis

Guerrillas infiltrate Salvadoran unions

Marxist-Leninist guerrillas infiltrated the Salvadoran free trade union movement to foment discord between labor and the government of President Jose Napoleon Duarte, the American Institute for Free Labor Development and a New York-based human rights group charged.

Duarte's election in 1984 had the "enthusiastic backing" of the democratic trade union movement and it successfully negotiated a "social pact" with the new government aimed at securing land reform and other social programs, AIFLD Executive Director William C. Doherty and Douglas Payne of Freedom House asserted.

AIFLD and Freedom House's Center for Caribbean & Central American Studies released 15 captured documents spelling out the guerrilla's three-pronged drive to create a radical labor front, disrupt the Popular Democratic Union (UPD) which supported Duarte, and "provoke an economic crisis" through strikes and work stoppages aimed at toppling the new government.

Key defeat

Duarte's election was a "strategic defeat" for the communist guerrillas, who feared that if the new government was successful in reviving democracy in that Central American country it would rob the guerrillas of any general backing from the people, Doherty told a Washington press conference.

The guerrillas used three left-wing worker groups long associated with the communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions to "compete with the democratic trade unions" for the support of Salvadoran workers, Doherty declared.

At the same time, he continued, the Marxist-Leninists worked secretly with some UPD leaders to sow seeds of dissension within the free trade union center. Doherty said some of the underground agents within the UPD were "ideologically friendly to the guerrillas" while others were "interested primarily in taking money from both sides."

The activities of these agents "contributed to the virtual dissolution of the UPD in 1985," the AIFLD official said. However, the democratic trade unions have since regrouped under the banner of the National Union of Workers & Peasants (UNOC), he said.

Unions penetrated

Doherty charged that the guerrilla agents penetrated the leadership ranks of unions in the transportation industry, the government water agency, the coffee sector and other key segments of the economy to instigate labor disputes that would undermine the Duarte government's ability to deal with the economic crisis it inherited from the right-wing government it replaced.

He stressed that El Salvador's free labor movement faces a serious challenge from the far left at a time when it remains locked in battle with the far right.

"Salvadoran democratic trade unions continue to press for military and judicial reform as a top priority in their country's evolution toward democracy," Doherty insisted, contrasting that goal with the guerrilla's aim of "the armed imposition of a Marxist-Leninist system."

He emphasized the need for the Duarte government to accelerate its efforts to safeguard human rights, declaring:

"As long as Salvadoran citizens are subjected to arbitrary detention, physical abuse and psychological torture by police and security agents, the guerrillas will possess an effective recruiting device.

Reluctance cited

"And as long as high-ranking military officials and members of the oligarchy are allowed to go unpunished for murder and death squad activities, guerrilla sympathizers will be reluctant to foreswear armed rebellion and enter democratic political life."

The documents outlining the communists' three-pronged strategy to undermine the labor movement and Duarte fell into government hands almost a year ago, following the wounding and capture of a top guerrilla leader. They cover a period from late 1983 to early 1985 and consist of diaries, letters, action plans and minutes of meetings of the guerrilla high command.

They were obtained by Freedom House and translated by AIFLD, the AFL-CIO's liaison with free trade unions in Central and Latin America.

Proposed sell-off of Conrail faces House opposition

The Reagan Administration should scrap its plan to sell Conrail to the Norfolk Southern Corp. and come back with a proposal that would keep the government-run freight railroad under independent management, Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) said.

Dingell is chairman of the House Energy & Commerce Committee, and his opposition is seen as likely to kill the labor-opposed Conrail sale bill the Senate passed last February.

Conrail was formed in 1975 out of the bankrupt Penn Central railroad and several smaller failing lines. Railroad workers, who took pay cuts in exchange for a 15 percent share of Conrail stock, helped return the line to profitability and the Transportation Dept. wants to sell it to Norfolk Southern, a competing railroad, for $1.2 billion.

Rail unions have charged that a sale to Norfolk Southern would mean reduced and costlier freight service, fewer jobs and loss of tax revenue through tax loopholes available to Norfolk Southern. They have urged public sale of the Conrail, a position endorsed by the AFL-CIO convention.

Dingell said the Administration proposal for the Conrail sale "is mired in a hopeless swamp of confusion and controversy." He urged that "any new plan should preserve Conrail as an independent entity and afford the public a fair opportunity to participate in ownership of the railroad."

Scabs get no respect

Being the target of abusive language is an occupational risk that strikebreakers have to accept when they decide to cross union picket lines.

That's the gist of two different court decisions striking down claims by strikebreakers that they were "defamed" when pickets called them "scabs" and hurled other epithets at them during labor disputes.

In a case involving an 18-month Steelworkers' strike at the Virginia Lime Co. in Pearisburg, Va., in 1977, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal filed by the National Right to Work Committee. It let stand a ruling by the Virginia Supreme Court that, although the words used to describe the pickets may have been "disgusting, abusive and repulsive," they were not a cause for awarding damages under Virginia's "insulting words" statute.

The Virginia high court had overturned a county decision awarding nine strikebreakers a total of $99,000 in compensatory and punitive damages on the ground that the words could be "construed as insults and tend to violence and breach of the peace."

In a separate case, the Ohio Supreme Court held that union members who were repeatedly called "scabs" by fellow workers for crossing a Machinists' picket line during a strike against the F. E. Myers Pump Co. in 1980 could not recover damages from the union for intentional infliction of emotional distress or invasion of privacy.

In a 5-2 decision, the court said that, while it might be "unpleasant" to be called a "scab," the use of such language constituted "federally protected speech" under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act.

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Jobless benefits run out as factory layoffs spread

Unemployment high

Unemployment dipped a scant one-tenth of 1 percent to 7.1 percent in April as an increase in the number of low-paying jobs in the service industry coupled with rebounding construction employment offset the continued loss of good-paying jobs in manufacturing and in oil and gas extraction.

In the first four months of this year, the Labor Dept. said, 85,000 factory jobs disappeared, generally the backlash of foreign competition. Since January 1985, nearly 250,000 industrial jobs have been lost.

In addition, jobs in the oil industry dropped 25,000 last month—the third consecutive month in which employment tumbled in the industry in the face of skidding world oil prices.

By contrast, service industries gained 185,000 jobs and the construction industry picked up 85,000.

The AFL-CIO expressed continuing concern over the jobless figures which, Research Director Rudy Oswald pointed out, "have been stuck at a high level for two years." During that time, he said, less than 60 percent of the factory jobs lost in the Reagan Recession of 1981-82 have been regained.

Complicating the situation even further, Oswald said is the fact that "two years ago, nearly half of all

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Safety net fails

With two-thirds of the nation's 8.3 million unemployed and nearly all of the 1.2 million long-term jobless denied unemployment compensation benefits, the 50-year-old program is proving to be "woefully inadequate," the AFL-CIO pointed out.

The "precipitous decline" in the unemployment compensation program was emphasized by Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten and Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security Director Bert Seidman, as they called for action to alleviate "the tragic plight of the uncompensated unemployed."

In letters to Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), chairman of the House Ways & Means Committee, the federation stressed that the number of jobless workers receiving benefits has averaged less than 35 percent since 1984, "leaving the vast majority of the unemployed without any unemployment compensation at all."

The plight of the long-term jobless is even more critical, McGlotten and Seidman declared. During the first four months of this year, only 15,900 of the 1.2 million people out of work for 27 weeks or longer qualified for extended benefits, they said.

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Change in Canada

Shirley G. E. Carr, incoming president of the 2.2-million-member Canadian Labor Congress, accepts the gavel from outgoing President Dennis McDermott at the CLC convention in Toronto. The first woman to head a major national labor body, Carr was elected by acclamation to succeed McDermott, who stepped down after eight years to accept appointment as Canada's ambassador to Ireland. Carr served as the CLC's secretary-treasurer since 1984. (Story on Page 3.)

Plant to reopen with back pay to ILGWU strikers

A South Carolina clothing plant, closed for the past two years, will be reopened and members of the Ladies' Garment Workers involved in a strike there 15 years ago will be offered reinstatement. They also will share in a back-pay settlement under terms of an agreement negotiated by the National Labor Relations Board.

Nearly 50 ILGWU members will be given first crack at jobs to be created when Elmco Corp., owned by the same businessmen who ran Marlene Industries at the time of the 1971 strike, starts up again in Loris, S.C. The company may also open another apparel plant later in North Carolina.

The workers at Loris will share in a $1.2-million back-pay award with 270 other ILGWU members who struck Marlene's other plants in Decaturville, Westmoreland and Trousdale, Tenn.; Frisco City, Ala.; Russell Springs, Ky., and Aynor, S.C. The settlement is subject to approval by the board.

NLRB General Counsel Rosemary Collyer hailed the settlement for providing jobs "in an industry hurt by imports," declaring that it represents a commitment by

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Congress moves ahead on trade, budget, taxes

Congress moved a big step closer to agreement on a budget resolution, House leaders put trade legislation on a fast track and the Senate Finance Committee broke a stalemate on tax reform.

The Senate mustered a bipartisan 70-25 vote for a compromise budget resolution, clearing the way for early House action. It calls for additional tax revenue to hold down the budget deficit and less drastic cuts in domestic programs than President Reagan had sought.

Now it's up to the House whether to follow the general lines of the Senate measure or seek to shape its own formula, which would almost certainly include a smaller military budget than the Senate adopted. House Democratic leaders, gunshy over the political risk of being identified with tax increases, have insisted that any provision for new taxes carry a bipartisan label.

While the budget resolution isn't subject to a veto, any new taxes to meet the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction target could be vetoed by the President. The Senate-passed budget would require about $10.7 billion in new taxes, about double what the White House had said would be acceptable. It assumes a lower inflation rate for government programs in order to stay under the deficit limit.

The trade bill that will go to the House floor includes some—but not all—of the ingredients the AFL-CIO had urged.

It gives the President new powers to narrow the nation's gaping trade deficit by getting tough with countries that have used unfair tactics to capture American markets, and prods him to more vigorous use of powers he already has.

Sanctions mandated

If the President could not negotiate a narrowing of the trade gap with countries that have employed "unjustifiable" trade practices to capture U.S. markets, he would be required to impose sanctions. That provision, adopted by the Ways & Means Committee on a motion by Rep. Ricahrd Gephardt (D-Mo.), significantly strengthened a bill that otherwise would have merely pointed in the direction Congress hoped the President and his trade representative would go.

Also in the bill is a union-sought telecommunications provision to force the

Continued on Page 2

Reagan to seek major cutback in Davis-Bacon Act

The Reagan Administration will ask Congress for changes in the Davis-Bacon Act that building trades unions say would come close to demolishing prevailing wage protections on federally funded construction.

New regulations imposed by the Labor Dept. during President Reagan's first term have already weakened the law's protections. They pushed down wage rates on federally funded construction by changing the rules for computing prevailing wages and allowing contractors to substitute lower-paid helpers for skilled journeymen.

Until now, however, the Administration had stayed aloof from congressional assaults on the law—out of deference to a presidential campaign pledge. President Reagan had written Building & Construction Trades Dept. President Robert A. Georgine a letter during the 1980 campaign promising not to seek repeal of the law. The White House stayed on the sidelines during a series of congressional battles over Republican-sponsored attempts to curtail Davis-Bacon Act coverage.

That's now changed.

The New York Times reported, and

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Budget 'savings' costly to workers

A $3-million budget cut in wage-hour law enforcement imposed by the Gramm-Rudman Act will make losers out of an estimated 63,700 low-wage workers and winners out of some 3,400 chiseling employers.

The loss to the workers, the Labor Dept. calculates, will add up to $12.9 million. That's more than four times the "savings" from reduced enforcement of the wage-hour law.

Based on past patterns, the cutback in enforcement will cost the average worker affected more than $200 and allow employers who underpaid them to pocket an average of nearly $4,000 each.

The reduction in enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act is part of the 4.3-percent cutback imposed on virtually all government programs to comply with the deficit reduction law.

Gramm-Rudman cuts are also forcing the closing of six Job Corps centers and a reduction in safety inspections.

Impact on safety

There is no accurate measurement of the additional deaths or injuries that might result from the elimination of 6,400 federal inspections and 3,100 federally funded state safety inspections. Nor can the toll be determined in advance of 5,170 fewer coal mine inspections, 1,800 fewer inspections of non-coal mines and reduced safety training for miners.

The closing of the six Job Corps centers will immediately eliminate more than 1,200 of the 40,500 training places available in the network of 107 residential training centers across the country. The number of young people denied the training opportunity will be much higher since the closing of the centers will affect future trainees as well as those currently enrolled.

Ironically, the Reagan Administration sought to close down the Job Corps entirely last year but Congress refused to do so.

The six centers scheduled to be closed are in Colorado, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, Oregon and Washington. The Administration's current budget proposal would cut Job Corps funding 45 percent and force the closing of about half the remaining centers.

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Visitors jam Kansas City's convention hall for the Union-Industries Show.

Displays of union skills and spirit draw record crowds in Kansas City

Kansas City—Missouri is the "show me" state, and the AFL-CIO's Union-Industries Show did just that, displaying the skills, services and union-made products to some 300,000 people in the city's mammoth convention center.

During the six-day run, crowds jammed the aisles that were lined with more than 300 exhibits. Tons of union literature and thousands of dollars worth of prizes were given away in the showcase of union skills and productivity produced by the Union Label & Service Trades Dept.

The first time the show was held in Kansas City was in 1957 and Harry S Truman was a visitor. It returned for the second time in 1977, filling half the convention center. This year's show filled the entire hall.

Federation Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue cut the ribbon opening the show, aided by Kansas City Mayor Richard Berkley. Donahue told the audience the exhibition was proof that "collective bargaining does work" and that it demonstrates the benefits of labor-management teamwork.

Import peril

"American workers are still the most efficient and most productive on earth," Donahue said. But that efficiency and productivity are being severely undermined by the free-market trade policies of the Reagan Administration, he added.

What workers need now, Donahue said, is a national policy of cooperation between labor, management and government aimed at meeting and advancing the needs and standards of society. He pointed out that America's industrial competitors have "one giant advantage that we don't"—a national industrial policy.

To help save U.S. jobs, Donahue said, changes are needed now in the nation's trade and tax policies so that it is no longer more profitable for companies to import goods and export jobs.

Union Label President James E. Hatfield, in welcoming the public to the show, called attention to the employer exhibitors whose displays of union products and services were a testament to the fact that they provide jobs for American union workers.

The contributions of the Missouri AFL-CIO and the Kansas City federation were noted by Union Label Sec.-Treas. John E. Mara.

"The show provided a tremendous lift to the local labor movement," he said.

Show manager Jack Lutz explained that the purpose of the annual show is two-fold. First, to "promote and publicize the products and services of union members and the companies with which they have contracts. Secondly, to show the general public the good relations that can and do exist between our unions and employers."

A spectacular range of products was displayed to remind the public of the brand names that are union made. The list included: Harley-Davidson, Nestle, Welch, Gerber, General Motors, Lifesavers, Corning, Nabisco, Kellogg, Ralston Purina, Sunshine, Carnation, Pillsbury, General Mills, Aladdin, Crayon, Bendix, Anheuser-Busch, AT&T, Briggs & Stratton, Chrysler, Coleman, Folger, Greyhound, Lionel, Miller, Northwest Orient, Reynolds, Seagram and Zenith.

The Boilermakers, headquartered here, featured a roulette wheel which show guests could spin to win prizes ranging from Spalding golf balls to U.S. Savings Bonds.

Hundreds of pounds of fresh-cut Kansas City beef, trimmed by members of the Food & Commercial Workers, were given away, as were bags of groceries. Meanwhile, UFCW barbers and cosmotologists staged the "All-American Hair Fashions Spectacular," during which union members competed for honors by trimming and coiffing willing visitors.

Master craftsmen from the Sheet Metal Workers displayed their hand skills, making a variety of products including copper hurricane lanterns.

Artistic decorators

At the Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers booth, visitors received free cigarettes, while some won the raffle for cakes decorated by BCT members.

The Auto Workers presented displays from the Big Five car makers—General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors and Volkswagen—along with farm implement products made by its members.

The crowds made sure they visited the Allied Industrial Workers booth to register for the $10,000 Harley-Davidson motorcycle that was given away.

Several displays further, the Steelworkers and Coleman Camping Co. gave away a $5,000 camper in another drawing.

At the Machinists' booth, visitors could win trips on Eastern Airlines, Rival crockpots, and Folgers' coffee, and see the wide variety of IAM-made products.

Parts of the union displays took on the trappings of the outdoors, as the Bricklayers built brick and block walls, the Electrical Workers clambered up a utility pole to work on the power lines, and the Carpenters built a gazebo, which they later donated to a charity group.

When stress took its toll, the Service Employees were there to take one's pulse and blood pressure. And if things got worse, the Fire Fighters' display was nearby featuring fire and rescue equipment and the skills they use daily.

When it was time to get on with the show, the Theatrical & Stage Employees put on a great one with a display of an operating stage, along with a variety of cinema cameras its members has used over the years.

Old-fashioned way

The Flint Glass Workers etched glass plates while the craftsmen at Glass, Plastics & Pottery Workers booth made bottles the old-fashioned way—blowing them from molten glass, heated in a six-foot tall, gas-fed furnace.

The skills and products of the Ladies' Garment Workers, Clothing & Textile Workers and the United Garment Workers were displayed in literature, in products and in handwork.

The exhibits included the AFL-CIO's own which featured the communications and services provided to unions and their members. It included a graphic tribute marking the 100th anniversary of the Gould strike.

The Union-Industries Show was designated an official "We Are the City" collection point for food for the hungry and homeless. The six-day food drive, sponsored by the Kansas City AFL-CIO, gathered more than a ton of food for area shelters and food pantries.

Brock shuns labor rights in trade bill

Low U.S. wages and inadequate job safety and health programs could cause other nations to bar American-made goods, Labor Sec. William E. Brock suggested in a letter to Rep. Sam Gibbons (D-Fla.).

Brock wasn't seeking congressional support for a higher minimum wage or tighter safety standards. His intent was to defeat a labor-backed proposal by Rep. Donald J. Pease (D-Ohio) that would provide import relief against goods from countries that exploit workers by denying basic union and human rights. Gibbons is chairman of the House Ways & Means subcommittee that first considered the proposal.

If other countries chose to judge U.S. labor standards, "our export trade would be just as susceptible to scrutiny and retaliation," Brock claimed.

"Most European nations have more comprehensive labor laws than the United States in some industries," he said. "Scandinavia and Australia have more stringent and costly health and safety programs. And some foreign countries pay higher real wages than their U.S. competitors when inflation and cost of living in these nations is taken into account."

For these reasons, Brock asserted, "a broadly construed workers' rights provision" could backfire against the United States.

Under the Pease provision, the President would have to curb imports from nations that violate basic labor and human rights.

Pollard assumes post as key NAACP aide

William E. Pollard, who headed the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights until his retirement in March, has been named deputy executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

His appointment, announced by NAACP Executive Director Benjamin L. Hooks, was referred to by speakers at a reception honoring Pollard as a reaffirmation of the link between the labor and civil rights movements.

Pollard, who has been a member of the NAACP national board, was lauded at the May 4 reception for more than four decades of trade union and civil rights leadership. He held union and civil rights leadership posts in California before joining the AFL-CIO staff in 1964. He became civil rights director in 1974.

AFL-CIO Vice President Frederick O'Neal, president of the Associated Actors & Artistes and chairman of the federation's Civil Rights Committee, served as master of ceremonies at the reception sponsored by unions and civil rights organizations.

Major bills advance in House, Senate

Continued from Page 1

opening of foreign markets that have been closed to American products. Telecommunications became a one-way influx into the United States after the deregulation of AT&T unilaterally opened up the U.S. market to large-scale imports.

On the plus side, although not in the mandatory form in which it was initially proposed by Rep. Donald J. Pease (D-Ohio), is a provision authorizing trade relief against imports from nations that flout internationally recognized labor standards.

Trade-related provisions from several other House committees will come to the floor along with the Ways & Means Committee bill. One such measure, just approved by the Education & Labor Committee, authorized a new federal program of grants to help fund upgrading, retraining and higher education of workers whose jobs are threatened by technological changes and foreign competition. The bill would fund several Labor Dept. studies, including one "to identify countries that fail to comply with basic labor rights."

Tax legislation, once thought dead in the Senate for lack of a consensus, was suddenly revived when the Finance Committee agreed unanimously on the principal ingredients of a bill which is discussed in the Legislative Alert on Page 8. But while the House passed its tax reform bill last year under a no-amendment rule, the Senate committee plan will be subject to change on the Senate floor.

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Shirley Carr takes helm

Canada's unions score government tilt to right

Toronto—The Canadian Labor Congress wrote a new chapter in trade union history when delegates to the 2.2-million-member body's biennial convention elected Shirley Carr as president, the first woman to head a national labor body in the western world.

Carr, a member of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the nation's largest public sector union, has been an officer of the CLC for the past dozen years. She was chosen by acclamation to succeed Dennis McDermott of the Auto Workers, who stepped down after eight years to accept appointment as Canada's ambassador to Ireland.

The more than 2,800 delegates focused their attention on economic matters and unleashed a blistering attack on the Conservative government's "blind messianic march to 'free trade' with the United States."

During wide-ranging floor debate, delegates from both private and public sector unions lambasted the government for advocating a scheme to turn over traditional public services to the private sector. They also challenged the government's "free-trade" philosophy and were sharply critical of its "preoccupation" with deregulation of industry.

Twisted policies

In her acceptance speech, Carr said she was "appalled" at the government's free trade-privatization-deregulation agenda and praised the CLC for turning the public spotlight "on these policies which not only undermine the social and economic fabric of our Canadian society but attack the very foundation of our sovereignty and our distinctive Canadian way of life."

The CLC was applauded by Ed Broadbent, leader of the New Democratic Party, who challenged Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to stop clinging to the policies of "American conservatism" and to stand up for Canada.

"Free trade is the freedom of corporations to move jobs where they can make the highest profits while retaining the freedom to sell in the Canadian market," Broadbent declared.

AFL-CIO Vice President Richard Kilroy also stressed the trade issue, observing that "in my own country, the free market philosophy has been enshrined as a dogmatic panacea to all problems. But nowhere has its mindless application proven more destructive than in the field of international trade."

Because the Reagan Administration clings to the free trade theory, he said, the American trade deficit soared to a record-shattering $148.5 billion in 1985 and seems destined to climb even higher this year.

While the AFL-CIO understands change, and is searching for "new and better ways of strengthening our movement and serving our members," it will never "embrace changes that erode our nation's industrial base, export jobs overseas, and wipe out, perhaps forever, skills built up over generations,"Kilroy insisted.

Common concerns

"Canadian workers, like it or not, can no more be immune to the consequences of the political and economic philosophy now dominating Washington than Canadian trees can be immune to the acid rain that crosses our borders," the president of the Railway & Airline Clerks and the federation's fraternal delegate to the convention declared.

The economic and social problems facing Canada and the United States, he told delegates, must be solved by unionists from both countries working together "in concert with our brothers and sisters in the world-wide free trade union movement."

He conceded that labor in the two countries "will have our differences from time to time," but emphasized that "whatever our differences, they are overwhelmed by the common challenges and opportunities that we shall be confronting together in the spirit of solidarity."

In his farewell address, McDermott, a vigorous human rights and political activist, expressed pride in the Canadian union movement he has led since 1978 and urged delegates to rededicate themselves to "peace, love and the advancement of the total human family."

Bob White, president of the UAW Canada, paid tribute to McDermott's 38 years of union service, conceding that, while the outgoing CLC president has sometimes been "controversial, he is not a weathervane. He always felt you had to get out front and lead in order to make worthwhile social change."

Carr, the new CLC president, was elected executive vice president of the congress in 1974 and became secretary-treasurer in 1984.

Leadership team

Three other officers were elected by acclamation to join her in administering the CLC's affairs for the next two years. They include Richard Mercier of the Food & Commercial Workers, who succeeds Carr as secretary-treasurer; Dick Martin of the Steelworkers, who was re-elected executive vice president, and Nancy Riche of the National Union of Public Employees, who was chosen to fill the other executive vice presidency.

The four provide the congress with a unique blend in leadership. Carr and Riche both come from the public sector, while Mercier and Martin represent unions in the private sector.

Eastern Airlines ticket agents and skycaps greet AFL-CIO President Kirkland and IUE President William H. Bywater at a leadership rally.

Federation rallies support for IUE election at Eastern

The AFL-CIO is mobilizing support for the Electronic Workers in the IUE's showdown election for 11,000 ticket agents and skycaps at Eastern Airlines.

Federation President Lane Kirkland told 70 cheering delegates who came to Washington to map their election strategy that he has sent an alert to state and local central bodies to "offer the fullest possible assistance" in the drive.

AFL-CIO organizers have been working in tandem with the IUE's, he said, and the federation has assigned a field representative to the campaign to provide technical and professional assistance.

"You have the full support of the federation and its 92 affilated unions," Kirkland declared, "and you can count on that support both before and after the election."

The National Mediation Board recently determined that the IUE had submitted a sufficient number of signed cards to qualify for the representation election. It will mail ballots to eligible Eastern employees on May 16 and the workers will have until June 27 to make their determination on a bargaining representative.

"Counting the ballots will be only the beginning," Kirkland told the IUE delegates. "Once you have a voice it will be up to you to get management to listen." Achieving this goal, he said, will require "solidarity within your own ranks" and an alliance with the other unions at Eastern—the Machinists, the Pilots and the Transport Workers.

IUE President William H. Bywater said the election among the air carrier's service employees will be one of the largest of its kind in three decades.

Job slump in manufacturing keeps unemployment high

Continued from Page 1

workers at least had the hope of unemployment insurance to see them through hard times." Today, he stressed, "those benefits are denied to 65 percent of all of the jobless and to more than 98 percent of the long-term unemployed."

The government reported there were 8.3 million officially unemployed last month, another 1.1 million discouraged workers no longer looking for jobs, and 5.9 million involuntarily working part time because full-time jobs weren't available—the highest number of people in the involuntary part-time category in more than two years.

"In other words," Oswald said, "there were 15.3 million workers and their families suffering serious job and income problems in April, which hardly fits the Reagan Administration's picture of a robust economy."

The 14.8-percent jobless rate for blacks—more than double the rate of 6.1 percent for whites—provides evidence, he declared, that "the hope of equal job opportunities continues to elude a large segment of black America."

And the 10.4-percent unemployment rate among Hispanics indicates "another economic trouble spot that cannot be ignored," Oswald added.

Teenage dilemma

The Labor Dept. said the unemployment rate for all teenagers rose from 18.4 percent in March to 19.6 percent in April, pushed up by an increase of 1.9 percent in joblessness for white teenagers to 16.4 percent. The rate for black teenagers declined 1.1 percent, but was still a discouraging 42.6 percent.

The unemployment rate for adult males stood at 6 percent last month, while the rate for adult women was 6.4 percent. This represented a modest decline of two-tenths of 1 percent in each category, the Labor Dept. reported.

Lack of benefits worsen plight of long-term jobless

Continued from Page 1

Some 98.7 percent of the long-term jobless were without benefits, according to statistics cited by the AFL-CIO, largely because of the continued decline in the nation's import-battered manufacturing sector.

The only workers receiving extended benefits were the long-term jobless in Alaska, Idaho and Puerto Rico.

The federation said that workers idled half a year or longer had been left "virtually unprotected" because of the failure of Congress and the Administration to extend the federal supplemental unemployment insurance program last year.

In addition, the letter declared, Congress has yet to act on any reform of the extended benefit program despite continued warnings from organized labor that there is a critical shortfall in economic protections for the long-term jobless.

With unemployment at "unconscionably high levels," and with no indications that it is going to decline substantially in the foreseeable future, Seidman explained, there is "an urgent need for action to come to grips with a situation that leaves millions of the unemployed economically destitute.

"This system was designed to provide financial support when people lose their jobs. It is not living up to that promise," he asserted.

Big hole in the safety net

Although the nation's half-century-old unemployment insurance program is supposed to help insulate workers against some of the economic impact of joblessness, continued erosion of the program has meant that fewer and fewer of the unemployed are receiving benefits.

In February, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, only 36 percent of the jobless nationwide were covered by the program. Here's what the picture looked like in the 11 states with the highest unemployment levels:

State	Unemployment Rate	Total Jobless	Receiving Benefits	Percent
Louisiana	13.2%	258,900	81,145	31%
West Virginia	13.1%	97,400	33,924	35%
Kentucky	12.5%	208,000	52,370	25%
Alaska*	11.5%	28,500	19,206	67%
Mississippi	11.2%	125,700	32,007	25%
Wyoming	10.3%	25,500	8,559	34%
Idaho	10.2%	46,100	22,738	49%
Illinois	10.1%	570,000	179,300	31%
Oregon	9.7%	129,200	54,484	42%
Arkansas	9.5%	98,700	33,877	34%
Montana	9.5%	36,900	15,338	42%

*** Extended unemployment compensation benefits available if a worker exhausts regular benefits without finding a new job.**

Carpenters say 'no' to American Express

In a twist on the well-known American Express Co. credit card ad, the Carpenters are urging union members to "leave home without it" and stop using the company's travelers' checks and other services.

In a letter to all AFL-CIO union presidents, UBC President Patrick J. Campbell charged that American Express was "benefitting financially from dealings with unions and union members" while doing business in a way that "hurts the best interests of our members."

Campbell assailed the company's refusal to allow union contractors to bid on the construction of a new credit card processing facility in North Carolina, despite assurances from American Express that the bidding process would be fair and open.

The UBC is asking its members and their families to cut up and return their American Express cards to the company.

Unions push Congress on pension plan

Congress should enact a bipartisan plan for a supplementary retirement plan to cover federal and postal workers hired since 1984, the AFL-CIO declared.

In a letter to members of Congress, Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten protested Administration attempts to force House and Senate conferees to back away from an agreement reached early this year on the cost and provisions of a supplementary retirement plan.

Because of the Administration tactics, McGlotten noted, the May 1 deadline for the start of the new plan expired and employees affected are having 14.5 percent of their pay deducted for social security, medicare and civil service retirement. Under a temporary law, they had been paying 8.45 percent.

Instead of another temporary extension, he said, the House Post Office & Civil Service Committee and the Senate Government Operations Committee should reconvene their conference and approve the tentatively agreed plan so the full House and Senate can act on final passage.

That's the same position taken by a coalition of 28 postal and federal worker organizations headed by Letter Carriers President Vincent R. Sombrotto.

The need for legislation stems from 1983 changes in the Social Security Act that brought federal and postal workers hired after Dec. 31, 1983 under social security.

Deadline extended

Congress originally set a Dec. 31, 1985 deadline for adoption of a supplementary plan but extended it to allow more time to resolve differences between versions passed by the House and Senate.

The plan tentatively agreed to, which the employee groups want put into effect, includes a tax-deferred thrift plan that would be available to all employees. But the Administration protested that the government retirement cost would be too high and pressed for major cutbacks in the legislative package. Meanwhile, the Administration has proposed another temporary extension of the 8.45 percent contribution rate while a pared-down retirement plan is readied for enactment.

There's no reasons for any further delay, the federal worker coalition and the AFL-CIO told Congress. The legislation the conferees had initially agreed on should be "sent to the President for his signature, rather than be delayed for the purpose of chipping away yet more retirement security," McGlotten said.

Arkansas AFL-CIO President Bill Becker outlines new workers' compensation plan adopted by the state legislature as Gov. Bill Clinton, right, chats with Bob Lamb, director of the Associated Industries of Arkansas.

Arkansas Fed turns back assault on workers' comp

Little Rock—The Arkansas AFL-CIO turned an employer assault on workers' compensation coverage into a victory by winning major improvements and expanded protection for workers under the state law.

The new measure worked out by organized labor and management representatives from the Associated Industries of Arkansas was adopted at a special session of the general assembly called by Gov. Bill Clinton (D). The legislation is ready for the governor's signature.

Arkansas AFL-CIO President J. Bill Becker called the new law "a reasonable agreement that both sides can live with" despite years of "struggle and strife" over the benefits system.

In 1985, employer representatives spurred a bill that would have gutted the existing compensation program. That measure was passed by the Senate but remained stalled in the House. Labor responded by organizing a petition campaign to put its own comprehensive compensation plan on the November 1986 ballot, calling for a system that would raise workers' benefits and increase employer liability for injuries.

With four earlier labor-sponsored compensation initiatives accepted by the voters, management representatives sought to resume negotiations with organized labor to reach a mutually acceptable plan. The State AFL-CIO agreed to end its petition drive when the general assembly acted.

The new compensation system raises weekly benefits from $154 to $175 as of July 1 and to $189 on July 1, 1987. Benefits for injuries occuring after Jan. 1, 1989, will equal two-thirds of the state's average weekly wage, to be raised to 70 percent of the average weekly wage as of Jan. 1, 1990—about $260 in current dollars.

Added benefits

The new system also increases the number of weeks an injured worker can receive benefits by 5 percent and doubles funeral benefits to $3,000.

The labor-management measure establishes a $100,000 "safety information project" to study high-risk jobs in the state and to educate workers and employers on reducing workplace hazards. It also increases penalties to employers who violate state or federal safety laws from 15 percent to 25 percent of the compensation award, with the penalty to be paid directly to the injured worker.

The system also calls for an informal procedure to encourage the settlement and resolution of disputes before litigation to help control costs and provides that half of an injured worker's legal fees will be paid from the compensation award.

Favorites win as four states hold primaries

Voters went to the polls in primary elections in North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana and Texas and their choices of candidates for senatorial and governor's races produced no surprises.

The most closely watched balloting took place in North Carolina for the seat being vacated by conservative Sen. John P. East (R). This is one of the pivotal states in the Democratic drive to regain the Senate.

The Democratic primary gave a landslide victory to former Gov. Terry Sanford, who established a reputation for progressive leadership for his civil rights positions in the 1960s. He amassed 60 percent of the vote in a 10-candidate field.

North Carolina Republicans chose Rep. James T. Broyhill as the senatorial candidate after a fiercely contested campaign with David Funderburk, a new right idealogue who had the support of the National Congressional Club, the political organization behind arch-conservative Sen. Jesse Helms.

Meanwhile, disciples of political extremist Lyndon LaRouche made a dismal showing in the primaries, suffering crushing defeats in Senate races in Ohio, Indiana and North Carolina.

Out of retirement

In Ohio, former four-term Gov. James Rhodes, 76, came out of political retirement to win the Republican nomination for governor against stiff opposition from two younger candidates, setting the stage for a challenge to Democratic Gov. Richard Celeste who was renominated without opposition. Sen. John Glenn (D) won renomination by overwhelming a LaRouche candidate, while Rep. Thomas N. Kindness was unopposed for the Republican senatorial nomination.

Indiana Democrats nominated Jill Long, a university professor and city council member, to run for the Senate, easily defeating another LaRouche follower for the right to challenge Sen. Dan Quale, who was unopposed in the GOP primary.

Texas will be the scene of another comeback attempt this November, with the Republican nomination of former Gov. Bill Clements to challenge incumbent Gov. Mark White (D) in a rematch of their 1982 political battle.

Thomas Pierce dies, headed Kansas Fed

Wichita, Kan.—Thomas E. Pierce, past president of the Kansas AFL-CIO and the Wichita Labor Federation of South Central Kansas, died at home May 3 of an apparent stroke. He was 53.

A member of the Machinists since 1951, Pierce headed the Wichita AFL-CIO from 1978 until being elected president of the state federation in 1981. He did not run for re-election in 1985.

For the past decade, Pierce had served as secretary-treasurer of IAM District 70 and was a business representative for the district from 1973 to 1976. The IAM district council headquartered here has established a memorial fund in Pierce's name.

Pierce is survived by his wife Judy, two daughters and two grandchildren. Funeral services were held in Augusta, Kan., on May 6 and burial was at Union Cemetery in Augusta.

New Jersey labor sets jobs agenda

Atlantic City—The New Jersey AFL-CIO established an industrial revitalization committee as delegates to its biennial convention expressed the need and obligation "to lead and participate in a new and bold initiative" to revitalize the state's industrial and manufacturing sector.

The committee, on which every affiliated industrial union will be represented, is charged with the task of developing "concepts, recommendations and strategies designed to achieve and advance business retention, economic development and job training, retraining and placement."

Five subcommittees will cover the concerns of the industrial unions, including: health and safety, government contracts for in-state employers, strike assistance, drug and alcohol abuse rehabilitation and creation of a model format for quality circles.

In a resolution setting up the panel, the delegates noted 11.5-million workers across the nation lost their jobs due to plant shutdowns or relocations between 1979 and 1984. Of that number, 40 percent were unable to find other jobs. A separate resolution backed enactment of legislation to protect workers and communities from the impact of plant closures.

State Federation President Charles H. Marciante said the new committee will "go out and lobby for us both in Washington and Trenton," and he urged every local union in the state to participate.

Gov. Thomas H. Kean (R) thanked the delegates for supporting his proposals to set up transportation and environmental trust funds. Kean said he plans to spend more time in Washington lobbying against legislative measures that would harm state government, such as the proposal to eliminate tax-exempt municipal bonds.

Dr. Molly Cowe, Kean's nominee for state health commissioner, endorsed the state federation's proposal for an affordable health care program, consisting of a network of hospital-based health maintenance organizations for union members and their families as well as up to a million Medicare recipients.

"The AFL-CIO's plan has merit since it offers the advantages of HMO health care, plus the advantages of working with all existing institutional health care providers," Cowe said.

Decisive election

AFL-CIO COPE Director John Perkins told the delegates that the Nov. 4 congressional balloting is a "decisive political election." He urged the delegates to support candidates opposed to Reagan Administration policies.

Elizabeth Smith, legislative director for the Clothing & Textile Workers, told the delegates of the harm done to the nation's apparel and textile markets by imports.

Foreign trade was a key issue for the delegates as they adopted a resolution calling for the override of the Reagan veto, and the passage of the Trade Modernization Act which would provide income support, retraining, job counseling and relocation assistance.

The delegates also called for various measures to block imports from countries that do not adhere to internationally recognized standards for workers' rights.

Among the nearly 50 other resolutions adopted were ones supporting union organizing and tax reform and opposing the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget-cutting law, drug testing of federal workers, and the Reagan Administration's youth subminimum wage ploy.

Speakers included New Jersey Congressmen Peter Rodino (D), Matthew Rinaldo (R), James Florio (D), Robert Torricelli (D) and Christopher Smith (R).

2.5 million rally in South Africa

Johannesburg—In the largest show of strength in South Africa's history, nearly 2.5 million unionists stayed away from their jobs on May Day, virtually shutting the nation down as they demanded recognition of workers' rights and an end to apartheid.

Three national trade union centers, including the Council of Unions of South Africa, an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, staged massive rallies around the country in peaceful demonstrations unrivaled in this strife-torn country.

The largest took place in Durban, where some 70,000 workers converged on a stadium to celebrate the launching of a new labor federation, the United Workers Union of South Africa.

The principal speaker at the Durban rally was Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, a winner of the AFL-CIO's George Meany Human Rights Award and president of the newly formed labor center.

Willie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned civil rights leader, drew an estimated 30,000 to a rally in Soweto held under the banner of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

South Africa's employers imposed a no-work, no-pay rule but took no reprisals against workers who stayed away from their jobs.

In the past, wholesale firings have been management's answer to attempts by black trade unions to press for justice on the job and a change in the government's racial policies.

Health care gap target of bipartisan proposal

The AFL-CIO and other leading advocates of national health insurance welcomed the introduction of a bipartisan bill that would narrow a serious gap in health care coverage.

It would require employers to continue health insurance coverage for laid-off workers and their dependents for four months and would make private health insurance for individuals more readily available and more affordable.

Bert Seidman, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, said the legislation would represent "an important first step" toward the goal of health care availability for all Americans.

More than 37 million Americans are without health insurance coverage and an estimated 15 million are inadequately insured, Seidman stressed.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney, who heads the AFL-CIO Committee on Health Care, said labor strongly supports the concept of the legislation and will work with the congressional committees to help refine its provisions.

Unions and other organizations concerned with health care needs took part in a Capitol Hill news conference held by the House and Senate sponsors of the bill, which is formally titled the Improved Access to Health Care Initiative.

Its Senate sponsors are Democrats Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.) and Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.), and Republicans David F. Durenberger (Minn.) and John Heinz (Pa.). Durenberger is chairman and Heinz is a member of the Senate Finance Subcommittee on Health.

Bipartisan backing

In the House, the bipartisan sponsors are the chairman of the Ways & Means Subcommittee on Health, Fortney H. Stark (D-Calif.), and the ranking minority member, Willis D. Gradison Jr. (R-Ohio).

The bill they introduced includes:

- A requirement that employers continue any job-related health insurance coverage provided to employees and dependents for four months after a worker is laid off. The employer would pay the same percentage of the cost as if the worker were still employed, in most cases the full amount. The worker could continue the coverage for up to 18 additional months by paying the full premium at the group policy rate.

The bill would also require an open enrollment period for employed spouses of workers who lose their jobs and their health insurance. In many two-earner families, only one member enrolls in an employment-based family insurance plan and the family is left unprotected if that person loses a job.

- State-established insurance pools for persons who do not have access to employer-provided health insurance and who can't get health insurance at reasonable cost because of pre-existing health conditions.

Policies offered by the insurance pools would be available to anyone, regardless of health. Benefits would have to meet specified standards and premiums would be limited to 150 percent of the amount usually charged for health plans offered by large employers.

- A state-funded program to reimburse hospitals for the cost of caring for charity patients or persons unable to pay the full cost of needed care. States could meet this obligation either directly or through a health insurance plan.

While health insurance is almost universal in larger establishments, only about half of businesses with 25 or fewer workers provide coverage. The legislation would authorize various demonstration projects to lower the cost of coverage for small firms.

Jobless trapped

A statement of support by the Auto Workers, a union that has been especially active in pressing for comprehensive health care coverage, noted that 224,000 UAW members have lost family health protection as a result of layoffs. Unemployed workers are often caught in the position of not being able to afford to maintain health insurance while not yet being poor enough to qualify for Medicaid assistance, the UAW noted.

In 1983, sensitized by the double-digit unemployment of the Reagan recession, the House voted 252-174 to require firms to continue health insurance coverage of laid-off workers for 90 days. The legislation, which died in the Senate, also would have partially subsidized state programs of basic health insurance coverage for jobless workers and their families.

Reagan to seek major cutback in Davis-Bacon Act

Continued from Page 1

Labor Dept. officials confirmed to the AFL-CIO News, that the Administration will propose legislation to exclude all military construction contracts of less than $1 million and non-military construction of less than $100,000 from Davis-Bacon Act coverage. Present law applies to contracts of over $2,000.

Agreement on the policy shift was reached at a White House meeting of the Cabinet's Council on Economic Policy and approved by Reagan. The huge jump in the Davis-Bacon Act threshhold will be touted as an economy move that will save the government millions of dollars in construction costs.

Georgine said the only way such a change would save the government money would be if workers were paid less than the going rate, "less than they are worth." The law, which dates from 1931, was intended to protect workers against wage-chiseling by employers, Georgine stressed. Exclusion of most contracts from coverage would "flout its intent," he said.

For the Administration to push for such a drastic overhaul of Davis-Bacon, on top of the regulatory changes already imposed, would be clearly "contrary to the spirit" of Reagan's letter, Georgine charged.

While the House has defeated all attempts to weaken Davis-Bacon Act coverage, the Republican-controlled Senate has been a fiercely contested battleground.

Mommy Dearest

Communications Workers are sending Mother's Day cards, like the one Francine Zucker of CWA's staff is holding, to the top officers of AT&T and regional Bell System operating companies. The message is simple: Ma Bell's gone, but her CWA family lives on—strong and united. CWA is bargaining with AT&T and contract negotiations with the "baby Bells" will get under way later this summer.

Labor leaders from seven industrialized nations at summit meeting in Tokyo included AFL-CIO Vice President Albert Shanker, International Affairs Director Irving Brown and ICFTU Gen. Sec. John Vanderveken.

Tokyo labor summit

Complacency on jobs issue hit

Tokyo—AFL-CIO Vice President Albert Shanker joined labor leaders from seven industrialized nations at a labor summit here in warning against "irresponsible complacency" over mass unemployment and calling for a new framework for international trade.

At a meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Yashuro Nakasone, on the eve of the economic summit of the leaders of the western world, the union officials called for Japanese cooperation in addressing that country's trade imbalance with other nations.

In the United States, the trade deficit seems headed toward another record-shattering mark this year. Japan, whose government policies encourage exports and discourage imports, accounts for one-third of the total American trade shortfall.

Union leaders from the United States, Japan, Canada, Britain, France, Italy and West Germany and representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development took part in the sessions. They urged Nakasone to modify his government's trade policy to permit more imports and to foster increased domestic demand for goods.

At the same time, they presented the Japanese prime minister a statement for submission to the economic summit which he chaired, calling on world leaders to develop a "credible strategy" of labor-management-government cooperation to deal with the twin problems of "mass unemployment and social division."

Although inflation is slowing down and oil prices are tumbling, the 37 labor leaders declared, unemployment problems remain and there is a continuing retreat from achieving needed social welfare goals.

Without concerted government action, the labor presentation warned the world leaders attending the economic summit, the total number of unemployed in the 24 member nations of the OECD will increase by half a million in the first half of 1987, to reach a staggering 31 million.

Living standards hit

The union officials told Nakasone that productivity growth in Japan has not been translated into improved standards of living or better working conditions for that country's workers. They threw their support behind efforts by Japanese trade unions to reduce working hours, which are 20 to 30 percent longer than in most other developed countries.

In addition, they urged the Japanese prime minister to take the initiative in increasing wages and social investment and reducing the tax burden on its workers. The result, the union leaders said, would be to expand domestic demand and reduce Japan's trade imbalance.

Shanker, president of the Teachers, was accompanied to the labor summit by Irving Brown, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of International Affairs. Representing the ICFTU was Gen. Sec. John Vanderveken.

The leaders of the seven largest industrial democracies concluded their summit by endorsing President Reagan's plea to include overseas investment and services in trade-liberalization talks scheduled to begin in 1987—a position strongly opposed by organized labor which wanted the negotiations to center on trade in goods.

The summit failed to address the question of how to reduce the huge imbalances in trade that continue to erode jobs in the United States.

Apparel plant to reopen with back pay

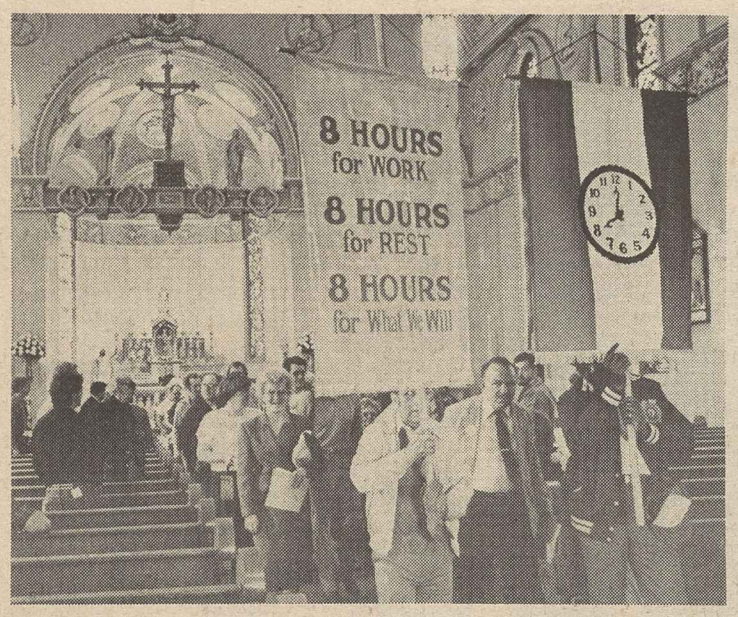
Continued from Page 1

the owners to "regain an American-made market." She praised the role played by ILGWU President Sol C. Chaikin in achieving the settlement.

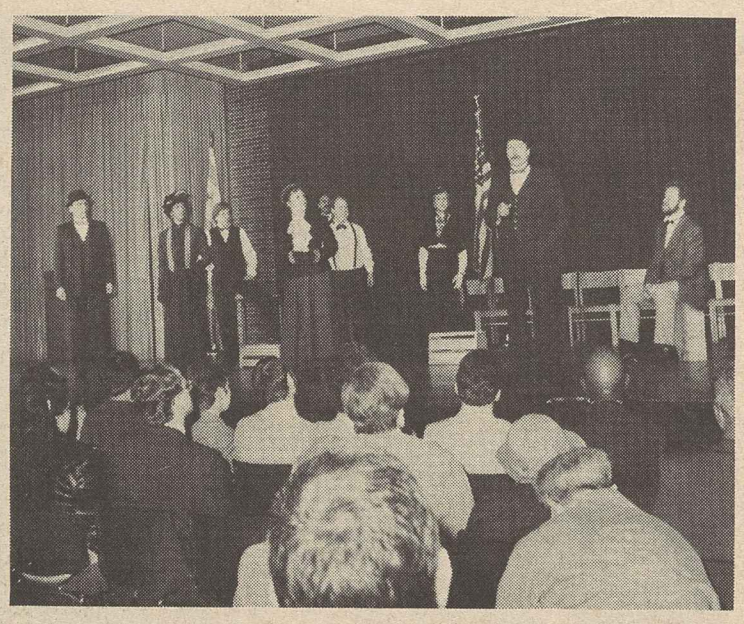
The strike began at the Decaturville plant, when pressers walked out in protest over the discharge of an employee and the amount of work they were being forced to perform. The walkout ended in 1974 and the union subsequently filed unfair labor practice charges after the company refused to reinstate the former strikers as jobs became available.

Beginning in 1979, the company went through several changes of identity but each of the newly formed companies was controlled by Marlene's original owners. The Loris and Westmoreland plants were subsequently closed and the rest of the facilities were sold to other garment manufacturers.

The NLRB said the question of reinstatement rights is still being pursued with the successor companies at the remaining locations, adding that workers at these plants might ultimately be entitled to an additional back-pay award.



Milwaukee union members in procession from St. Stanislaus church after memorial service.



Actors' Equity troupe brings Haymarket tragedy to life in dramatic presentations at Chicago conference.

Milwaukee, Chicago rites

Century-old struggle recalled

Union members recalled the century-old struggle for the eight-hour day in special events and ceremonies in Milwaukee and Chicago.

During the first week of May 1886, nearly half a million workers in eight cities walked off their jobs, demanding an eight-hour work day. The disaster that followed in Chicago's Haymarket Square is well known, but an equally grave tragedy—the Bay View massacre—occurred in Milwaukee where six workers and a young boy were killed by police on May 5, 1886.

The Milwaukee County AFL-CIO and the Wisconsin Labor History Society marked the Bay View tragedy by retracing the events of 100 years ago and applying its lessons to the modern labor movement.

Milwaukee in 1886 was a booming industrial town with a strong labor movement led by German and Polish immigrants. Labor's call for the eight-hour day was heard by about 14,000 Milwaukee workers who left their jobs. On May 5, some 1,500 striking workers gathered at St. Stanislaus Catholic Church and set out for the Bay View rolling mills where members of the Amalgamated Iron & Steel Workers, had not left their jobs.

By that time, word of the shootings in Haymarket Square, just 90 miles south, had reached the local police who called for armed local militia to guard the plant. As the marchers approached the plant, the militia commander ordered them to stop. When they continued marching, the troops opened fire, killing five strikers, a 12-year-old boy and a 69-year-old mill worker.

Mass arrests

Although no union member had fired a shot, 37 labor leaders were arrested following the massacre and the drive for the eight-hour day in Milwaukee was crushed.

At special ceremonies at the site of the massacre, Milwaukee County AFL-CIO President Tom Parker pointed out that labor was "still fighting for an eight-hour day" because many industries force employees to put in overtime hours while other workers remain unemployed.

The Milwaukee events also included the designation of May as Labor History Month by Gov. Tony Earl (D), the dedication by the Bay View Historical Society of an old meeting hall outside the giant rolling mill as a historical landmark and a special service at St. Stanislaus Church.

In Chicago, union members gathered for a day-long conference on the Haymarket tragedy and the 100 years that followed, sponsored by the Chicago AFL-CIO, the Illinois Labor History Society and the Chicago Labor Education Program. The session also featured a discussion of the challenges facing the modern labor movement and a series of dramatic performances on Haymarket and the themes of work and unemployment.

Chicago AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Robert M. Healey recounted the labor movement's long history in the city, from the first days of Typographical Union No. 16 in 1852, through the days of Haymarket, to the "Little Steel Memorial Day Massacre" in 1937 to the continuing strike at the Chicago Tribune.

Meeting workers' needs

"We will thrive with the city and its people because our role is to fulfill the unmet needs of workers and their families, and this job is never done," he declared.

Charles J. McDonald, the AFL-CIO director of organizing & field services, reviewed the federation's new initiatives, including the associate member program and other recommendations of the report, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions."

Senator Paul Simon (D-Ill.) stressed that if government and society had acted responsibly during the days of Haymarket, the tragedy would not have occurred because the demands of the Haymarket demonstrators—child labor laws, the eight-hour work day and other protections—were humanitarian concerns that should have been instituted. Today's concerns include help for the homeless, better educational opportunities and a guaranteed job for every worker, he said.

Local attorneys discussed the Haymarket trial and the obvious prejudices of the judge, prosecutor, jury and press, and historians reviewed the impact of the tragedy on the eight-hour day movement and the early American Federation of Labor.

Top student essayists honored for concerns on handicapped

Because the labor movement believes that opportunity and acceptance is the God-given right of all individuals, the AFL-CIO works to help disabled and handicapped persons win the recognition they deserve and the job opportunities they need, Federation Vice President Alvin Heaps told the winners of the annual "Ability Counts" essay contest. The national competition for high school students is sponsored by the AFL-CIO and the Disabled American Veterans.

Heaps, chairman of the federation's Community Services Committee and president of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union, noted that labor's concern for the rights of handicapped workers was an extension of its efforts on behalf of all persons—women and minority workers, the elderly, the poor—who want a voice in shaping their own future. He urged the young writers to remember the "dreams and desires of the handicapped" and join in the battle to achieve recognition and respect for disabled persons.

Guests of labor

The 31 contest winners, their families and teachers were the guests of the AFL-CIO at a luncheon held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. The students' trips to Washington were paid for by the AFL-CIO and its state federations.

Frank Emig, the federation's director of community services, recognized the national winners, who received scholarship awards. The 31 students also received a copy of "George Meany and His Times," a biography of the late AFL-CIO president.

Harold Russell, chairman of the President's committee, pointed out that the population of persons with some form of handicap is increasing and "within that group are any number of talented and wonderful people" who "deserve the opportunity to ply their talents wherever possible."

He urged the students to become "ambassadors to America and the world," by extolling "the virtues and possibilities of this group" of people.

The 31 contest winners wrote on the theme "Disabled People in Action." This year, the students were required to interview local people with disabilities, to learn and write about the accomplishments and successes of the handicapped.

Overcoming obstacles

First place and a $3,000 scholarship went to Julie Hew of Kapaa, Kauai, Hawaii. Hew wrote of a leprosy victim in Hawaii who overcame twin roadblocks of leprosy and blindness to "make the most of his life" and to work on behalf of other visually impaired people.

Second place and a $2,500 scholarship went to W. Randall Brown of Davenport, Iowa; third place and a $2,000 scholarship to Lara Skaggs of Lamont, Okla.; fourth place and a $1,500 scholarship to Eleanor Yu of East Brunswick, N.J., and fifth place and a $1,000 scholarship to Philip Scott Anderson of Chuckey, Tenn. The scholarship awards were donated by the Disabled American Veterans.

In a separate award presentation, Sheet Metal Workers President Edward J. Carlough received the first annual gift of sight award from the International Guiding Eyes.

The foundation, which provides seeing eye dogs and training to the visually impaired, was formed in 1948 with help from the Machinists after an IAM member had been denied a guide dog by other agencies.

Carlough was honored for his fund-raising efforts on behalf of the Guiding Eyes and other charitable organizations.

Top essayists, from left, Julie Hew, W. Randall Brown and Lara Skaggs with AFL-CIO Vice President Alvin Heaps and Harold Russell, center.

Rail unions end walkout on Santa Fe

Chicago—Some 8,000 members of AFL-CIO railroad unions helped bring about an end to a six-day strike of the unaffiliated Locomotive Engineers and the United Transportation Union against the Santa Fe railroad.

The dispute was triggered by the use of management personnel to operate a new type of freight car in a test run. When 4,000 BLE members and 8,000 members struck, the AFL-CIO unions joined the walkout.

Under the settlement, approved by U.S. District Judge Susan Getzendanner, management agreed to abide by existing contracts and cease operating trains without union crews.

Emergency board urged

Meanwhile, the Maintenance of Way Employees' strike against the Maine Central Railroad and Portland Terminal Co. entered its ninth week amid growing demands from political and labor officials that President Reagan appoint an emergency board in hopes of resolving the dispute.

In Washington, the Railway Labor Executives Association and its 18 member unions sued Amtrak and several other railroads to block their alcohol and drug testing program which RLEA says violates the Railway Labor Act and Fourth Amendment rights against "unreasonable searches and seizures."

RLEA attorney Lawrence Mann said complaints have been filed or will be shortly filed against Conrail, Southern Pacific, Burlington Northern and other rail lines.

Education specialist William Lanxner dies

William Lanxner, a staff representative with the AFL-CIO Dept. of Education since 1978, died May 4 of cancer at Georgetown University Hospital. He was 59.

Lanxner was director of education for the Asian-American Free Labor Institute for two years prior to joining the federation staff. From 1974 to 1976, he headed the Bricklayers education and communications department. Lanxner also had been a teacher and school administrator in New York, Massachusetts, Vermont and Maryland. He was a member of the Newspaper Guild.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue said in a letter to his wife Grace, "Bill's knowledge and experience will be sorely missed by his fellow trade unionists. His success at getting trade unionism included in school programs through his responsibilities with the National Capital Area Trade Union Retirees Club is a legacy that helps to carry our history and our hopes to students throughout the Washington area."

Besides his wife, Lanxner is survived by seven children from a previous marriage. A memorial service was held May 9 at Rock Creek Golf Course in Washington where he played regularly. Burial was in Shamokin, Pa.

EDITORIALS

Plant Closings Revisited

THE EVIDENCE keeps mounting that the House made a grievous mistake last November when it rejected a modest bill that would have required employers to give workers 90 days notice before closing a plant or laying off a large portion of the workforce.

One of the arguments raised against its passage was that it would be premature to act while a task force appointed by the Secretary of Labor was studying the problem.

The task force has not yet completed its mission, but nothing in its preliminary findings gives cause for legislative delay. Quite the contrary.

A task force panel set up to explore "the nature and magnitude of the problem" found that plant closings are not a dwindling problem, linked to a temporary recession, as some have argued.

Frank Doyle, the General Electric Co. senior vice president who headed the task force, reported that the pace of worker dislocation has accelerated in recent years. He cited changes in demand and technology as well as import penetration of the U.S. market.

Hardest hit, Doyle said, are older workers, higher paid workers, those with long service for one employer, blacks, women, blue collar workers and those in parts of the country with high unemployment.

That pretty much covers the waterfront.

MEANWHILE, a General Accounting Office study of business closings and permanent layoffs in 1983 and 1984 uncovered some chilling facts.

It found that 55 percent of blue-collar workers received two weeks or less notice before their livelihood was wiped out. Only 9 percent of workers were given specific notice and only 18 percent had a "general notice" of at least three months of an employer's intent to close a plant.

Disgracefully, nearly one-fourth of all workers affected did not know of their job loss until the day they were terminated.

As Industrial Union Dept. President Howard Samuel noted, the GAO study points anew to the need for federal legislation to require employers to show a degree of humane consideration for their workers.

Left alone, study after study has demonstrated, they have not done so.

In most of the world's industrial democracies, employers do give adequate advance notice of plant closings. But they don't do it out of the goodness of their hearts. They do it because the law requires it.

Working Partners

This year's Union-Indistries Show was in Kansas City. AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue was there to help open it. These are some of the things he said:

THE GOODS and services on display here, bearing the union label, are proof of what American workers and companies can accomplish together, working in a climate of mutual acceptance and mutual respect.

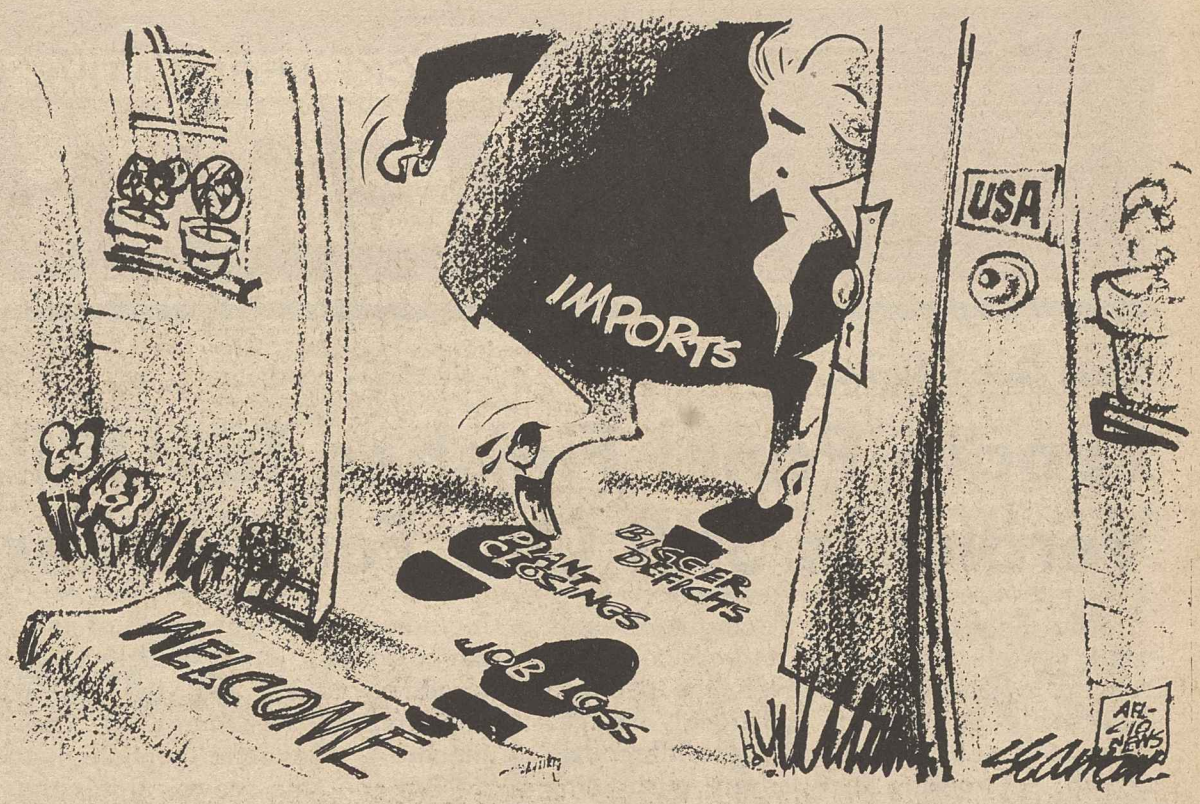
It is a testament to collective bargaining, a system for forging agreement out of our differences and for transforming conflict into cooperation.

Given half a chance, American workers can and will produce the best product at the best price, to the best advantage of workers, employers and consumers alike.

But the nations that have gained on us in recent years have one giant advantage that we don't have. They have a national industrial policy that takes into account the needs and standards of their society as a whole, and a national policy of cooperation among labor, business and government.

We need a working partnership with our employers and our government.

This Union-Industries Show demonstrates that labor has a vital role to play in such a partnership, that collective bargaining does work, and that working men and women share their employers' concerns for productivity and profitability.



Washington Window

Stockman: 'Cooked books' recipe for tax giveaways

By Press Associates Inc.

Abraham Lincoln said, "It is true that you may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time."

Well, former White House Budget Director David Stockman now confesses that President Reagan and his senior aides and Stockman himself have been fooling the people and themselves for more than five years.

Critics, including Reagan rival John Anderson, said in the 1980 campaign that Reagan's goal of a huge tax cut, a big military buildup and a balanced budget could only be achieved with mirrors.

Once on the job as budget chief, Stockman discovered that for himself. So what did he do? He polished the mirrors. Describing himself as a "radical ideologue," Stockman envisioned the Reagan Revolution as requiring "a frontal assault" on the welfare state.

Corporate hogs

But when the corporate hogs ran off with $750 billion in the Reagan tax cuts of 1981 and the federal budget could not cover the tax giveaways and pay for the military buildup, Stockman and Reagan chief economist Murray Weidenbaum "cooked the books." By manipulating their five-year forecasts, they created some $200 billion in "phantom revenues" to offset runaway deficits. Stockman also invented a "magic asterisk" which was attached to $44 billion in future savings "to be identified."

By November 1981, Stockman realized the Reagan plan was fatally flawed. Without tax increases, the nation faced $800 billion in deficits over five years. It was to be a continuing disaster, with plenty of blame to go around.

Starting at the top, President Reagan, according to Stockman's account, was "out to lunch." "What do you do when your President ignores all the palpable, relevant facts and wanders in circles?" Stockman wrote. He said the President didn't understand the connection between the tax structure and the budget.

Stockman, blaming himself for the "fatally flawed" budget plan, said Reagan also "had been misled by a crew of over-zealous—and ultimately incompetent—advisers."

Stockman believes the nation is headed for runaway inflation unless Reagan gives up his obstinate anti-tax stance and now joins with others in the call for new taxes.

Open contempt

Stockman's career has shown him to be a supreme opportunist, a cynical politician, an elitist with open contempt towards the American people, and arrogant in the use of power. In his book, titled the Triumph of Politics, he has performed a service in revealing attempts to hoodwink the public as well as the self-deception of the Reagan White House.

The biggest target of the Reaganites has been social security, with both Reagan and Stockman rebuffed in their effort to slash it by tens of billions. Reagan always wanted it made voluntary, while Stockman wanted it reduced to a single savings plan.

It comes down to values. Stockman and Reagan sought to destroy popular programs which helped people. America needs more such programs: to bring about full employment, job training, quality education and national health insurance.

To those who say America cannot afford it, the fact remains that Americans are the least taxed among western industrial nations. The Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development ranks the nations this way in terms of federal, state and local revenue as a proportion of gross domestic product: Sweden, 50.3 percent; Denmark, 44 percent; France, 43.7 percent; United Kingdom, 39.6 percent; Italy, 38.3 percent; West Germany, 37.3 percent; Canada, 34.9 percent; United States, 30.5 percent.

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

Some Good News, Some Bad

Senate Panel Finishes Tax Bill; Verdict Is Still Out For Workers

The Senate Finance Committee this week completed work on its version of tax reform legislation. However, the package will likely go through additional changes when it comes before the Senate in about a month, so working families are witholding final judgement.

The committee bill indicates that worker efforts to stop the proposed tax on employee benefits are working. Since neither House nor Senate version presently contains the unfair tax, we are one step closer to final victory on this issue.

There are other encouraging features, including the preservation of the important deduction for state and local income and property taxes and the elimination of preferential treatment of capital gains income -- a favorite loophole of the rich.

But on the down side, the package would eliminate the deduction for state sales taxes, and the miscellaneous deduction that includes union dues. It would also unfairly treat the pension payments of federal, postal and public employees.

The AFL-CIO will be doing a detailed analysis of the package to determine how it will affect workers and their families.

Reagan Abuses His Power Of Appointment; Latest Nominees Dangerously Unqualified

In the next century, President Reagan could be remembered more for the damaging court appointments he made, than anything else. His latest nominations to lifetime federal court judgeships are two totally unqualified and dangerous ideologues -- Daniel Manion of Indiana and Jefferson Sessions of Alabama. Along with his other recent nominations, they are certain to have a disasterous impact on the way federal laws are interpreted and enforced.

When you consider that Mr. Reagan could name up to 375 new judges or approximately half of all federal court positions before leaving office, in addition to his many other government appointments, it becomes clear why the right of nomination is held as one of a President's greatest powers. Many of these judges will still be in office decades after he is gone.

Mr. Sessions, 38, who has been selected to sit on the United States District Court for southern Alabama has much to discredit him for the job. But he has probably received the greatest attention for a casual assessment he once made of the Ku Klux Klan: "I thought those guys were okay until I learned they smoked pot."

He has since denied being insensitive to the plight of blacks, but in recent Senate hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee, he did not deny making the KKK remark. His list of "disqualifications" include his being instrumental in zealously prosecuting civil rights leaders in his area, his belief that the NAACP, National Council of Churches and the ACLU are either "unamerican" or "communist inspired", and his failure to investigate or prosecute when shown evidence that absentee ballots had been altered or improperly witnessed by whites in his region.

But even more disturbing is the selection of Daniel A. Manion to the U.S. Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit. Incredibly, he has never argued a case before that court, never even been a judge and has spent his entire 13-year career handling personal injury and small claims cases. The American Bar Association gave him its lowest passing grade for an attorney "qualified" and the Chicago Council of Lawyers opposes his nomination outright.

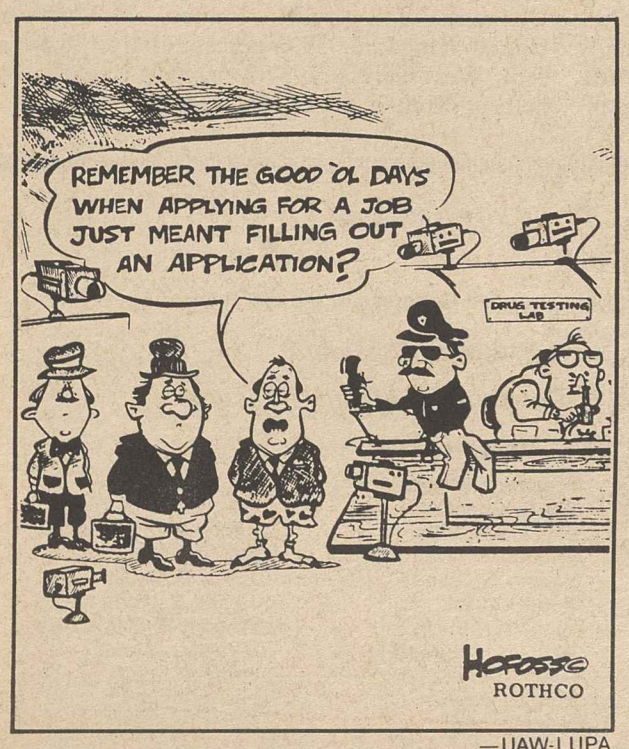
Yet President Reagan wants him to spend the rest of his life (he is only 43) sitting on the second highest court in the land.

Mr. Manion has distinguished himself by cosponsoring a bill when he was an Indiana state senator to allow the teaching of creationism in public schools. He also cosponsored a measure to allow the Ten Commandments to be posted in schools, the later coming two months after the Supreme Court had ruled that this was unconstitutional.

Battle Coming In Senate Over Double-Breasting

Contractor organizations are gearing up for a major drive to thwart union workers. After labor's dramatic showing in the House, they will be pulling out all the stops to kill S. 2181, the double-breasting bill in the Senate.

Contact your senator today and urge him or her to cosign this important bill as early as possible.



—UAW-LUPA

How One Worker Can Make A Difference

Beginning May 22, and continuing through June 2, your lawmakers will be home on recess, meeting with constituents and forming their strategies for the remainder of the 99th Congress. This is the perfect opportunity for workers to meet them face-to-face.

Local unions should contact the central labor council in their area for instructions on how to schedule and conduct a meeting with their representative or senator or if there is a Legislative Action Committee in your area, contact your LAC coordinator.

Davis-Bacon: In both houses, tell your lawmakers to oppose attempts to weaken this landmark law that protects wage standards.

Double-Breasting: Urge your senator to support S. 2181, an important measure that prevents the undermining of union jobs in the construction industry.

Polygraph: This key measure to protect worker's personal privacy should come to the Senate floor this summer. Urge your senator to work toward passage of S. 1815.

Rep. Shaw Introduces Bill

Mandatory Drug Testing: Shape Of Things To Come?

Suddenly, officials at virtually all levels of government as well as private employers have latched onto the idea of mandatory testing of workers as a means of accomplishing what parents, government and society up to now have been unable to do -- control drug abuse. The recent introduction of legislation in the House by Rep. Clay Shaw (R-FL) marks the first of what could soon be a wave of new bills and government policies that promise to invade the privacy and personal liberties of workers and place them in the position of being guilty until tested innocent.

Although the Shaw bill, H.R. 4636, targets only federal workers with access to classified information, the Department of Defense already has a drug testing program in operation and workers in a myriad of other public and private sector occupations are being eyed for random testing. They include: virtually all public employees, police, railroad workers, bus drivers, truck drivers, any worker involved in public safety, professional athletes and any worker of any firm that holds a government contract.

While the abuse of drugs on or off the job is deplored by all labor unions, there is a real danger that drug testing, just like polygraph testing, can be unreliable and can be used to discriminate against workers for any number of reasons including race and union activity.

Falloff in exports takes toll of 1.8 million jobs

By Gene Zack

The continuing slide in American exports cost the jobs of 1.8 million workers in factories, supporting trades and services during the first four years of the Reagan Administration, the Commerce Dept. reported.

The number of full-time jobs generated by exports peaked at 7.2 million in 1980, the report showed. By 1984, it said, employment directly and indirectly related to the production of goods for exports nosedived 25 percent to slightly below 5.5 million jobs.

The AFL-CIO termed the figures "new evidence of the job-gutting effects of the Administration's failure to come to grips with the whole issue of foreign trade."

Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald said the new report, taken in tandem with an earlier Commerce Dept. study showing the loss of 2.3 million jobs in the manufacturing sector in 1984 alone as the result of imports, "provides the complete picture of the crucial role that foreign trade plays in our domestic economy."

Not only have overseas producers inundated the American market with their goods, Oswald pointed out, they have also erected barriers to keep American-made goods out of their markets. "The result has been to throw millions of American workers on the scrap heap while the Administration keeps insisting that 'free trade' and 'market forces' will correct the situation."

The report on the devastation wrought by the continued decline in American exports, he said, "should be required reading for everyone in the Administration and in Congress—and after they've read it they should get down to dealing with the crisis instead of continuing to talk it to death."

The Commerce Dept. said that three major factors accounted for the loss of the 1.8 million export-generated jobs. About 900,000 jobs—roughly half the total—were lost to decreased export volume, 700,000 were lost as the result of productivity gains and 200,000 more were wiped out because manufacturers turned to foreign, instead of domestic, sources of raw materials, parts and components.

In 1980, the report showed, there were 29,000 American jobs generated by each $1 billion worth of exports. By 1984, the number had declined to 25,800 jobs per $1 billion.

Although the Administration has repeatedly blamed the over-valued American dollar for the decline in exports, claiming that it priced U.S.-made goods out of the world market, the Commerce Dept. study tended to downgrade this argument. The appreciation of the dollar between 1980 and 1984, the report said, accounted for "roughly half or less than half" of the erosion in export volume.

AFL-CIO news

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Reagan seeks to stem tide for trade bill

By David L. Perlman

President Reagan sought to head off a crushing repudiation of his trade policy by appealing to congressional Republicans to stand firm against a Democratic-sponsored bill that would use the threat of sanctions to bring America's exports and imports in closer balance.

The legislation is scheduled for a House vote, and many of its provisions have substantial bipartisan support. But Reagan denounced the measure as "protectionism" and other Administration spokesmen echoed his attack.

At Senate hearings, Treasury Sec. James A. Baker warned against "passage of protectionist legislation that would alienate our trading partners."

The subcommittee chairman, Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), snapped back that "the Administration tends to define anything that walks as protectionism."

The House bill, which falls short of the import curbs sought by the AFL-CIO, is the product of six House committees and has the solid support of the Democratic leadership.

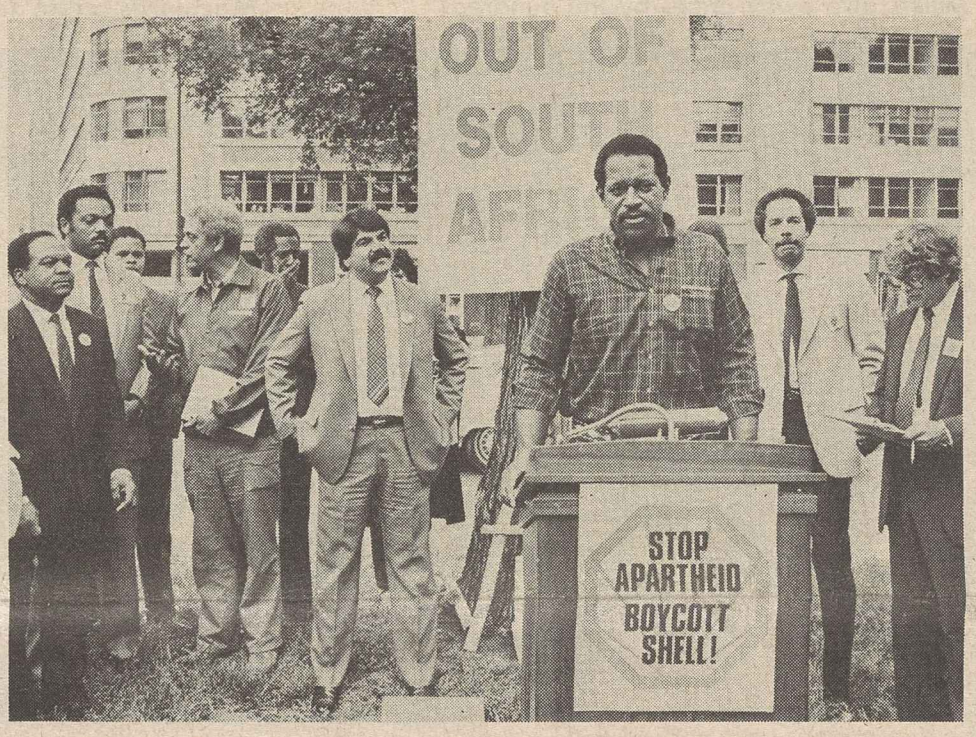
All sectors trust

Every sector of the economy has been hurt by unfair trading policies from abroad, Ways & Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) told a news conference. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. said the trade imbalance is largely responsible for unemployment over 9 percent in 11 states and the economic suffering of regions hit by plant closings and layoffs.

The legislation the House will vote on would require negotiations with any major U.S. trading partner that has an "excessive trade surplus" based on a pattern of unjustified or discriminatory trade practices. If an agreement isn't reached to reduce the trade surplus by at least 10 percent a year, the President is directed to impose sanctions.

Other sections of the bill curb imports from countries that flout internationally recognized labor standards, seek to force open foreign telecommunications markets to U.S. products, and expand programs to retrain workers adversely affected by imports.

In the first session of Congress, both the House and Senate voted to curb job-destroying imports of textiles, apparel, shoes and copper. President Reagan vetoed the bill and House leaders put off a vote on a motion to override the veto until this August.



AFL-CIO Vice President Gene Upshaw condemns Shell Oil policies.

Shell boycott stepped up to break apartheid link

By Candice Johnson

Organized labor turned up the heat on its boycott of Shell Oil Co. products as a demonstration timed to coincide with worldwide stockholders meetings demanded an end to Shell's involvement in South Africa's apartheid policies.

Auto Workers President Owen Bieber, a cochairman of the National Labor Boycott Shell Committee with Mine Workers President Richard Trumka, called on the giant oil company "to divest from South Africa" or face "a continuation and intensification of our boycott efforts" in the United States and several European nations.

Injustice spotlighted

And more than 100 union and civil rights activists gathered to drive home that message during a demonstration in front of Shell's Washington headquarters, with picket lines in place to draw attention to Shell's anti-labor and anti-human rights policies.

AFL-CIO Vice President Gene Upshaw called Royal Dutch Shell one of the "main culprits" in the continuing injustice of South African apartheid. Upshaw, president of the Professional Athletes, pledged that labor will "keep its vigil until the ways of South Africa change."

Trumka told the crowd that Shell had "earned its selection as a boycott target" because of its vicious union-busting techniques and on-going support for apartheid. "We can no longer countenance "business as usual' from multinational corporations that profit from and prop up apartheid," Trumka stressed, noting that 16 cities across the country already have organized active Shell boycott committees.

Trumka warned the giant oil company that European nations also were gearing up boycott campaigns. Britain and the Netherlands earlier announced plans to boycott Royal Dutch Shell products unless the company agreed to disinvest its South African holdings at its May stockholders' meeting, Trumka said, while a group of 55

Continued on Page 4

House bars Job Corps shutdowns

The House voted to prohibit the Labor Dept. from going ahead with its plan to close six Job Corps centers because of a 4.3-percent budget cut required by the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law.

Members of Congress from districts where centers had been targeted for shutdown mounted a bipartisan rescue effort. Their amendment to a supplemental appropriations bill, adopted by voice vote, forbids the closing of any centers and bars elimination of any training slots.

It directs the Labor Dept. to achieve the budget savings through other cuts in the Job Corps budget. A stretchout of funds earmarked for repairs and postponement of some pilot programs are among the alternatives House sponsors suggested. The funding bill to which the amendment was tacked now goes to the Senate.

Union-provided skills training would be especially hard hit by the scheduled closing of the Job Corps centers. At the five conservation centers on the shutdown list, more than half the trainees are enrolled in skills programs that are taught by union craftsmen—principally from the Carpenters, Painters, Bricklayers and Plasterers.

High success rate

Reese Hammond, education and training director of the Operating Engineers, said surveys have found that the youngsters who complete union-supervised training have higher placement rates than other trainees and work in 16 of the 20 highest paying occupations for which the Job Corps trains.

The civilian conservation centers with union involvement that are targeted for shutdown include three operated by the Dept. of Agriculture at Frenchburg, Ky.; Angell, Ore., and Curlew, Wash. Two operated by the Interior Dept. are at Collbran, Colo., and Mingo, Mo. Of the 1,098 training slots in the five centers, 596 are in union-provided training.

Presidential nominees face confirmation fight in Senate

The Senate Judiciary Committee refused to approve President Reagan's nomination of Daniel Manion, a right-wing ideologue with minimal legal experience, for a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Chicago-based Seventh Circuit.

A 9-9 tie vote blocked approval, but the committee then agreed to send the nomination to the Senate floor without a recommendation. Manion is a former member of the Indiana legislature and bills he introduced in defiance of Supreme Court decisions were among the arguments raised against his confirmation.

Other Reagan nominees are facing close confirmation votes in the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee.

One is Jeffrey Zuckerman, the top aide to Chairman Clarence Thomas of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Zuckerman has come under sharp criticism for positions he has taken on civil rights issues. Both Democrats and Republicans have criticized his nomination to be EEOC general counsel, the agency's chief enforcement officer.

Thomas, himself, will be under scrutiny

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MEMO FROM COPE
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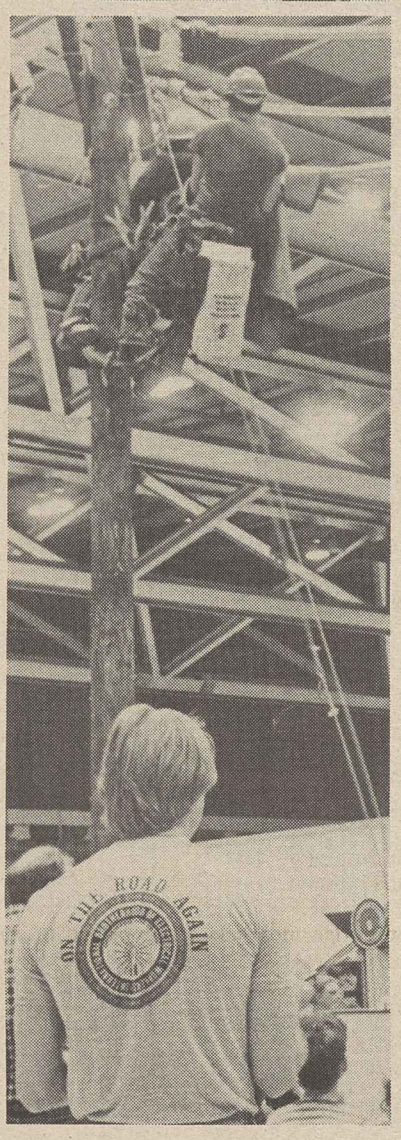
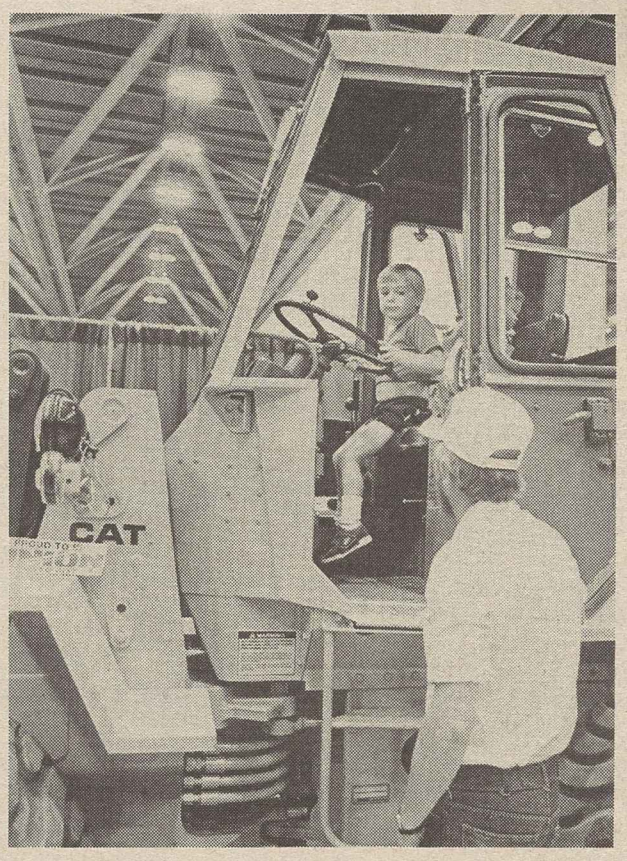


Electrical Workers demonstrate high-level skills.

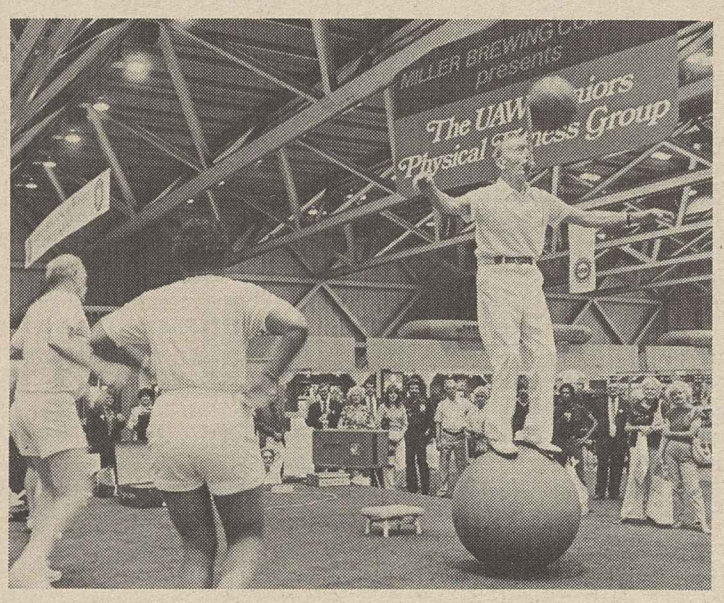
Grain Millers give away prizes by the hundreds.



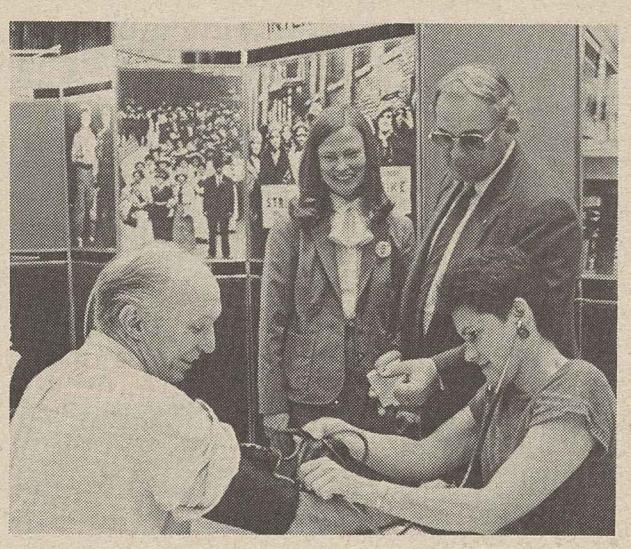
Young dreamer "operates" Machinists-made tractor.

Wall-to-wall union and employer exhibits.

Kansas City shows off the union label



UAW retirees show how to stay in shape, led by 80-year-old Lloyd Morgan who's on the ball.



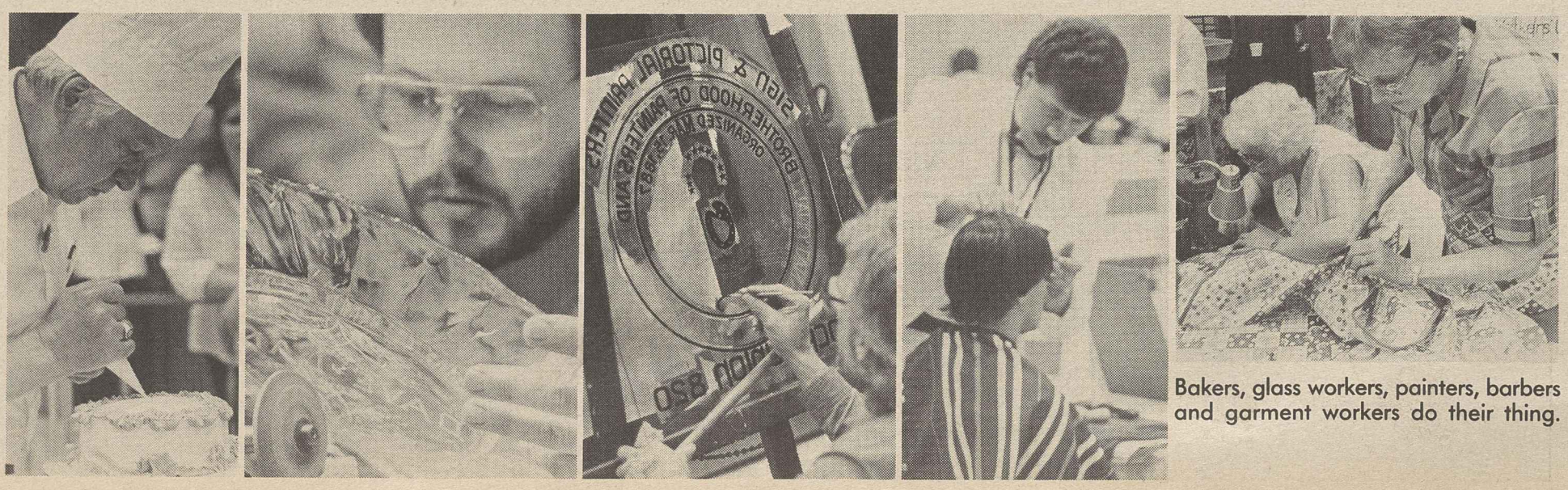
AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue gets blood pressure checked at Service Employees booth while Union Label President James E. Hatfield awaits his turn.

Organized labor's annual demonstration of union-employer cooperation was a big hit in Kansas City this year as some 300,000 folks from the "show-me" state viewed the skills, services and products of union workers at the Union-Industries Show.

Packed in the aisles amid more than 300 exhibits, the visitors accepted tons of literature and thousands of dollars worth of prizes.

Visitors got to see how union workers do their jobs with care and efficiency that matches their skills. In all, more than six dozen AFL-CIO affiliates participated in the show.

Throughout the show's six-day run, butchers, bakers and boilermakers and many other craftsmen fielded questions and explained the benefits of unionism.



Bakers, glass workers, painters, barbers and garment workers do their thing.

Unions press disclosure of foreign capital

A panel of union witnesses testified in support of a House bill that would require full disclosure of foreign investments in U.S. firms and set standards for future acquisitions of American businesses.

Corporate information needed for responsible collective bargaining is often impossible to get from firms under foreign control, AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. President Howard D. Samuel said. Lack of communication with top management is especially acute in situations involving plant closings or concessionary demands by management, he noted.

Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Vice President Calvin Moore told an Energy & Commerce subcommittee of the union's experience with BASF, the German-based chemical company that since 1970 has aquired 70 U.S. chemical plants with about $4 billion a year in sales.

BASF has conducted "a war against labor in this country," Moore testified, and has eliminated unions at four of six previously organized locations. Some 370 OCAW members at a BASF facility in Louisiana are "in the 23rd month of a company-initiated lockout," he said.

The ownership trail the union has tried to follow shows that the three largest German banks own a controlling interest in the company, but that the oil-rich nation of Kuwait also has a significant investment, both directly and through part ownership of banks.

"As a result, when we deal with BASF, we do not really know who we are actually dealing with," Moore said.

The U.S. cement industry has increasingly come under foreign control, Henry Bechtholdt, director of the Cement, Lime & Gypsum division of the Boilermakers, testified. He noted that 10 years ago only one of the 180 U.S. cement plants was foreign owned and it accounted for less than 1 percent of the industry output.

Tangled webs

Now, he said, the 45 foreign-owned cement plants account for almost 40 percent of U.S. cement capacity. Many of the foreign firms have tangled webs of ownership and some have operate with "apparent disregard" for U.S. labor law, Bechtholdt testified.

Until two years ago, Bechtholdt said, the cement industry and the union had one of the best labor-management relations of any basic industry. But since industry contracts expired in May 1984, nearly two-thirds of companies have resisted new contracts and foreign-owned firms "have been leading the assault."

The bill being considered by the subcommittee was introduced by Rep. John Bryant (D-Tex.).

It would require detailed disclosure of foreign investment of 5 percent or $100,000 in any U.S. asset, updated by annual reports. It would also restrict future acquisitions by foreign investors to nationals of countries that permit Americans to make comparable investments in their companies.

They're all for the Waymen

Hundreds of union members in Portland, Me., rally support for Maintenance of Way Employees who have been on strike at the Maine Central and Portland Terminal railroads since Mar. 3. The strike against Guilford Transportation Industries has been extended to the Boston & Maine and the Delaware & Hudson railroads, also owned by Guilford. No new bargaining sessions have been scheduled.

TV satellite hookup to link June 14 regional meetings

Trade unionists across the country prepared to participate in a nationwide "union meeting of the air" on June 14, as the AFL-CIO added a new electronic dimension to its sixth in an annual series of regional conferences.

The day-long conference will use a television satellite hookup to link federation officials in Washington to union officers and members in 20 major cities with large concentrations of unionists.

The use of portable satellite dishes at each of the sites will make it possible for union members to see the program live on large-screen television and a telephone hookup will enable them to be involved in discussions and activities throughout the day.

The "union meeting of the air" will focus on five major themes:

- How international trade is affecting jobs and what union members can realistically do about it.
- How proposed changes in tax laws and the federal budget could help or hurt unionists and their families, and what labor can do to win the good and block the bad.
- New methods to help unions grow despite a hostile labor climate generated by the Reagan Administration since it came to power.
- New benefits being negotiated by the AFL-CIO that affiliated unions will make available to their members.
- How unions defend members' rights, protect minorities and women, and improve the public perception of the role of labor in American society.

The AFL-CIO launched the regional conference concept in 1981 to give state and local central body officers, local union officials and union members across the nation an opportunity to discuss critical issues with the federation's top officers and staff members.

Last year, President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue travelled to seven locations and met with representatives of more than 40 central labor councils.

This year's conference will enable the AFL-CIO to reach a larger audience during the seven hours that it's on the air. Starting time will be 11 a.m. Eastern Daylight Time, 10 a.m. Central Time, 9 a.m. Mountain Time and 8 a.m. Pacific Time.

Conference sites

Albuquerque, N.M.—Electrical Workers Local 611 hall, 105 Texas SE.

Atlanta—IBEW Local 613 hall, 501 Pulliam St. SW.

Boston—IBEW Local 103 hall, 256 Freeport St., Dorchester.

Chicago—Operating Engineers Local 150 hall, 6200 Joliet Rd., Country Side.

Cleveland—Pipefitters Local 120 hall, 6305 Halle Dr.

Dallas—IBEW Local 59 hall, 7940 Northaven Rd.

Denver—Pipefitters Local 208 hall, 6350 North Broadway.

Minneapolis—North Hennepin Community College, 7411 85th Ave., North, Brooklyn Park.

New Orleans—Plumbers Local 60 hall, 3515 I-10 Service Rd.

Philadelphia—Sheet Metal Workers Local 19 hall, 1301 South Delaware Ave.

Pittsburgh—Steelworkers Local 2227 hall, 1301 Philip Murray Rd., West Mifflin.

St. Louis—Graphic Communications Local 505 hall, 105 Progress Parkway, Maryland Heights.

Salt Lake City—Union Labor Center Building, 2261 South Redwood Rd.

Seattle—Machinists District Lodge 751, Sullivan Hall, 5502 Airport Way South.

Syracuse, N.Y.—Country House Inn, 1308 Buckley Road North.

Tampa—IBEW Local 108 hall, U.S. Highway 92 and Faulkenberg.

Arrangements are expected to be completed shortly for sites in Detroit, Knoxville, Tenn., Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Reagan nominees face Senate fight over confirmation

Continued from Page 1

when he comes before the committee for hearings on his reappointment to a second term as EEOC chairman.

The Senate committee also faces an close vote on confirmation of Robert E. Rader as a member of the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission. Labor has opposed his confirmation as a "fox in the chicken coop" appointment. His experience in the job safety field has been as a legal strategist for a policy of battling OSHA jurisdiction and denying OSHA inspectors access to workplaces.

Committee members are expected to approve the nomination of John A. Pendergrass, a retired official of the 3M Corp., to be OSHA administrator and an Assistant Secretary of Labor. But there are likely to be some reservations expressed.

Company challenge

At confirmation hearings, labor witnesses raised questions about the role of Pendergrass in efforts by 3M to block or weaken occupational health standards. Recently, 3M sued OSHA to challenge cotton dust and asbestos regulations.

At Senate hearings, Auto Workers Safety Director Franklin E. Mirer, who also presented the AFL-CIO position, suggested that Pendergrass refrain from participation in regulatory and enforcement matters that could directly benefit his former employer.

Under President Reagan's earlier appointees, hard-won health and safety gains were rolled back, Mirer noted. Pendergrass will be taking on a heavy responsibility "to get OSHA back on track," he stressed.

Pendergrass responded to some of labor's concerns during his appearance before the Senate committee. He said he was not consulted by 3M's legal department before the cotton dust suit was filed although he headed a company division responsible for developing worker safety and health training materials.

He said he would not participate in any OSHA decision involving the lawsuit, but did not intend to recuse himself from all OSHA actions that might affect 3M.

Illinois pact brings gains for 40,000

Springfield, Ill.—Some 40,000 state employees will receive pay increases of 13.5 percent under the terms of a three-year contract negotiated by the State, County & Muncipal Employees.

The agreement, which takes effect July 1, was ratified by a 93 percent margin. It covers employees in a wide variety of jobs in various bargaining units across the state.

The contract provides across-the-board salary increases of 4 percent effective Oct. 1, 4.5 percent on July 1, 1987, and 5 percent on July 1, 1988. Annual step increases, which average 4 percent, will be continued. In addition, all employees at the top of their pay scales—nearly half of all the members of the bargaining unit—will receive a 2 percent pay increase July 1.

AFSCME Council 31 also won agreement on establishment of a special fund, totaling $4 million a year, to make inequity adjustments for jobs that the union and the Dept. of Central Management Services agree are underpaid.

Other provisions include negotiation of the impact on wages, hours and conditions of employment resulting from the closure of any state facility; a new dental program with basic coverage fully paid by the employer, and reduced deductible and copayments for state employees who use preferred provider organizations for their medical care.

Clip & Mail this form to the AFL-CIO

We will send _____ delegates to the 1986 AFL-CIO NATIONAL VIDEOCONFERENCE in _____ (city).

Name of Organization _____

Names of Participants: 1. _____

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Union Affiliation (including local number) _____

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☐ Int'l, ☐ State, ☐ Central Body, ☐ Local Union, ☐ Int'l Rep. ☐ or Other.

YOU WILL RECEIVE A CONFIRMATION FORM WITH THE STREET ADDRESS OF THE CONFERENCE SITE YOU HAVE SELECTED.

Mail to:

AFL-CIO NATIONAL VIDEOCONFERENCE
815 16th Street, N.W., Room 200
Washington, D.C. 20006

BCT President John DeConcini kicks off 100th birthday celebration.

Bakers celebrate centennial in city where union started

Pittsburgh—The Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers put the icing on BCT's first 100 years with a mammoth birthday party here in the city where the union was founded in 1886.

More than 1,200 members of BCT locals, international officers and staff were joined by union retirees and employer representatives at a celebration dinner just a few blocks from the site of the founding convention.

BCT President John DeConcini told dinner guests that the union is, in the words of its centennial slogan, "proud of our past and dedicated to the future," and promised that the union would "never forget those who went before us, who built this union and made our industries prosper."

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland expressed his pleasure in "sharing a piece of birthday cake with old friends who don't mind if I smoke," as he paid tribute to the union's first hundred years of struggle.

"The century that this organization is rounding off covers most of labor's history as a national movement," Kirkland noted. "This union has played a central role in the American labor movement."

The dinner, which served as a kickoff for BCT local celebrations across the country, was highlighted by the premier showing of a motion picture based on separate histories of the bakery workers and the tobacco workers written by Stuart Kaufman, editor of the Gompers Papers.

History chronicled

The histories and film chronicle the exploitation of bakery workers prior to the founding of that union in 1886, and the first stirrings of trade unionism among workers in the cigarette manufacturing plants that led to formation of the Tobacco Workers in 1895.

What followed were battles for recognition, bargaining rights, life-support benefits and decent working conditions by members of both unions, during a period of pro-management, anti-worker sentiment. Bakery and tobacco workers put heavy emphasis on the boycott and the union label in their organizing efforts and were instrumental in the founding of the federation's Union Label & Service Trades Dept.

Bakery and tobacco unions battled against the trusts that came to dominate their industries early in this century until the Supreme Court finally broke up the tobacco trust and the Justice Dept. ultimately clamped down on the baking trust.

When workers in both industries were challenged by mechanization and automation they responded by pioneering the shorter workweek, supplementary unemployment benefits and severance pay for displaced workers, and higher wages for jobs modified by technology.

The B&C and the TWIU merger in 1978 came at a time when corporate takeovers were beginning to bring together tobacco and bakery companies into giant conglomerates. Thus, two unions which shared a common past positioned themselves to march ahead into a shared future.

Other speakers at the centennial party included AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue; Food & Allied Service Trades Dept. President Robert Harbrant; Union Label & Service Trades Dept. Sec.-Treas. John Mara; Canadian Labor Congress Sec.-Treas. Richard Mercier; Pennsylvania AFL-CIO President Julius Uehlein, and Allegheny County Labor Council President Paul Stackhouse.

'Full employment' goal seen in reach without new surge of inflation

Philadelphia—Unemployment can be lowered to 4 percent from its present recession level of over 7 percent "with no danger of higher inflation," two AFL-CIO economics experts declared.

The Employment Act of 1946 set a 4 percent jobless rate as the definition for "full employment," and called for federal action to keep the nation on a sustained path of economic growth.

In a paper presented to the 12th annual convention of the Eastern Economic Association, Research Director Rudy Oswald and economist Richard S. Krashevski dismissed arguments that government measures to promote job creation would rekindle the fires of inflation.

These claims, the federation economists said, are simply "a way of avoiding dealing with the problem of involuntary unemployment."

They urged prompt federal action to deal with the pervasive high jobless rate that saw 8.3 million officially listed as unemployed last month, with another 1.1 million discouraged workers no longer looking for work and 5.9 million involuntarily working part time.

'Recovery' overstated

When unemployment declined to 7.2 percent in May 1984, after peaking at 10.7 percent in the depths of the Reagan Recession, the Administration "called it a recovery," Oswald and Krashevski emphasized. Two years later it remains stuck at 7.1 percent.

Before the 1980s, they pointed out, the only previous time in the post World War II period that unemployment rose above 7 percent was during the deep recession of 1973-75. "Thus what was once considered recession-level unemployment marks the peak of a recovery," they declared.

"We do not have full employment with 80 percent capacity utilization and 8.3 million people actively but unsuccessfully searching for work," they said.

"Not only is there a social imperative to provide jobs for everyone able and willing to work, but current economic conditions also allow a substantial reduction in unemployment before inflation revives."

Price shocks blamed

The AFL-CIO economists stressed that the connection between unemployment and inflation "has been greatly overstated," because "price shocks" stemming from shortages in food and oil supplies, "accounted for most of the inflation" at the end of the last decade while declining food and fuel prices "helped pull inflation back down" since then.

The earlier consensus that a 4-percent jobless rate represented full employment underwent a succession of upward adjustments in the past 15 years, they said. These changes were based on such trends as the increased participation of women and young people in the labor force, their "alleged loose attachment" to the labor force and their above-average unemployment rate.

But, Oswald and Krashevski said, these redefinitions were merely a device "to define away the unemployment crisis."

They challenged the claims of some economists that the high rate of teenage unemployment is due to the minimum wage. "The argument is that young people's productivity is too low to justify a wage as high as the minimum," the economists said, although the minimum hasn't been increased since it went to $3.35 an hour in 1981. Since that time, it's purchasing power has declined nearly 20 percent, so that the claim is "not relevant at all today."

Changing patterns

As far as the role of women in the work force is concerned, Oswald and Krashevski pointed out, there has been a "manifest change in women's employment patterns," and their participation in the job market can no longer be labeled "intermittent."

The economists presented a detailed analysis of consumer prices, wages and unemployment for 25 of the largest cities during the period from 1972 to 1985 to demonstrate "that there is no danger of rekindling inflation by reducing unemployment." Among the cities covered were New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, "each with a population as large as that of many entire nations," they pointed out.

The data showed that "reduction of unemployment to 4 percent is consistent with steady inflation at 2.3 percent and annual wage increases of 3.6 percent," Oswald and Krashevski told the conferees, so that there is nothing to "justify the failure of government to act against joblessness."

Shell Oil boycott pressed in battle against apartheid

Continued from Page 1

Swedish organizations delivered a similar ultimatum to Shell officials in Sweden.

Rev. Jesse Jackson urged the demonstrators to keep up their efforts to expose "the ruthlessness of Shell" and its role in "fueling the flames of apartheid." Jackson and Free South Africa director Randall Robinson agreed that Shell was just the first target of a boycott effort against companies that aid apartheid and that similar actions could be taken against computer, transportation and other industries.

Others addressing the rally included Joslyn Williams, president of the Metropolitan Washington AFL-CIO and Washington's delegate to Congress, Walter Fauntroy.

Following the demonstration at Shell headquarters, UMW members from Pennsylvania kept an all-night vigil to mark the on-going Shell stockholders meetings in Europe.

EPA asbestos removal rule faulted

The Environmental Protection Agency's new rule on asbestos removal protections for workers was decried by labor unions as being inadequate, out-of-date and weaker than the guidelines it put out last year.

Executive Director Al Bilik of the AFL-CIO Public Employees Dept.'s State/Local Division, charged: "EPA botched it. The new asbestos rule is simply a case of too little too late."

Bilik said that the EPA rule sets an exposure limit 20 times higher than the limit recommended by OSHA and the procedures "offer less protection that the procedures recommended by EPA itself in earlier-published guidelines for controlling asbestos in public buildings."

Bill Borwegen, safety director for the Service Employees, declared that it is "reprehensible that the agency would adopt exposure limits that everybody knows are inadequate," which he said could kill 64 out of every 1,000 workers exposed to asbestos.

SEIU sued the agency in early 1985 to get state and local public workers covered under the federal asbestos safety rules. The union has campaigned for asbestos removal in schools out of concern for some 100,000 school custodians and maintenance workers it represents.

Although the agency has said it will lower the worker exposure limit when the Occupational Safety & Health Administration does, Borwegen noted, "We don't have any guarantees." The current EPA and OSHA limit is 2 million fibers of asbestos per cubic meter of air. OSHA is considering lower the limit to 500,000 or 200,000 fibers.

Minor gains

Borwegen said the EPA rule "provides a minor piece of everything we're asking for." The rule requires certain work practices, use of personal protective equipment and special clothing, medical examinations, environmental monitoring and the posting of signs.

The SEIU is continuing to press for a legislative solution to EPA's reluctance to set stiffer protections for workers exposed to cancer-causing asbestos during removal operations.

Jewell Gould, director of research for the Teachers, stressed that the EPA rule "provides minimal protections for those doing the removal operations, and nothing for the teachers or children." Compared to EPA's voluntary guidelines issued last year, the new standard appears "hollow and out-of-date," and Gould questioned whether there had been any enforcement.

EPA spokesman Michael Wood said the agency had conducted only 27 inspections nationwide since the rule went into effect last July 12. Wood said four "notifications of noncompliance" were issued because the agency felt citations should not be issued until the rule was final.

Jordan Barab, safety director for the State, County & Municipal Employees, said that while the rule will cover those state and local public workers in the 23 states under the federal OSHA plan, he termed the exposure level "inadequate," and questioned the ability of the EPA to provide "adequate enforcement."

Court backs Atlanta fire, police unions

Atlanta—A U.S. District Court judge here ruled that union fire fighters and police officers are entitled to a dues checkoff and the right to meet with city management to discuss wages, hours and working conditions.

Georgia does not provide full collective bargaining rights for its public employees, but in 1975 a city ordinance awarded limited recognition rights to public worker unions, permitting a dues checkoff and "meet-and-confer rights," which require the city manager to sit down with the workers' representatives and discuss local concerns. But fire fighters and police officers were denied coverage under the ordinance, General Counsel Thomas Woodley of the Fire Fighters pointed out.

While there is no obligation for management to negotiate and bargain in good faith under the "meet-and-confer" system, the process of sitting down and discussing problems "opens the door and often leads to solutions," Woodley pointed out. The local fire fighters and police believed they were entitled to the same benefits and protections as other public workers, and filed suit, claiming that the city violated state and federal law requiring equal protection.

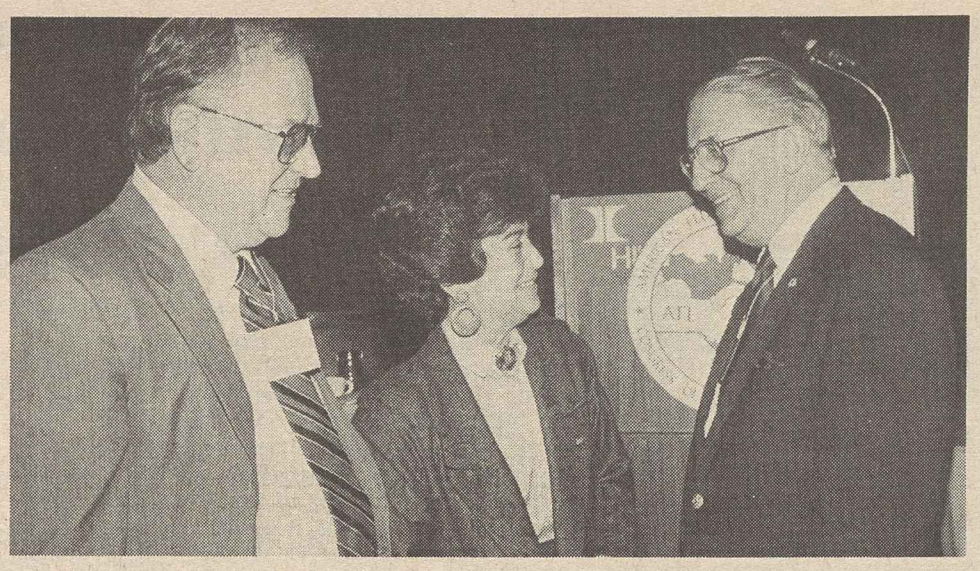
U.S. District Court Judge Charles A. Moye agreed, stating that there was no "rational basis" for the city to extend the benefits to city employees "regardless of their job functions and duties, whether claimed to be paramilitary or not, and denying these same rights and benefits" to police and fire fighters.

No threat found

The city had argued that awarding similar rights to police and fire fighters might cause "a threat to the public safety, health or welfare of the city" and could "impair the efficency or operations" of the fire and police bureaus.

But Moye found no evidence to support the city's claims. Instead, he held that the city's action "discriminatorily excludes and prohibits such recognition and dues checkoff rights" for police officers and fire fighters and denies them "their equal protection under federal and state law" as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The ruling benefits about 1,000 members from IAFF Local 134 and 1,200 members of Police Officers Local 623, an affiliate of the Service Employees.



Conference officers

Lenore Miller, newly elected chair of the federation's Secretary-Treasurers Conference, chats with outgoing chair Charles Moran, right, and new conference treasurer Lowell Daily of the Furniture Workers. Miller is secretary-treasurer of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union. About 60 union officers attended the two-day session in Kansas City held in conjunction with the Union-Industries Show. Moran, who retired May 1, was named secretary-treasurer emeritus of the Boilermakers. Elected vice chair of the conference was Robert Porter of the Teachers.

North Dakota convention votes 20-cent boost in per capita tax

Jamestown, N.D.—North Dakota AFL-CIO delegates approved a 20-cent increase in per capita payments to provide solid funding for expanded organizing efforts and political education activities.

The 150 delegates voted to increase monthly per capita payments from local unions to the state federation from 70 cents to 90 cents per member per month. Those unions already paying at their full affiliation level will pay a per capita rate of 80 cents.

State AFL-CIO President David Kemnitz told the delegates the country was witnessing the product of flawed government policies that ignore the true duties and responsibilities of government to its people. He called for unity and solidarity in the state's labor movement to turn around the Reagan Adminstration's one-sided attitudes.

The delegates gave their endorsement to several candidates in upcoming national and state elections, including current State Insurance Commmissioner Kent Conrad for the U.S. Senate seat now held by Mark Andrews (R) and Rep. Byron Dorgan (D) who is running for re-election. Convention speakers, in addition to Conrad and Dorgan, included Sen. Quentin Burdick (D) and Gov. George A. Sinner (D).

In a series of resolutions on public workers, the convention called on the state legislature to adopt collective bargaining rights for public employees and to require public workers who are not union members to pay their "fair share" of bargaining costs and union services. The State AFL-CIO supported an across-the-board increase for all state employees and urged the state legislature to adopt a bi-monthly pay system as opposed to the current monthly schedule.

Delegates recorded their opposition to state efforts to abolish the office of labor commissioner, corporate plans to close several Northwest Bell telephone service centers and a Reagan Administration proposal to raise the federal retirement age to 62. The convention called for an annual state legislative session, to replace North Dakota's biennial system and condemned the contracting-out of work done by state employees.

The convention also honored more than 100 past officers of the state federation in a special tribute to North Dakota's "labor pioneers."

NMU suit hits Reagan policy on 'runaways'

The National Maritime Union sued the Reagan Administration to halt its reliance on "runaway-flag" vessels in time of emergency, charging that such dependency has contributed to the decline of the American maritime industry.

In a suit filed in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, the NMU asked that Transportation Sec. Elizabeth Hanford Dole and Maritime Administrator John A. Gaughan be barred from declaring U.S.-owned vessels registered under foreign flags eligible to be requisitioned in an emergency.

Noting that there are 378 "runaway" ships registered under the flags of Liberia, Panama, Honduras and the Bahamas, the NMU pointed out that there is "no statutory authority" for ruling that these vessels are under "effective U.S. control" merely because they are owned by American citizens.

American-flag vessels now carry less than 4 percent of the nation's total import and export tonnage, the NMU suit pointed out, and between 1981 and 1985 the average monthly number of ocean-going jobs held by U.S. seamen plunged from 22,500 to slightly over 16,400.

In 1973, the union noted, Liberia ordered its vessels to stay out of the war zone during the Yom Kippur war against Israel. The NMU said this raised the question of whether foreign countries would permit ships flying their flags to assist the United States "if it is contrary to their interests."

Declining U.S. fleets

Because of the claimed availability of American-owned vessels flying foreign flags, the suit charged, DOT and MARAD have "permitted the U.S.-flag fleet to decline and have created the false impression that . . . the United States does not need as strong or as large a merchant marine fleet as it in fact does."

The NMU accused the government of pursuing a policy that has "helped prevent the development of an adequate U.S. merchant marine and an adequate number of American seamen to man such vessels."

Reliance on the U.S.-owned ships—particularly tankers and bulk carriers—which register under foreign flags to avoid American wages, manning scales and safety standards has allowed the government to reduce its support for the nation's merchant marine, the NMU charged.

Kirkland: Worker rights bolster basic freedoms

A belief in the right of workers to form unions as the instruments for gaining social, political and economic freedoms is the bond that unites the American trade union movement with its brothers and sisters abroad, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland declared.

Delivering the seventh annual Samuel Berger lecture to the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, Kirkland said that American labor has remained "constant" in pursuit of this goal both at home and abroad, despite "the ebbs and flows of political fashion."

Few if any American trade unionists, he insisted, "place other fancies above freedom of association," contrasting that with "the number of journalists who find . . . circumstances excusing the suppression of freedom of the press; of churchmen who place other imperatives above freedom of worship; of businessmen and financiers who deal blithely with the exterminators of freedom of enterprise; and of intellectuals whose emotions draw them on occasion to the cause of the deadliest of enemies of freedom of thought and expression."

Universal beliefs

Labor's policy and practice in international affairs is "driven by the conviction that the aspiration for freedom, democracy and all the rights of man and woman . . . is universal and inherent in the human spirit, regardless of race, creed, color or condition of servitude."

Denouncing "the extraordinary degrees of force, brutality and guile that are so widely used by the privileged and the powerful to suppress" the aspirations of working people, he had high praise for those who "have had to demonstrate in blood their willingness to put their lives and liberty at risk" for the union cause.

Kirkland reminded the Georgetown audience of those who died in the pursuit of the rights of workers, including Cyril Daal, head of the Surinam Labor Federation; Neil Aggett of the South African Food & Canning Workers Union; Rodolfo Viera, head of the Salvadoran campesino union and American Institute of Free Labor Development staff members Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman who were gunned down by right-wing death squads.

Labor martyrs

He also cited Alexei Nikitin, an activist for free unions from the Ukraine; Tucapel Jimenez, president of the democratic union confederation of Chile; Maximo Nunez, vice president of the Associated Labor Union for Southern Mindanao in the Philippines, and the over 100 Solidarnosc activists who died under "suspicious circumstances" in Poland.

Kirkland assailed governments that insist that "freedom of association and minimum standards of decency" for working people are "incompatible" with economic development; corporations "encouraged by their governments' policies to roam the world in search of the cheapest and most repressed labor," and international lending agencies that "pile austerities on the aching backs of working people to shelter the banks that sustain the cycle of corruption and capital flight."

These groups pay lip service to the belief that market forces will work to the ultimate good of all, Kirkland declared, even though "those in power in most countries neither believe in a market economy or permit it to operate."

The American labor movement historically has been suspicious of the "pie-in-the-sky, in the sweet bye-and-bye" approach, he said, adding:

"Rather than submit to trickle-down doctrines where the ultimate salvation of the worker depends upon the prior enrichment of a privileged mercantile or political class, we would much rather push upward, as hard as we can, at the other end of the social structure."

Declaring that the tripartite government-labor-management International Labor Organization, "with all its vexations," continues to be "the only forum in the United Nations structure where democracy and freedom occasionally win an argument," Kirkland was critical of the American government for weakening the opportunity to make the ILO more effective.

Labor and human rights

Because of the organized pressure of big business, he said, the United States has "an abysmal record" in the basic human rights field as evidenced by its failure to ratify ILO conventions on freedom of association, forced labor, discrimination in employment and the right to organize and collective bargaining.

"This is a standing disgrace to our country," Kirkland asserted. "If we continue to decline acceptance of international instruments promoting human freedom that even some of the most rigid regimes and backward countries have ratified, if not observed, then something is very wrong."

Effective enforcement of these international minimum standards is "critical to a humane resolution of many of the political and economic issues that now plague the world," he explained.

To achieve that goal, labor is working to get the International Monetary Fund to include labor rights' provisions in its agreements with governments seeking emergency financial assistance, has succeeded in getting such provisions incorporated into legislation governing the Generalized System of Preferences and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and is working for the inclusion of similar requirements in omnibus trade legislation.

Sweatshop labor

"The most brutal form of mercantilism is that pursued on the basis of cheap and sweated labor," Kirkland told the foreign policy audience. "It cheats the world of the products and jobs of societies which embrace human rights, and it cheats the world of access to the expanding mass markets" that would be produced by improving labor and living standards.

Labor's commitment to human rights is also evident in its support of the proposal of the Kissinger Commission to establish a Central American Development Organization as "a channel for a major program of economic aid to help all the countries of that region to collectively address their deep-rooted economic, social and political development problems," he pointed out.

Although the CADO concept has been incorporated in foreign aid legislation enacted by Congress, Kirkland said, the Reagan Administration "regrettably" has failed to make it a part of its Central American policy.

Dean Shalhoup's prize-winning photo of an IAFF rescue.

Fire Fighters salute media for reporting members' risks

The Fire Fighters presented awards to 40 entries in the union's 1986 media awards contest that honors outstanding journalistic achievement in covering the hazardous jobs of IAFF members.

IAFF President John A. Gannon stressed that the hundreds of contest entries from the United States and Canada typify "the excellence with which news media educate the public on the hazards and professionalism of fire fighting."

Gannon said he was gratified by "the strong interest shown by the media in health and on-the-job hazards faced by fire fighters."

The top awards for best news or feature stories went to the staffs of the Somerville (Mass.) Journal and the San Jose (Calif.) Mercury News for newspapers below and above 100,000 circulation respectively.

The Somerville paper was cited for its "detailed analysis of the steps taken to overcome local deficiencies in the handling of toxic spills," five years after a serious spill in the city. The San Jose staff coverage of a forest fire exemplified "first rate newspaper reporting of a major disaster."

Dean Shalhoup of the Nashua (N.H.) Telegraph captured first prize in the best news or feature photo category for newspapers under 100,000 circulation for the picture titled "Dramatic Rescue Saves Boy." For newspapers over 100,000 circulation, Boris Yaro of the Los Angeles Times won top honors for "L.A. Firemen Battle the Odds."

Tim Walton and Rebecca Corral of KRON in San Jose, Calif., received the top television coverage award for "Hazardous Profession," as the judges cited their effort as "an excellent example of good reporting and hard-hitting presentation." Their feature covered the health hazards of fire fighting.

Television series

The Best Editorial Comment award went to Peter Jennings and Charles W. Taylor of ABC News for "Playing with Fire," a five-part series on juvenile arsonists. Judges said the series provided "an interesting, instructive and powerful commentary on a growing danger to our society," and revealed "the tremendous scope of the problem."

The Houston Fire Fighter, publication of IAFF Local 341 landed first prize in the Best Union Local Publication category. There was a second place tie between The Los Angeles Firefighter of Local 112 and The Seattle Fire Fighter of Local 27, last year's top winner.

A half dozen special awards were given this year for exemplary efforts. The Portland, Me., Fire Dept. was cited for its series of public service announcements on fire safety and the Rogers Cable Co. of Brantford, Ont., was recognized for a series on fire prevention.

Judges for this year's competition were John M. Barry, managing editor of the AFL-CIO News; James F. Casey, retired editor of Fire Engineering magazine, and Jeff Sheler of U.S. News & World Report.

Auto Workers help swing tide in ACTWU vote

Cornelius, N.C.—Workers at Reeves Brothers Inc. here voted in the Clothing & Textile Workers with the help of union allies more than 1,000 miles away—Auto Workers in Hurst, Tex.

The 750 Reeves workers, who make foam padding for cars and furniture, chose ACTWU by a vote of 427 to 284 in a National Labor Relations Board election last month.

Before the election, ACTWU organizers discovered that 2 percent of the Reeves operation was owned by the Bell Helicopter Co. union pension fund, a plan that covers UAW Local 218 members.

When ACTWU notified the UAW members in Texas that Reeves had hired anti-union consultants to wage a fierce campaign against the union, Local 218 President James Lewis, a pension plan trustee, sent a letter to each Reeves worker.

Lewis wrote that "as owners of Reeves, we want you to have a union," and promised that UAW Local 218 "will do everything possible to ensure that Reeves negotiates a contract with you that is both fair to you and our company."

ACTWU organizers credited the UAW support with promoting a positive, pro-union sentiment and "keeping management off balance," ACTWU field director William Patterson said.

The Reeves workers also were bolstered by a letter from UAW Vice President Marc Stepp, who dismissed management claims that auto manufacturers would not buy the company's products if ACTWU won the election. Stepp wrote that auto manufacturers have and will continue to support unionized suppliers.

An ACTWU bargaining committee is negotiating a first contract with Reeves covering grievance procedures, job security, seniority rights and economic issues.

Military, domestic cuts

House votes budget over Reagan protest

The House approved a belt-tightening budget resolution that would cut equally from domestic and military programs in order to stay under the deficit ceiling set by the Gramm-Rudman law.

It adopted, 245-179, the spending limits and revenue targets proposed by Democratic members of the House Budget Committee. Earlier, it rejected a Republican alternative that would have raised military spending and reduced domestic outlays—although not nearly to the extent President Reagan had sought.

The House also rejected an "alternative budget" offered by the Congressional Black Caucus, which sought to add substantially to domestic programs and meet Gramm-Rudman deficit limits by a combination of heavy defense cuts and revenue increases.

The next step is a House-Senate conference to reconcile the two versions into a single congressional budget resolution. The House Budget Committee cut the military buildup and foreign aid $17 billion more than the Senate version and included $2 billion more for domestic programs.

All budget proposals were required to comply with the Gramm-Rudman requirement that the deficit for the 1987 fiscal year, which starts next Oct. 1, cannot exceed $144 billion. The following year, the deficit ceiling will drop to $108 billion, with further cuts thereafter. Neither party was willing to embrace tax increases which President Reagan refuses to consider and has threatened to veto.

House Budget Committee Chairman William H. Gray (D-Pa.), with the encouragement of the Democratic leadership, shaped a package that showed a smaller deficit than the Republican alternative. It specified that any tax increases above the package of user fees and excise taxes President Reagan has endorsed be put into a trust fund for deficit reduction.

The $285 billion the House budget allocates for the military is $16 billion less than the Senate approved and $35 billion below Reagan's request.

Final outcome

On final passage, 228 Democrats and 17 Republicans voted for the budget resolution; 160 Republicans and 19 Democrats opposed it.

A big issue in the House debate was the size of the military budget, which some Democrats and most Republicans contended was too heavily reduced by the Budget Committee. But the assumption was that a House-Senate compromise would restore part of the Pentagon cuts voted by the House.

Before the vote, President Reagan had termed the House budget plan "totally unacceptable" because of its cuts in defense and continuation of "unneeded domestic programs." Earlier, the White House had expressed unhappiness with the Senate budget for straying too far from the Reagan blueprint.

The original Reagan budget found little support in Congress. The House turned it down, 312-12, and the Senate rejected the President's plan to abolish an array of federal programs by an 83-12 vote.

Employer must honor pact with local that joined IUE

Boston—An employer must continue to bargain with its workers when their small independent union affiliates with a large international union, a federal court ruled.

The 1st Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals upheld a National Labor Relations Board order requiring Insulfab Plastics Inc. of Watertown, Mass., to bargain with the Electronic Workers as the representative of its production and maintenance employees.

The workers at the plastic products plant were represented by the Independent Workers of Insulfab for 25 years, and all 32 production and maintenance employees belonged to the unit. Dissatisfied because of their inability to win wage increases, they voted 20-8 to affiliate with the IUE in August 1983.

When the union president notified Insulfab that IUE was the employees' bargaining agent, the company challenged the validity of the affiliation vote and continued to refuse to recognize the union even after an NLRB-supervised election.

The court rejected management's argument that the vote to affiliate with the IUE did not represent the wishes of the majority of the employees in the bargaining unit. While the voting may have been "informal," the court said, it was done by secret ballot, the workers had sufficient opportunity to debate the issue before voting, and when the result of the tally was announced "no one voiced any objection."

The three-judge court also held that affiliation with the IUE did not substantially alter the unit and create a new bargaining agent, as the company claimed. The union's officers, bargaining committee and grievance committee remained the same, the court pointed out, and the union indicated it would honor its existing contract with Insulfab.

As to management's argument that affiliation with the IUE meant the unit would lose its autonomy, the court found that the local would retain control over negotiating and administering contracts, processing grievances and calling strikes, with assistance from the IUE only when requested by the local.

Rights reaffirmed

"The notion that a question of representation is created simply by the increase in a union's bargaining power caused by affiliation" with an international union has no basis in law, the court held. Affiliation resulted from a desire on the part of the workers to have the IUE provide "aid in the negotiating process," and they were within their rights to make such a move, the decision pointed out.

The purpose of the National Labor Relations Act, it said, is to guard against "unnecessary outside interference with union decision-making," particularly when the members "freely chose" to affiliate with the Electronic Workers.

On that basis, the court said, the employer has a "duty to continue its relationship" with its workers through the local established by the affiliation vote.

Heroes of the year

Letter Carriers President Vincent Sombrotto presents the union's National Hero of the Year award posthumously to Stanley Kostka of Sharon, Pa., who died while saving two children in a tornado. His widow, Yvonne, also a NALC member, accepts the award. Humanitarian of the Year Award went to Carl Soderstrom Jr., second from right, for his work with drug addicts. Regional heroes were Larry Williams of Beaumont, Tex., left, Fred Campden of Springfield, Ohio, second from right, and Marlin Cameron of Portland, Me., right. Behind Kostka is Postmaster General Albert Casey.

Hart spurns conference held at picketed hotel

Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.) broke his date to speak to an association of financial executives at Washington's Madison Hotel rather than cross the picket line of Local 99 of the Operating Engineers.

Hart sent word he will be glad to keep his date with the investment group—either at another location or after the dispute is settled.

EDITORIALS

A Fresh Start

FIFTEEN YEARS after the passage of the Occupational Safety & Health Act, American workers should be able to expect more from the agency responsible for their protection on the job.

That's what labor witnesses stressed at Senate confirmation hearings on the nomination of John A. Pendergrass as Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of OSHA.

This is the agency that can literally make a life or death difference to America's workers. Too often during this Administration the verdict has been death.

Certainly there was a connection between the death of an immigrant worker from cyanide poisoning and a Reagan Administration policy switch that eliminated physical inspections of most workplaces unless employer-kept records of injuries indicated a problem.

There was "no problem" revealed by the records kept by the Film Recovery Systems plant in Chicago when the OSHA inspector came by. It's just too bad that OSHA policy didn't call for a workplace inspection. It might have saved a life.

The worker's death, two months after the mock OSHA inspection, led to the arrest and conviction on murder charges of three company executives. They were sentenced to 25 years in prison under state law. The OSHA penalty, based on violations found in an inspection after the worker's death, was a proposed $4,850 in fines. And even that was later bargained down to $2,425.

DURING THE first years of the Reagan Administration, federal health standards shamefully were postponed, abandoned or watered down. Citations and penalties for safety violations dropped off drastically. President Reagan's first two appointees to head OSHA were disasters.

There are some welcome signs that the Labor Dept., under new leadership, is moving to regain some of its lost credibility. But OSHA in particular has a long way to go.

That's the immense challenge that is facing John Pendergrass as he awaits Senate confirmation to the long vacant post as OSHA's chief.

His background raises some understandable concerns. Pendergrass comes out of a company that has pressed for weaker OSHA regulations and even now is challenging cotton dust standards, seeking the right to substitute worker-worn face masks for engineering controls. His reluctance to refrain from OSHA decisions affecting his recent employer is disturbing.

Pendergrass gave the right answer, however, when he said at his confirmation hearing that OSHA's first responsibility must be the health and safety of workers.

Because of the experience of the past five years, assurances are not enough. If he is confirmed, Pendergrass will have to earn the confidence and respect of America's workers and their unions by his actions in office.

We hope he does.

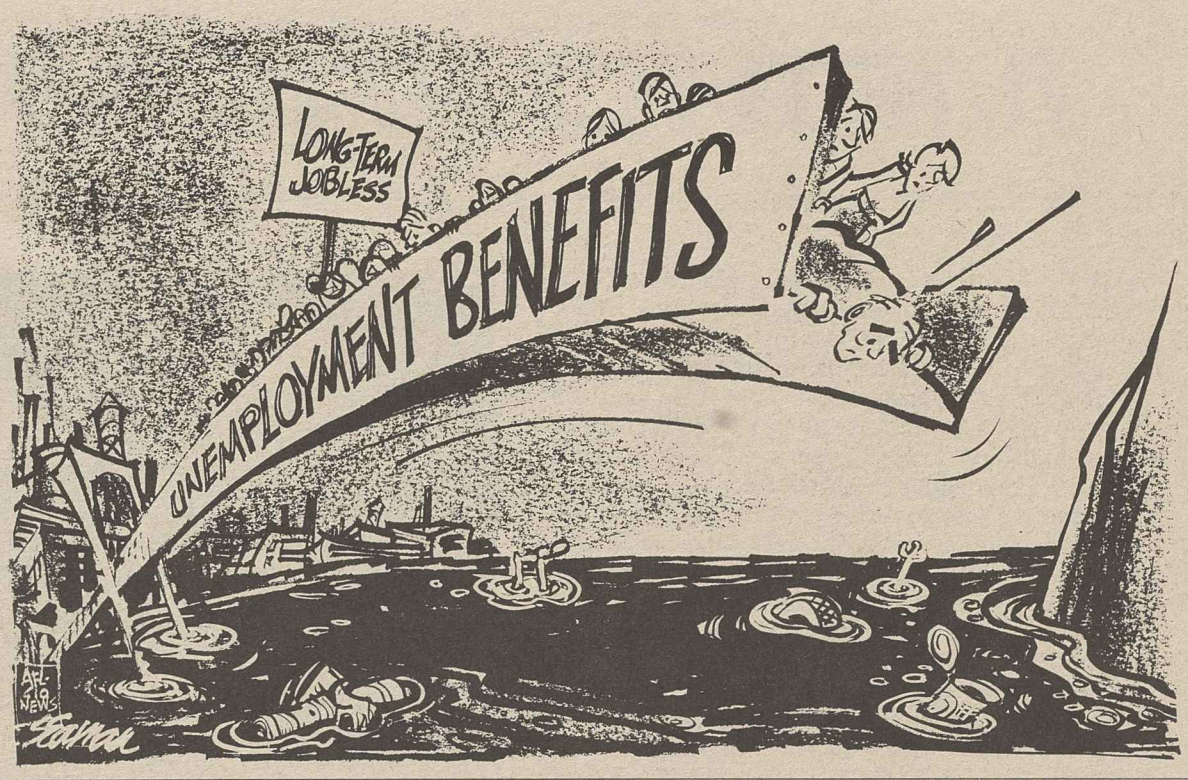
A Festering Problem

THE HOUSE acted wisely in voting to direct the Labor Dept. to keep open six Job Corps centers that the Administration wants to shut down.

There are less damaging alternatives for dealing with the temporary budget cut imposed under the Gramm-Rudman formula. As members of Congress from both parties attest, the Job Corps has been a path to the world of work for young people handicapped by poverty, inadequate education and a lack of marketable skills.

The nation's persistently high unemployment rate is clear evidence, however, that it is not just the untrained who are on the industrial sidelines. The ranks of the long-term unemployed are lengthened by victims of plant closings and layoffs whose benefits have run out.

Full employment is the nation's shamefully neglected goal. This Administration no longer even deigns to give it lip service.



Washington Window

Mounting U.S. trade deficit tied to labor rights abuses

By Press Associates Inc.

There's a definite connection between the job-gutting U.S. trade deficit and the repression of worker rights in some foreign nations.

Struggles for trade union and human rights in South Africa, the Philippines, South Korea and Chile—as well as other countries where government repression has contributed to low wages and cheap exports—point up that tie-in.

The connection has become increasingly evident to concerned members of Congress. Laws linking U.S. trade preferences to developing nations' respect for internationally recognized labor standards and trade union and human rights were enacted in 1983, 1984 and 1985.

Legislation to establish a stronger link between trade and worker rights throughout the world is now moving through the House. It is part of comprehensive legislation to curb unfair trade practices and stem the trade imbalance.

Introduced by Rep. Don J. Pease (D-Ohio), the bill would define violations of basic labor rights and standards as unfair trade practice under U.S. trade laws. Labor standards in the Pease bill include the right to organize and bargain collectively, prohibitions on child labor and forced labor, and "acceptable conditions of work" with respect to minimum wages, maximum hours, and safety and health. These standards mirror those adopted over the years by the International Labor Organization.

Korean connection

At a recent Capitol Hill conference, Auto Workers President Owen Bieber warned that a joint venture between General Motors and the Korean Daewoo conglomerate to produce cars in Korea for export to the United States will end about 20,000 American auto-related jobs.

Under the Korean military government, Bieber noted, union rights are sharply restricted. A recent strike at the Daewoo auto plant was followed by the jailing of six union leaders for up to two years. He said Daewoo-GM workers receive about a tenth of the wages and benefits of U.S. auto workers.

Bieber said "removing the supports given by U.S. trade law and policy to countries abusing labor rights is an idea whose time has come."

The Administration, unfortunately, doesn't see it this way. President Reagan has vowed to veto any trade bill that violates "free trade" principles, and Labor Sec. William Brock sharply attacked the Pease proposal.

Threat of retaliation

In a letter to Rep. Sam Gibbons, chairman of the House Trade subcommittee, Brock said making "unfair labor conditions an actionable unfair trade practice" under 1974 Trade Act provisions would be "impossible to implement fairly and would subject the U.S. to retaliation."

However, Brock acknowledged that worker rights standards which were incorporated in the 1983 Caribbean Basin Initiative and the 1984 Generalized System of Preferences for developing nations represented "significant steps to improve workers' rights abroad." The Administration, pressed by unions and human rights groups, is reviewing whether nations such as Korea and Taiwan should have their advantages removed.

Brock took a far-out tack in his arguments against the Pease bill. He wrote, "Should other nations choose to judge certain U.S. labor practices as providing us with an unfair trade advantage, our export trade would be just as susceptible to scrutiny and retaliation." He said many European workers have better health and safety protections and higher real wages than U.S. workers. "In short, the United States would in no way be immune to harm by a broadly construed workers' rights provision," he said.

It is surprising and disappointing that the Secretary of Labor would stretch his line of argument so thin in trying to make the Administration's case against writing workers' rights into the nation's trade laws.

Imports produced in wretched conditions under the gun of government repression should not be favored by U.S. trade law. It's unfair to workers everywhere.

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MEMO FROM COPE

ADD A NAME to GOP 1988 presidential field. Those who see a potential candidacy for anyone who comes within 100 miles of the borders of New Hampshire (first-in-the-nation presidential primary) now include New Jersey's Gov. Tom Kean on their list of GOP prospects. Reasons: 1. He's been to New Hampshire; 2. He's been to Michigan, which begins its presidential delegate selection process in the precincts in August of *this* year; 3. He's forming a political action committee to seek funds, at first to help 1986 GOP candidates (this makes them beholden, the theory goes); 4. His advisers point out that even though he's undeclared and until lately unmentioned, a Harris poll shows him even in the Northeast states with Kansas Sen. Bob Dole and ahead of New York Rep. Jack Kemp, former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (Tenn.) and former Delaware Gov. Pete DuPont. But the clincher is this: New Jersey is spending a bundle on TV and radio ads to promote tourism, and ads feature Governor Kean . . . . and some co-star an even bigger name than his or any of the politicians: Entertainer Bill Cosby.

ELIGIBLE VOTERS will number 178 million by the November 1986 elections, according to Commerce Department figures. An interesting coincidence: The largest rate of growth in recent years is in states with U.S. Senate races in all of which Republicans are incumbent. These four states, their recent percentage growth of eligibles, and their incumbent GOP Senators are: Alaska, 37.7, Murkowski; Arizona, 24.5, Goldwater (retiring); Nevada, 23.8, Laxalt (retiring); Florida, 23.3, Hawkins. Lowest rates of increase of eligible voters were in Iowa 1.3 percent, Michigan 1.9, Ohio 2.4, Pennsylvania and West Virginia 3.2 each.

Odds 'n Ends

SON OF VS. SON OF in Indiana as Evan Bayh, (D), son of former Sen. Birch Bayh, squares off against Robert Bowen (R), son of former Governor (now HUD Secretary) Otis Bowen for secretary of state.

WIFE VS. HUSBAND (while divorce proceedings proceed) in Pocahontas, Va., as Jeannie Gilmore and Charlie Gilmore run against each other for mayor. Explains Mrs. Gilmore, "I did not know that Charles was going to run. When I filed, nobody (else) had filed." Politics, according to Mr. Gilmore, "was a lot of our problem" in leading up to divorce. He said she couldn't stand it, and he thrived on it.

UNDECLARED BUT ACTIVE candidate for GOP 1988 nomination, TV evangelist Pat Robertson ("700 Club") spends $100,000 on political rally televised statewide in Michigan, draws 3500 at Detroit arena and thousands more at 15 sites around state. He's seeking supporters to run for precinct delegate spots in Aug. 5 election this year—expects 7,000-8,000 of them, aides claim. Robertson still plays coy about presidential intentions, however. Asks crowd: "Should I do it?" Crowd roars "yes."

DEMOGRAPHIC SWITCH in electorate sees youngest voters for first time since 18-year-olds got franchise in 1972 now outnumbered by oldest voters, the over-65s. But just barely. Over-65s: 28,530,000. The 18-24s: 28,492,000. In 1972, split was 24.6 million to 20.1 million for younger voters.

BUNDLE FOR BUSH may or may not translate into support. Vice President's PAC, Fund for America's Future, amasses $8 million in just one year. Yet, in most polls on GOP presidential nomination hopefuls, he's lost some points off his lead recently. And one straw poll among a key GOP support group, National Association of Evangelicals, had him fourth, far behind leader Jack Kemp.

GOP Counts on Business in Push for Post-Census Power

National and state Republican leaders are locking into the business community as a major partner in the GOP campaign to increase its numbers in state legislatures.

The objective according to GOP National Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf, is "to gain control of a majority of the nation's state legislative chambers" as a result of elections now through 1990.

Success would put the GOP in the catbird seat for the state legislative reapportionment and congressional redistricting that will follow the 1990 national Census.

The reliance on corporate funds and input will be heavy. The GOP Legislative Campaign Committee is conducting a series of regional meetings, bringing together business leaders and top GOP state legislators. The aim: To establish regular communications channels between the groups and, of course, to tap corporate money for Republican state legislative candidates.

The GOP committee sells memberships to corporations at $2,000 per and expects a minimum of 100 to respond for a kitty of $200,000. That's the public expectation. It would be surprising if, privately, Republican leaders weren't looking for a whole lot more than that.

(This belief is based on recent figures released by the California Fair Political Practices Committee, showing almost $17 million was contrbuted to state legislators in 1985, *a non-election year.* Much of that came from business sources.)

Republican money has been one of the major political stories of recent years. The party and its various committees have been enormously successful at fund-raising. The Legislative Campaign Committee, for example, was able to kick in $10,000 to each of seven assembly candidates in New Jersey in 1985 and the same to each of 20 candidates in Virginia.

An important source of GOP funds at all levels has been the corporate and trade association PACs, many of which generate startling amounts for favored candidates.

Going into 1986 state legislative elections, the GOP controls 17 state senate and 16 state house chambers, with Democrats holding 32 and 33 respectively. One house and senate are 50-50 and one legislature, Nebraska's, is unicameral. Republicans control both chambers in 11 states, Democrats in 26.

The GOP-corporate joint effort will focus on 19 chambers where a gain of 10 seats will bring GOP control. These target chambers are: Alaska house, California senate, Delaware senate, Illinois senate, Iowa senate, Michigan house, Nevada senate, New Jersey senate, Oregon senate and house, Pennsylvania house, Vermont senate, Washington senate and house, Wisconsin senate and house.

Republicans are going to have to fight for anything they get. Democrats have access to exactly the same information and numbers and themselves are engaged in a special effort encompassing elections through 1990 to protect and extend their strength in state legislatures.

That's Money

Rolling in dough, still, are major Republican committees. Three of them—National GOP and the GOP House and Senate campaign committees—shelled out more than $8.6 million in 1985 just to political consultants, pollster and fund-raisers.

The National GOP paid $2.8 million, the Senate committee $3.3 million and the House campaign group $2.5 million.

An indication of the river of cash that's pouring in for the GOP is that these figures represent only a small percentage of overall expenditure by these committees. The Senate campaign committee's $3.3-million expenditure was only about 10 percent of its total.

That would round off at about $33 million, and that's for 1985 alone. The House campaign committee and National GOP were in the same ballpark, so you're looking at a nearly $100 million neighborhood for the three combined.

Given the probability that these figures will be exceeded in 1986, for the election cycle 1985-86, GOP committees could make it to the quarter-billion-dollar level.

That's money.

CORRECTION

In the April 19, 1986, *Cope Memo* an item listing followers of extremist Lyndon LaRouche who are U.S. Senate candidates erred in stating "the Iowa candidate claimed by LaRouche—Juan Cortez—contends he was unaware of the way-out policies of LaRouche when he agreed to seek nomination. His present status as a candidate is not certain." Mr. Cortez writes:

"I am running for U.S. Senate in Iowa. I am a life-long Democrat. I have been active in trade union affairs since 1948, and I support the policies of Lyndon LaRouche. In particular I support the condemnation of Lane Kirkland for his participation on the Trilateral Commission of banker David Rockefeller, whose organization is largely responsible for the destruction of the American economy."

Hanky-Panky From A to Z

110 (count 'em) 110.

That's the number the *Washington Post* comes up with in a tally of Reagan Administration senior officials and nominees accused of unethical or illegal conduct since January 1981. (Maybe there've been more in the last few minutes.)

They run the alphabet from A (for Ann Burford, forced to resign as head of the Environmental Protection Agency) to Z (for Charles Z. Wick, chief of the United States Information Agency accused of impropriety but with no charges brought). It includes both men who have served Reagan as attorney general, William French Smith and Ed Meese.

It's a good round number, 110. Figure about 66 months the administration has been in office and you average nearly two a month. Figure about 286 weeks in office and you average more than one every three weeks.

While this administration hasn't graduated nearly as many of its appointees to jail as the Nixon Administration did (only two compared with 17), in sheer numbers of officials responsible for at least questionable actions, it has no rival.

The question arises: Why?

And as good an answer as any has come from *within* the administration itself. Here's the explanation of Charles L. Dempsey, who was inspector general of both the Housing and Urban Development Department and EPA during President Reagan's first term:

"This is a businessman's administration, and these guys are used to wheeling and dealing. This administration is loaded with guys bringing the business morality to Washington, and some of them never learn.

"It's like they flunked a course in basic civics."

Dempsey, according to the *Post,* said the White House used HUD as a "turkey farm" for right-wing Republicans hot to use government to push their extremist views. He said he briefed HUD appointees on federal ethics laws early in the administration, "and most of those who later got their ass in a sling sat there and ignored it."

Ignoring it, or sloughing it off, goes all the way to the top. In no instance has the President conceded any merit to any charges against any official or nominee.

As Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) says: "The people who bring up these problems (of questionable acts) are considered whiners and wimps. There's no capacity for outrage by the chairman of the board (Reagan), and the chairman of the board sets the tone."

Stunning House victory boosts trade bill's outlook in Senate

AFL-CIO news

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Meany archives going up

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland turns the first shovelful of dirt at ground-breaking ceremonies for the George Meany Memorial Archives at the labor studies center named in honor of the late federation president. From left, Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, Vice President Thomas W. Gleason, chairman of the Executive Council's memorial committee; Msgr. James J. Reddy, who was Meany's pastor, and Meany's daughters Regina Mayer, Eileen Lee and Genevieve Lutz. (Story on Page 5.)

Council calls for action on import crisis

By David L. Perlman

The AFL-CIO called on the Senate to join the House in reshaping the nation's "turn the other cheek" trade policy by passing legislation designed to reduce crushing trade deficits that have left a trail of closed plants and jobless workers.

House action on a labor-supported trade reform bill came as the federation's Executive Council was winding up a session at which the economic fallout from a growing trade imbalance was a pressing concern. While other measures are also necessary, the council said, the House bill "lays the foundation for an effective national policy."

Millions of American jobs have been wiped out by surging imports, which pushed the U.S. trade deficit to $148.5 billion last year.

The House passed the trade bill by a veto-proof 295-115 margin, with 59 Republicans joining 236 Democrats in supporting it. Only four Democrats voted against it.

Its chief goal is to eliminate the advantage that some of America's biggest trading partners have gained through an array of discriminatory trade practices that have enabled them to penetrate and take over U.S. markets, while protecting their own.

The bill calls for negotiations to achieve a reduction of 10 percent a year in trade surpluses—and arms the President with a mandate to take retaliatory action if an agreement isn't reached.

Worker rights included

A provision especially welcomed by the AFL-CIO defines as an "unreasonable" trade practice—subject to retaliation by the United States—the denial of internationally recognized worker rights such as collective bargaining, child labor laws, or health and safety standards.

Amendments to delete these and other sections of the bill were soundly defeated, in almost all cases by big bipartisan majorities. From one-third to one-half of House Republicans voted with the nearly unanimous Democratic contingent on most votes.

The defections from the Administration's position came despite increasingly shrill attacks on the bill by President Reagan and White House aides. U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter was brought in to address a House Republican caucus on the "tremendous shortcomings" of the bill.

But the large number of Republican defections frustrated the Administration's attempt to portray the trade bill as a purely partisan issue and a retreat to "protectionism."

Ninety-eight Republicans joined with 240 Democrats in the 338-79 defeat of an amendment that would have stripped the bill of provisions strengthening U.S. laws

Continued on Page 4

Sakharov chosen for labor award on human rights

The 1986 George Meany Human Rights Award will go to Soviet human rights activist Andrei Sakharov, the Executive Council announced as it called on the White House to aid in bringing the Nobel Peace Prize winner to the United States to accept the award.

The council urged the government to "press the Soviet Union, in keeping with its obligations under the Helsinki Accord and other international agreements, to grant Dr. Sakharov an exit visa and guarantee his right to return home without prejudice or penalty."

Sakharov has been in "internal exile" in Gorky since 1980 because he insisted that his country live up to the human rights accord which the United States and the Soviet Union signed in Helsinki. He was hailed by the council for his "eloquent defense of universal human rights."

Continued on Page 2

Council hails progress on needed tax reforms

By John M. Barry

The AFL-CIO Executive Council termed the Senate Finance Committee's tax proposal "a good bill" and urged its adoption by the Senate with several strengthening amendments.

"Blended with the constructive provisions of the House-passed tax legislation, it will result in an improved tax system that deserves the support of America's working people," the council said.

Federation President Lane Kirkland, at a news conference on the opening day of the council sessions, pointed out that the Senate committee's tax bill would repeal or limit many "deeply entrenched" tax breaks and preferences, eliminate most tax shelters and "shift more of the nation's tax burden from working Americans to corporations."

Tax justice goals

It would remove more than six million low-income persons from the income tax rolls, impose a workable minimum corporate tax and end the capital gains provisions that have "tilted" the tax structure by favoring income from wealth while fully taxing income from work, Kirkland said. He noted that "these have long been tax justice goals of the AFL-CIO."

The statement on the federal tax program was adopted by the Executive Council at its spring meeting in Washington as a key element of a package of policy statements on economic issues. The council also analyzed the current state of the national economy, focusing on the continuing high levels of unemployment, and praised the trade reform legislation then pending before the House. **(Story this page.)**

The meeting was shifted on its second day to the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in the Washington suburb of Silver Spring, Md., where following the council sessions, ground was broken for construction of the George Meany Memorial Archives. **(Story, Page 5.)**

Other highlights of the meeting included a visit from NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks; a progress report on the Union Privilege Benefit Programs by Ray Denison, who heads the recently chartered corporation set up to run the programs, and the announcement that Nobel peace laureate Andrei Sakharov has been chosen as the 1986 recipient of the George Meany International Human Rights Award. Stories on these and other council actions appear elsewhere in this issue.

Council statements, in addition to those on economic policy issues, covered the disaster at the Soviet Union's nuclear power facility at Chernobyl, trade union boycotts to combat international terrorism, liability insurance and tort law, mandatory drug

Continued on Page 3

Corporations siphon assets from workers' pension funds

By Gene Zack

Corporate raids on workers' pension plans are a convenient way for management to grab up billions of dollars in assets generated by the roaring bull market on Wall Street, the AFL-CIO warned.

The government's Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. is now reviewing termination proposals filed by 259 employers that could net corporations $3 billion in "excess" assets from pension programs covering nearly 325,000 workers. Lawrence Smedley, associate director of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, said the new applications are in adddition to the 856 terminations already approved by the PBGC since May 1980. Those terminations resulted in management draining off $9.4 billion in pension assets.

In the past, Smedley pointed out, employers resorted to terminations only because of bankruptcy, dire economic circumstances or to substitute a new type of plan for the terminated one. But with plans showing substantial growth because stock prices have soared upward, "there has been a growing proliferation of terminations for the sole purpose of enriching the plan sponsors," Smedley said.

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5/24/86

Kirkland pledges labor's continued support for Andrei Sakharov's human rights goals in meeting with Yelana Bonner, wife of the Soviet dissident.

Meany human rights award to honor Andrei Sakharov

Continued from Page 1

The announcement of the award came on Sakharov's 65th birthday and coincided with a visit to Washington by his wife, Yelena Bonner, who was granted a temporary exit visa so she could undergo open-heart surgery in Boston.

The council said it looked forward to the day when Sakharov, Bonner "and all of his family can celebrate his birthday together, wherever they choose to live, free of persecution and harassment," and pledged that labor "will not relent in its determination to bring that day closer."

Prior to the council session, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland met with Bonner to pledge labor's continuing dedication to her husband's efforts in the human rights field and to assure her that labor would not relent in its efforts to free him from detention.

He reminded Bonner that Sakharov had been invited to attend the federation's 1977 convention but was barred by Soviet authorities. Kirkland made it clear labor would continue to invite Sakharov to visit the United States until the Soviet government relents.

Communication blackout

The speech which the Soviet dissident would have given to the Los Angeles convention nine years ago was sharply critical of USSR leaders for undertaking "the most shameless measures to cut off channels of communication with the West."

In announcing its decision to present Sakharov with the federation's human rights award, the council called on working men and women to "reflect on the heroic and often lonely struggle of this Nobel Peace Laureate."

Sakharov, the statement said, is "one of the towering moral figures of our century, who is held in isolated exile by an inhumane totalitarian government that has good reason to fear his eloquent defense of universal human rights."

The council praised the Soviet dissident for "counseling reason against cruelty and hope against despair," pointing out that Sakharov "tells the world that the pursuit of peace and the growth of freedom are inseparable."

The Nobel prize winner, the statement said, "is living proof that even in the bleakest tyranny, democratic values can find a voice that inspires courage and sacrifice." The council added:

"The voice of this gentle humanitarian cannot be silenced by his tormenters. It can only be muted by the indifference of those in the West who already enjoy in large measure the rights he has championed under the most adverse and trying circumstances.

"The AFL-CIO pledges that it will not weary of the many-sided struggle for human rights and democracy."

The Meany award was established by the federation to honor those who carry forward the lifetime of work in the human rights field by the former AFL-CIO president.

Previous winners include Poland's Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa; Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, a leader of South Africa's black liberation movement; Neil Aggett, an officer of the African Food & Canning Workers who died in a Johannesburg jail; Leo Cherne, chairman of the International Rescue Committee, and Ernesto Herrera, general secretary of the Philippine Trade Union Congress who helped topple the regime of Ferdinand Marcos and bring Corozan Aquino to the Philippine presidency.

Balanced approach

Drug testing called issue for bargaining

Sharply criticizing employers who succumb to "hysteria" and impose mandatory drug and alcohol screening programs that "ride roughshod over the rights and dignity of workers," the Executive Council urged affiliates to press for "carefully tailored and balanced programs" through collective bargaining.

At the same time, it called on Congress and state legislatures to "strengthen the legal protection afforded the addicted and to ban testing that unnecessarily infringes on the privacy and dignity of workers."

Declaring that drug addiction and alcoholism are illnesses which demand "treatment, not punishment," the council noted that the AFL-CIO and its affiliates "have long promoted prevention and rehabilitation programs in the workplace and the community" because labor recognizes that "addicted individuals can pose health and safety hazards on the job if they come to work in an impaired state."

Labor's efforts have included institutes on alcoholism and drug use, training union volunteer counselors to offer guidance and referrals to those with such problems, support for community facilities to treat victims and establishment of on-the-job treatment programs, the council pointed out.

Solutions proposed

Collective bargaining holds out the best hope for developing "tailored and balanced programs" to deal with the drug-abuse problems, the council said as it urged affiliates to negotiate "constructive solutions" that would include:

- Appropriate limits and conditions for such tests, focusing them only on workers "who exhibit symptoms of job-related impairment."
- Adequate safeguards for those who test positively, including guarantees of their rights to privacy and confidentiality.
- Full disclosure to workers and their unions of the testing methodology to be used.
- Non-punitive treatment programs to aid those demonstrably unable to perform their jobs because of drug addiction or alcoholism.

In recent years, the AFL-CIO pointed out, it has become "increasingly fashionable" for public and private employers to use drug tests to "screen job applicants and all employees" or to force them to submit to such tests on a random basis.

The council charged that many of the tests, particularly those given in volume, are extremely inaccurate. "False positive" results, indicating drug usage even though a person has not used illegal drugs, are as much as 25 percent higher because they can be influenced by the use of such common substances as cough syrup, caffeine, asthma medicine or other legal chemicals.

High error rate

In addition, laboratories performing these screening tests are often wrong, the council said, citing a report from the government's Centers for Disease Control showing that some laboratories have false-positive error rates as high as 66 percent.

"As a result," the Executive Council declared, "many workers or job applicants may lose a job either because accurate tests are not available or because companies prefer to use less accurate, inexpensive tests in mass screening programs."

An employer's "only legitimate interest" in conducting screening programs should be to judge an employee's ability to work, the council pointed out, yet test results "are too often used to discharge competent employees."

Mandatory tests raise serious legal questions, the federation insisted, since many state laws protecting personal privacy can be interpreted to prohibit sweeping testing and both federal law and the laws of many states classify persons suffering from addiction as handicapped and thus protected from discrimination in employment based on their condition.

"To the extent drug and alcohol tests are aimed at disciplining addicted individuals without regard to whether the individual's impairment interferes with job performance or directly threatens harm to others," the council statement said, "such tests may run afoul of the laws on discrimination against the handicapped."

Reagan scored for reneging on Davis-Bacon guarantees

An Administration-supported plan to slash coverage of the Davis-Bacon Act by exempting all military construction contracts of less than $1 million would amount to repeal of the prevailing wage law and should be vigorously opposed, the Executive Council said.

President Reagan has "apparently forgotten" his promise to building trades unions not to seek elimination of Davis-Bacon protection, the council noted. Reagan's pledge was made during the 1980 presidential campaign in a letter to Building & Construction Trades Dept. President Robert A. Georgine.

Reports of a switch in White House policy from neutrality to support of congressional efforts to gut Davis-Bacon were borne out by a letter from Labor Sec. William E. Brock to Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.). Gramm wants to amend the Defense Dept. authorization bill to exclude contracts of less than $1 million from Davis-Bacon coverage and make other weakening changes in the law. Such a cut-off would exclude 92 percent of contracts from prevailing wage protection.

President Reagan has now "explicitly decided to support" such an increase in the Davis-Bacon threshold, Brock wrote, and the Labor Dept. has "no objection" to Gramm's proposed amendment. He said the Office of Management & Budget has advised that its adoption "would be in accord with the program of the President."

Worse yet

While the letter dealt only with the military construction bill, the Labor Dept. earlier confirmed that the Administration will also support a rise in the threshold for Davis-Bacon coverage of non-military construction projects to contracts over $100,000.

Without prevailing wage protection, the council said, government contracts would be awarded to firms paying the lowest wages to their workers. But it warned that delays and future repair costs would more than offset the wage differential.

The Davis-Bacon Act "protects more than a worker's wage," the council stressed. "It protects the community and the taxpayer from shoddy work, the health and safety of workers on the job site, the security of a worker's family and the stability of the entire industry."

Unions signing up for benefits plan

Interest in the federation's new Union Privilege Benefit Programs is running high, the Executive Council was told, with 11 affiliates representing more than 4 million members already signed up for the first benefit—a low-cost credit card program.

Benefit Programs President Ray Denison called the credit card a "uniquely trade union instrument" which allows members to skip payments in months of heavy bills or when their union is on strike, and offers optional insurance to provide payments "during periods of unemployment, strike and disability."

Unions already enrolled in the credit card program are the Service Employees, Steelworkers, Railway & Airline Clerks, Machinists, Flight Attendants, Bricklayers, Communications Workers, Fire Fighters, Newspaper Guild, Painters, and State, County & Municipal Employees.

The first letters offering the credit card will be mailed to members of these unions beginning in July.

Denison cited findings by pollster Peter D. Hart which indicated that 62 percent of all union members now have a credit card and emphasized that the new program offers them access to credit at a far lower rate than they now are paying. This will give workers greater economic power in the marketplace, he said.

Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue reminded council members that the benefits program was one facet of the multi-pronged package of recommendations made a year ago by the federation's Committee on the Evolution of Work, and reported on developments in other areas, including new approaches to collective bargaining.

New era

Denison indicated the benefits program, which has been formally incorporated in the District of Columbia as a not-for-profit corporation, will be expanded in the near future to form "the basis of a new organizing era" for the trade union movement.

Other benefits being explored include:

- Term life insurance, at a rate "superior to that generally available," plus "health insurance for periods of unemployment or lengthy strike."
- Establishment of a network of lawyers who would provide legal services to union members and those in associate membership programs.
- A means by which union members can save for retirement or other investment purposes under a program which offers "the best possible return on their money at the least possible risk."

Also under discussion, Denison told the council, is a discount package for airline travel, hotels, motels and car rentals. Other programs such as prescription drugs, vitamins, car leasing, discount books and tax preparation are also on the agenda.

In the three months since the program was launched, he said, there has been "strong interest" in the benefits package from international and local union officials and state and local central bodies.

"Every membership group, every leadership group and every union executive board has been very enthusiastic about the program," Denison declared.

Council focuses on tax, economic issues

Continued from Page 1

and alcohol testing of employees, endorsement of the boycott against Burlington Northern Air Freight, proposed legislative changes in the Davis-Bacon prevailing wage law, support for the Maintenance of Way Employees in their strike at New England railroad facilities owned by Guilford Transportation, an appeal for all AFL-CIO union publications to affiliate with the International Labor Communications Association, and salutes to the USO on its 45th anniversary and to CARE for 40 years of relief efforts to needy peoples and areas of the world.

Organization & Field Services Director Alan Kistler reported to the council on the realignment of the federation's field operations and an increase in the number of regions. Other staff reports were presented by Research Director Rudy Oswald, Legislative Director Robert McGlotten, and Susan Dunlop, an assistant to Kirkland, who described arrangements for the "Union Meeting of the Air," the television satellite conference slated for June 14.

Kirkland described recent developments in international labor affairs and announced the appointment of Vice Presidents John T. Joyce and Gene Upshaw and Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch as members of the AFL-CIO delegation to the International Labor Organization's annual conference in Geneva next month.

Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue gave a progress report on the activities of the council's Committee on the Evolution of Work. He also presented reports of the Finance Committee and the Article XX Review Committee. Other committee reports were given by Vice Presidents Gerald W. McEntee, federal budget; John J. Sweeney, Shell Oil boycott and the Blue Cross-Blue Shield organizing campaign; Wayne Glenn, state and local central bodies, and Robert A. Georgine, restrictive legislation.

Amendments urged

The council's statement on tax legislation praised the Senate Finance Committee for rejecting the Reagan Administration's attempts to tax the life-support benefits of workers, such as employer-paid health insurance premiums, and to end deductions for state and local income taxes. Nevertheless, the council urged a number of amendments to improve the measure when it comes to the Senate floor:

- An increase in the number of tax brackets beyond the proposed two to preserve the principle of progressive taxation and help narrow the gap between the "haves" and "have nots."
- Treatment of workers' "business" expenses in the same manner as corporate "business" expenses by retaining such deductions as union and professional dues, safety equipment, tools and protective clothing.
- Protection of postal and public employee pensions, which are based on already taxed contributions by employees and should retain their total exclusion from further taxation.
- Retention of the deduction for state and local sales taxes.
- Further tightening of the tax shelter restrictions covering oil and gas to maintain consistency with the goal of eliminating special preferences for the wealthy.

The council's statement on the national economy observed that slow, unbalanced growth and job-destroying imports are resulting in continued high levels of unemployment. It charged that federal budget policies and a squeeze on workers' wages "add to the hardship and suffering" of many Americans.

"Except for defense, President Reagan's budget ignores the need to provide government services," the council said. "Unfortunately, Congress has abdicated its proper role in determining national priorities by discarding a responsible federal budget process in favor of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings straitjacket."

The statement pointed out that for the past two years, with a few aberrations, the nation's jobless rate has remained "on the high plateau of 7 to 7.5 percent" with the rate for black workers about 15 percent and for Hispanic workers about 10 percent. The council observed that the government's most recent report of 7.1 percent jobless represents 8.3 million workers officially without jobs, a figure that excludes another 1.1 million discouraged jobless workers and 5.9 milion more forced to work part time.

"Thus, there are 15.3 million workers, or approximately 13 percent of the workforce, suffering serious job and income loss," the council statement said. Yet, it noted, only 35 percent of jobless workers are actually receiving unemployment insurance payments.

"Despite this Administration's rosy claims," the council statement continued, "a wide range of actions continues to be needed to meet the nation's human and economic needs."

Labor contributions

In approving the Finance Committee report, the council voted a contribution of $25,000 to the NAACP, which has launched a building fund drive for its new headquarters in Baltimore. Contributions also were approved for People for the American Way, the National Planning Association, Center for National Policy, Workers' Institute for Safety & Health, No Greater Love, Economic Education for the Clergy, Industry-Labor Council on Employment of the Handicapped, American Merchant Marine Memorial Citizens Network, the George Shultz Scholarship at the University of Chicago, and the Thomas P. O'Neill Scholarship at Boston College.

The next meeting of the Executive Council will be held in Chicago, Aug. 5-7, 1986.

Nuclear standard pressed in wake of Soviet tragedy

All nations must take measures to prevent the recurrence of a tragedy like the Chernobyl nuclear power station accident by providing timely information and developing strict safety procedures for nuclear power plants, the Executive Council said.

The council expressed its "sincere sympathy for the victims of Chernobyl" and for the "many more who may fall victim to the long-term effects of the radioactive winds that respect no national or ideological boundaries."

Calling for stricter nuclear safety standards and sharing of vital information during such disasters, the council stressed that the Soviet system "places major obstacles in the path of this goal and poses a threat to the international community."

It noted that because the Soviet Union is a "closed society" in which information and communication are monopolized by the government, news about Chernobyl was withheld from neighboring countries for two days after the accident—and then only released when Sweden demanded an explanation for the increased radiation.

At a press conference, Federation President Lane Kirkland pointed up the difference between the closed Soviet system and open societies in response to a reporter's question. He contrasted the disaster at Chernobyl with the 1984 chemical plant accident in Bhopal, India, where hundreds of thousands were killed or injured.

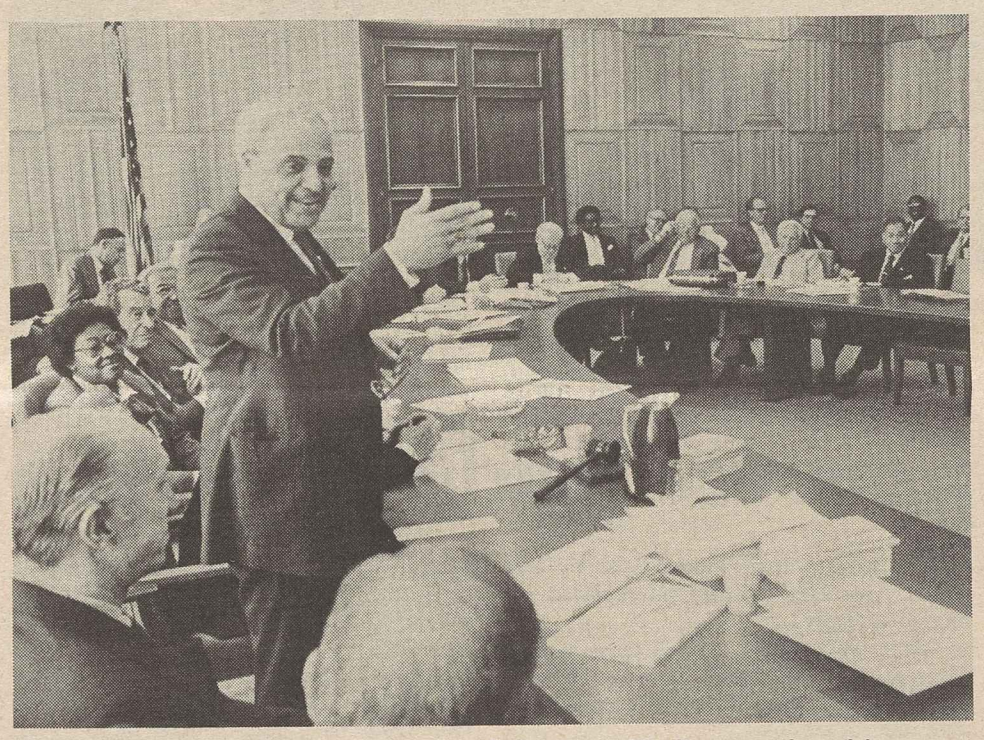
Closed society

"I seem to remember that the skies were darkened with planes carrying liability lawyers to Bhopal in search of clients," he said. "I have not yet heard of a single American liability lawyer going to Chernobyl or Kiev. Where is Melvin Belli now that they need him?"

The reluctance of the Soviet Union to inform its citizens, its neighbors and the world of the scope of the Chernobyl accident provides "dramatic proof that totalitarianism cannot be dismissed as an 'internal affair' of the Soviet Union," the council said.

Under the Soviet system, there could be "no organized protests" to pressure authorities to provide nuclear safety measure comparable to those common in the West.

The willingness of the Soviets to withhold vital information about occurrences within its borders "is a cause for international concern." Such action "casts a shadow over the prospects for verifiable arms reduction agreements, and it is a reminder that, especially in the nuclear age, governments that are unrestrained by free democratic institutions are a threat to the world," the council said.



Executive Director Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP discusses bond between the labor and civil rights movements at the Executive Council session.

Reagan's delay over board seen prolonging rail dispute

President Reagan's five-week delay in agreeing to name an emergency board in the strike by Maintenance of Way Employees against two New England railroads has inflicted "unnecessary suffering and economic hardship upon these workers and their families," the Executive Council said.

The council commended the support provided the BMWE by affilated unions and state and local central bodies, urging continued solidarity with the railroad workers "in their attempt to win a decent contract."

The National Mediation Board on Apr. 12 recommended that Reagan appoint an emergency panel, but the President waited until May 16 to act. However, he has yet to appoint the members of the panel. Once a panel is named, it will have 30 days in which to report to the President its nonbinding recommendation to settle the dispute. The two sides then have 30 days to consider the findings.

Prompt action needed

The council urged the President "act expeditiously upon future NMB recommendations," noting that in the 52 years of NMB's administration of the Railway Labor Act, it had recommended 209 emergency panels. Presidential action previously has been "virtually instantaneous," the council pointed out.

Reagan didn't act until the 2nd Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in New York ruled that the BMWE strikers could picket the giant Conrail system causing a widespread railroad shutdown.

BMWE members have been on strike since Mar. 4 against the Maine Central and Portland Terminal railroads, both owned by Guilford Transportation Industries. The union later expanded the picketing to the Boston & Maine and the Delaware & Hudson rail lines, also owned by Guilford, along with six other carriers who have provided assistance to the struck firms.

The council statement noted that Guilford is owned by Timothy Mellon, "who makes no secret of his intention to destroy unions on his railroads." After seeing their ranks trimmed by two-thirds, BMWE members on the Maine Central line sought job security in their contract. The company responded by demanding severe work rule changes and a 20 percent pay cut.

When the emergency board order took effect, BMWE members and other union members honoring the strike prepared to return to work. Guilford, however, laid off nearly half the 4,000 workers who had refused to scab. The layoffs were immediately challenged in the U.S. District Court in Portland by the Railway Labor Executives' Association, charging that Guilford violated federal labor law in laying off workers after a presidential panel had been called.

Corporate raids gobble up assets of pension funds

Continued from Page 1

The majority of these terminations was deliberately rigged to enable management to obtain these 'excess' assets," he charged. "In short, greed, not economic problems, was responsible for such action."

Terminations have taken place most often in plans that spell out in actual dollars the benefits workers will get on retirement. When the assets of these plans exceed the accrued benefits to which workers are entitled, Smedley explained, "the temptation exists for an employer to cash in the plan, purchase annuities to take care of the obligations they currently owe workers, and take the extra dollars for themselves."

When an employer terminates a plan in this manner, Smedley stressed, "it takes deferred income that belongs to the employees." Although the employer may provide a new pension plan, workers often lose valuable benefits.

Among the biggest beneficiaries, if the PBGC approves the latest terminations, will be FMC Corp., which stands to capture $400 million; Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., $350 million; Anderson Clayton, $80 million; Milliken, $75 million; Michelin Tire, $53 million; Philbor-Salomon, $50 million; TG&Y Stores, $48 million; Clevepak Corp., $30 million, and Cannon Holding Co., $25 million.

Declaring that the AFL-CIO is "greatly troubled" by the increasing frequency of these terminations, Smedley stressed that "legislation is essential to protect the rights of pension participants and to preserve the integrity and promise of the nation's private pension system."

Labor salutes CARE for 40-year service

The AFL-CIO praised the charitable efforts of CARE—the Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere—in a special tribute on the service organization's 40th anniversary.

Calling the relief organization a humanitarian "success story," the Executive Council noted the role of American unions in establishing CARE services during World War II.

Now a worldwide service agency, CARE has expanded its activities from providing basic foodstuffs "to health care and agricultural training and assistance for areas as disparate as Bolivia, Indonesia and Uganda," the council stated.

In "making compassion a U.S. export," CARE deserves the praise of the nation and the continuing support of the AFL-CIO, the council declared.

Council calls for tight liability insurance controls

Tighter regulation of the insurance industry and a simpler method of determining liability for injury to consumers and workers were proposed by the Executive Council as key elements of a reform package.

The council statement stressed the need to restore balance between the tort system of litigation, which is keyed to determining responsibility for wrongdoing, and the use of insurance to share the risk and pass on the cost of compensating the victims.

It acknowledged the complexity of the issue but said reforms are needed now because some providers of goods and services can't afford the "prohibitively high" cost of liability insurance and sometimes can't get needed insurance at any price. Obstetricians and midwives, vaccine manufacturers and day care centers are among those forced to curtail operations, the council noted.

The liability insurance crunch has forced local governments to reduce services, the council said, and soaring premiums have placed an added drain on non-profit organizations, including unions and labor-management trust funds.

"Ultimately, it is the American worker and the American consumer who suffer most from these developments," the council observed. "American jobs are lost when American businesses cannot obtain needed insurance. And the prices the American consumer is required to pay must rise when goods and service providers face dramatically increased insurance costs."

Corporate irresponsibility

Many of the risks that have contributed to the escalation of costs could be minimized if industry gave greater attention to safety and health concerns, the council noted. It cited the asbestos industry as a "chilling example" of what was properly termed "corporate irresponsibility."

The tort system of litigating damages has resulted in unpredictible and sharply rising costs, pushing up insurance rates. But the answer is not in the federal product liability bill the Reagan Administration is supporting, the council said. That measure would impose "insurmountable obstacles" to injured persons with valid claims.

The "long run" solution is to develop alternatives to the tort law litigation system to compensate injured persons and to maximize safety, the council said.

For immediate action, it proposed:

- Giving state insurance commissioners authority and resources to assure that increases in insurance premiums are actuarially justified. Consumers should be represented in the rate regulation process.
- Requiring insurance companies to justify cancellation of insurance coverage and give adequate notice to the policyholders.
- Bringing the insurance industry under the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission. The federal government should develop insurance standards for state regulators to follow.
- Modifying tort law so that injured persons cannot recover their losses from more than one source. Compensation for non-economic losses—pain and suffering as well as punitive damages—should be related to the degree of injury and to the "level of culpability" of the defendant.
- Judicial reforms "so that more dollars reach victims and fewer dollars get absorbed in litigation costs." Use should be made of "alternate dispute resolution procedures."
- Strengthening the workers' compensation system to assure "adequate benefits for those injured or killed in the workplace, whether through injury or exposure to toxic subsxtances." Also, "no-fault alternatives for compensating victims of non-workplace injuries should be explored."

The council said the AFL-CIO will press for these reforms at the federal level. It called on the federation's state central bodies "to adopt the same approach with their governors and legislatures and to develop coalitions with others who seek a workable liability system that protects both the consumer and the diligent providers of goods and services."

Executive Council members discuss challenges facing the labor movement.

On 295-115 vote

House approves trade remedies

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against the unfair trade practices of other countries.

On a closer 276-137 vote, 44 Republicans joined 237 Democrats in defeating an amendment by Rep. Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.) that would have devastated the bill. It would have eliminated both the rollback in trade surplus authored by Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) and the labor rights section drafted by Rep. Don J. Pease (D-Ohio). A leading opponent of the bill, Rep. Bill Frenzel (R-Minn.), argued unsuccessfully that the requirement for adherence to internationally recognized labor standards "is another attempt to force our culture on the rest of the world." Crane's amendment was supported by 130 Republicans and seven Democrats.

Before final passage, the House rejected a watered-down Republican substitute that GOP leaders insisted was the only measure that stood a chance of avoiding a presidential veto.

"The House of Representatives deserves the nation's congratulations for passing comprehensive trade legislation," AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said. "Almost all Democrats and a decisive number of Republicans recognized that the trade crisis facing the country is not a partisan issue."

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. termed the big vote for the bill a message from Congress that "the people of the United States will no longer stand by and watch American industry be replaced by foreign industry."

While the legislation didn't cover all the areas urged by the AFL-CIO, the Executive Council stressed that the steps it does take are all needed.

"The deterioration of America's international trade position has made scores of domestic industries and millions of Americans victims of plant closings, bankruptcies, farm foreclosures and recessionary unemployment," the council noted.

Record trade deficits

In the face of record and rising trade deficits, especially in manufactured goods, "the Reagan Administration continues to rely on lofty statements defending the mythical free market," the statement asserted.

Kirkland was asked at a news conference whether the drop in the exchange value of the dollar has "taken the pressure off the need for trade legislation."

He replied that America's balance of trade has worsened, not improved, since the decline in the exchange rate "and I don't think there's any prospect of significant relief in sight."

While a lower dollar value helps sell U.S. goods abroad, he said, "unfortunately there are fewer and fewer of such products." Countries that buy U.S. raw materials will be able to use dollar savings to hold down the price of finished goods they sell back to the American market, Kirkland noted.

Six House committees were involved in shaping the many-faceted trade bill, and Democrats have seldom been more united on a controversial legislative issue.

Among the provisions welcomed in the Executive Council statement were sections that:

- Strengthen relief for industries and workers injured by imports.
- Mandate government action against harmful industrial targeting practices of foreign governments.
- Provide redress against foreign governments that subsidize the price of natural resources in order to help their export industries.
- Compel measures to open foreign markets to U.S. telecommunications products.
- Tighten controls against evasion of negotiated restraints on steel imports.
- Seek protections for import-sensitive products in any new round of trade negotiations.
- Call for a new international conference to stabilize exchange rates.
- Strengthen laws to protect "intellectual property," such as copyrights, trademarks and patents.
- Allocate funds to retrain workers affected by foreign competition.

Other portions of the council statement urged further legislation to deal with specific industry problems, including extension of the manufacturing clause of the Copyright Act, which is scheduled to expire July 1. This requires most books and periodicals written in English by American authors to be printed and bound in the United States or Canada in order to receive full copyright protection.

The council also urged Congress to override President Reagan's veto of the bill enacted last year to set enforceable limits on imports of textiles, apparel and shoes, and to seek limits on copper imports. The vote on a motion to override the veto is scheduled for Aug. 6.

Boycotts backed to fight terrorism

The Executive Council pledged full support for trade union efforts around the world to bring an end to terrorism, declaring that labor must "remain on the front lines of opposition" to all forms of tyranny.

The council reaffirmed the position adopted in February when it endorsed "sanctions and other appropriate retaliation . . . against states that harbor and support terrorists."

The statement noted that the April conference of International Federation of Air Line Pilots Associations called for boycott action "against countries sponsoring terrorism or providing safe harbors to hijackers committing terrorist acts."

The IFALPA also urged boycotts of airports with inadequate security safeguards and pledged to take action against any country that tried to punish its own unions for supporting such boycotts.

The council endorsed the trade secretariat's action and called on affiliates to work through the IFALPA, the International Transport Workers Federation and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions "to support such boycotts."

'Save America' rallies planned for 100 cities

Workers in at least 100 communities will rally on June 21 for "Save American Industry and Jobs Day" in a series of demonstrations sponsored by the Steelworkers and supported by the AFL-CIO and five major steel producers.

The demonstrations will bring together steelworkers and steelmakers, community leaders and workers in industries ranging from electronics to textiles, "to act in their own interest . . . and demand fair trade laws and other policies which will allow us to revitalize our basic industries," the rally call stressed.

In a report to the Executive Council, USWA President Lynn Williams noted that the rallies are not intended to spotlight problems in the steel sector alone, but will focus on the difficulties and destruction facing all American industries.

In a letter to state and local central body officials, Federation President Lane Kirkland urged all trade unionists to support the rallies and join in the grassroots campaign for fair trade.

Satellite teleconference

The day-long rallies will feature a live teleconference, broadcast from Washington and beamed to rally sites by satellite. Scheduled to join the 90-minute telecast are AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, Industrial Union Dept. President Howard Samuel, officials from affiliated unions, and corporate and political leaders. Williams will moderate the broadcast, scheduled to begin at 2 p.m. EDT. The telecast also will include three segments from factories and state capitals to supplement the local discussion of the crisis in America's industries.

At the rally sites, union members and their families will be joined by members of Congress and state and local leaders to focus attention on the plight of America's workers and its basic industries. Organizing each community rally is a coalition of labor, business, church, civil rights and civic groups.

Williams said plans for 65 sites had already been completed, to be funded by the union and steel producers. Another 35 locations, to be determined by June 1, will be funded by AFL-CIO unions and related industries.

ILCA role stressed as vital to unions

All AFL-CIO affiliates should "assure that each of their communications media is a member" of the International Labor Communications Association, and encourage publications of local unions to join as well, the Executive Council said.

It cited ILCA conferences, workshops, contests and newsletters to further the goal of a "strong, effective labor press."

Through expert postal service advice, the council noted, ILCA has "saved unions hundreds of thousands of dollars in postage costs." Unions rely on their publications to provide members with information they need, and the labor press is "an important avenue for unions to exercise the constitutional guarantee of free speech," it added.

'Resource for future'

Construction starts on Meany archives

A ceremonial groundbreaking following the Executive Council's spring meeting signalled the start of construction on the George Meany Memorial Archives in tribute to the merged federation's founding president, who died Jan. 10, 1980, shortly after his retirement.

Lane Kirkland, Meany's successor and close associate for many years, opened the ceremony before the council members, staff and guests gathered at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, calling the archives "a resource for our future." Its vital functions, he said, will be "to centralize and organize the records of labor's past" for scholars of labor history and for trade unionists seeking to advance the cause of organized labor, and "to serve as a clearinghouse" to record, organize and classify all the labor collections at universities and other institutions around the country.

Speaking for the Meany family, Regina Mayer recalled her father's "love of books, facts, records, history and current events." She said it is "particularly fitting" to have the archives situated on the Silver Spring, Md., campus of the studies center, "this place where young men and women come from many countries to study and learn."

Scholars, students and trade union activists who use the archives will be able to hear Meany's words "in his own voice" and see him in films, Mrs. Mayer noted. And when they leave the center, she said, they will take with them "the best part of George Meany—his principles and ideals."

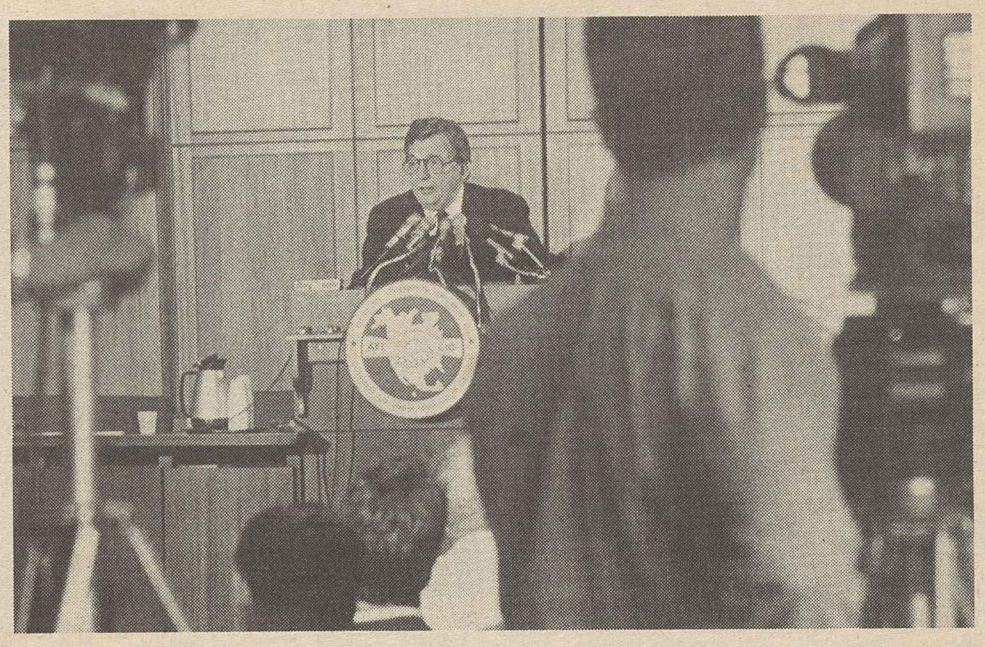
Also taking part in the ceremony were Meany's other daughters, Eileen Lee and Genevieve Lutz; Msgr. James J. Reddy, pastor of the church Meany attended, who gave the invocation; AFL-CIO Vice President Thomas W. Gleason, chairman of the Executive Council subcommittee which recommended the memorial archives; Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue; Thomas A. Kamstra, representing the architects, Kamstra, Dickerson & Associates, and Leroy E. Kirby, representing the contractor, Roy Kirby & Sons Inc.

Historic spade

The spade they used to break through the turf on the archives site just south of the studies center's administration building was the same one Meany himself used at the groundbreaking for the AFL-CIO headquarters building.

Construction and equipment of the archives was authorized by the Executive Council at its May 1980 meeting. The 1981 AFL-CIO convention approved financing through a per capita increase to cover the cost of the archives, nearly $4 million, and several other programs.

The building will have storage facilities on three floors for more than 23,000 cubic feet of records as well as photographs, films and videotapes. Also planned are library and reading rooms, classrooms, meeting space, offices for archive administration, and two exhibit areas, one a permanent memorial to Meany.



Kirkland briefs news media on Executive Council actions.

Boycott imposed on union-busting air freight firm

The Executive Council called for a boycott of the Burlington Northern Air Freight Co. in response to the company's union-busting activities in Toronto.

BNAF air cargo handlers, members of the Typographical Union, were locked out by the company in May 1985 after a year of unsuccessful negotiations to reach a first contract. After BNAF replaced the cargo handlers with scabs, the ITU charged that the freight carrier's bad faith bargaining and lockout violated Canadian labor law. The union also charged BNAF with union-busting and intimidation tactics, including unfair suspensions and demotions.

The Canadian Labor Congress has condemned BNAF's "vicious anti-union tactics" and endorsed a consumer boycott of the company's services in Canada. BNAF, based in California, operates in some 100 cities in the United States and Canada.

The council asked all affiliates and union members not to use BNAF services and called on the Union Label & Service Trades Dept. to publicize the boycott.

Other companies on the AFL-CIO boycott list are Armour Processed Meats Co., Marval Poultry Co. Inc., Seattle-First National Bank, BASF A.G. Corp., Faberge, Inc., Brown & Sharpe Mgr. Co., Nixdorff-Lloyd Chain Co., El Al Israel Airlines, Bruce Church Inc. lettuce and nonunion california table grapes, Adolph Coors Co., Fort Howard Paper Co., Holiday Paper Cups, Indiana Desk Co., Trojan Luggage Co., Louisiana Pacific Corp., R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., Schwinn Bicycle Co., Sterling Radiator, as well as the Shell Oil Co.

Unions spur Senate action on hazard-warning measure

Labor-backed legislation to set up an early-warning system for workers exposed to hazardous substances cleared two House subcommittees and was strongly supported at Senate hearings.

The lives and health of millions of American workers are threatened by cancer-causing substances they encounter at work, Machinists President William W. Winpisinger told the Senate Subcommittee on Labor.

Winpisinger, who testified for the AFL-CIO and the Industrial Union Dept. as well as his own union, was joined by witnesses from the American Cancer Society and the American Public Health Association in urging the need for a federal law.

A new Occupational Safety & Health Administration standard requires employers to notify workers of the nature of hazardous chemicals they may encounter on the job, and industry officials have argued that new legislation isn't needed.

Winpisinger retorted that OSHA standards are limited and there are "no regulations, practices or programs to identify, notify and provide medical surveillance of workers who are at high risk of developing occupational diseases."

House action

In an unusual procedure, two House subcommittees acted on the legislation in a joint session and cleared it for action by the full Education & Labor Committee. Rep. Joseph M. Gaydos (D-Pa.), who heads one of the subcommittees, and Education & Labor Committee Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) are principal sponsors of the House bill. Its Senate counterpart is sponsored by Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) and Robert T. Stafford (R-Vt.).

As reported by the two House subcommittees, the legislation directs the Dept. of Health & Human Services to set up a program to identify, alert, and provide medical counselling to groups of workers exposed to substances that increase their risk of serious disease. The risk category is defined as one in which the occurrence of the disease is at least 30 percent greater than among persons not exposed to the hazard.

It also requires HHS to designate at least 10 regional medical centers for training and technical assistance to health professionals dealing with occupational diseases.

At the Senate hearings, environmental health expert Dr. Irving Selikoff testified for the American Cancer Society that a risk identification and notification program is "long overdue."

He cited as an example a research survey of 200 workers exposed to cancer-causing asbestos that revealed that none of the disease-threatened workers had been given information about the hazards or a medical test.

Winpisinger said nearly 10 million workers are in danger of various types of cancer because of their jobs and millions of others risk less lethal but disabling illnesses.

Among blue-collar workers, Winpisinger testified, one out of every four cases of cancer is work related.

There is a "critical need" for medical counselling of exposed workers and constant monitoring so that treatment can be begun at the first sign of illness, he stressed.

Reagan nominee rejected for EEOC post on 10-5 vote

The Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee rejected the nomination of Jeffrey Zuckerman to be general counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by a decisive 10-5 vote.

It put off a vote on another controversial Reagan nominee, Robert E. Rader Jr., whose appointment to the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission was strongly criticized by the AFL-CIO.

The committee did approve by voice vote the nomination of John A. Pendergrass as Assistant Secretary of Labor for occupational safety and health, paving the way for confirmation by the full Senate. Unions had voiced reservations about the selection of an official of the 3M Corp. to head OSHA in view of the company's court challenge to cotton dust regulations. But they did not seek to defeat his nomination.

Zuckerman, the top aide to EEOC Chairman Clarence Thomas, was opposed by civil rights groups for his expressed hostility to various affirmative action remedies. As general counsel, he would be responsible for enforcing policies with which he has disagreed.

GOP support

The seven committee Democrats voted solidly against the nomination, and were joined by Republicans Robert T. Stafford (Vt.), Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (Conn.) and Charles E. Grassley (Iowa). One Republican, Paula Hawkins (Fla.), abstained.

The Senate committee had been scheduled to vote on a bill to ban the use of polygraph tests by private employers that is co-sponsored by Committee Chairman Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) and Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.). The labor-backed bill is similar to the measure that passed the House but stronger in that it has fewer exemptions.

Committee action was deferred after Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) launched a mini-filibuster by offering 55 amendments to the bill. The committee is next scheduled to meet on June 18. Hatch said a committee majority supports the bill and he warned the business community not to take advantage of his "good faith" efforts to reach consensus on the legislation.

Regional offices realigned to improve field services

Realignment of the AFL-CIO regions, increasing their number from eight to 12, was announced by Organization & Field Services Director Alan Kistler during the Executive Council meeting.

Kistler said the realignment will be effective June 1, although some specific shifts will be implemented later this year. Current regions will have the same number and base city. The creation of four additional regions, Kistler said, will help the Dept. of Organization & Field Services improve servicing and establish closer relationships with state and local central bodies, international unions and their locals.

The announcement of the realignment came in Kistler's final report to the council as director of the department. He retires from that post at the end of June and will become chief umpire under the organizational disputes procedures recently established by the federation.

Regions listed

The makeup of the new regions, including the regional directors and the base cities, is as follows:

I—Charles Stott, Chicago: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin.

II—L.D. Porter, Tulsa: Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri.

III—Walter Waddy, Baltimore: Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, District of Columbia.

IV—Wilbert Williams, Austin: Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi.

V—James Sala, Atlanta: Georgia, Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina.

VI—David Sickler, San Francisco: California, Hawaii, Nevada.

VII—Humphrey Donahue, New York: New York, New Jersey, Puerto Rico.

VIII—John O'Malley, Boston: Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont.

IX—Edward Collins, Seattle: Washington, Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Oregon.

X—James Freeman, Nashville: Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio.

XI—Steve Bieringer, Denver: Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming.

XII—Ray Francis, Minneapolis: Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

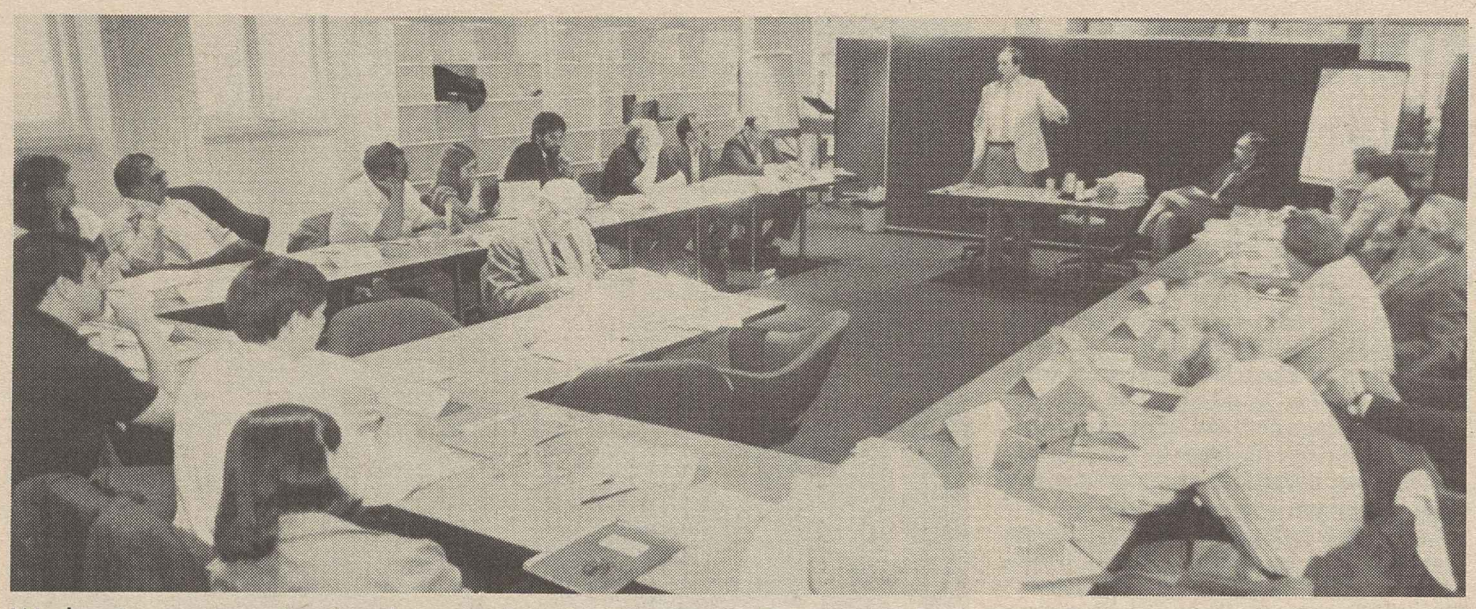
Freeman heads Oklahoma federation

Oklahoma City, Okla.—The executive board of the Oklahoma AFL-CIO elected James Freeman to a special one-year term as president, succeeding Rex Reynolds who resigned to join the Food & Commercial Workers staff.

Freeman, director of AFL-CIO Region I for the past six years, will assume the state federation post June 1 under a special arrangement requested unanimously by the executive board of the Oklahoma AFL-CIO and granted by Federation President Lane Kirkland. Sec.-Treas. Ross J. Williams continues in the four-year term to which he was elected last November.

Under a realignment of the AFL-CIO field operations described in the adjoining article, Freeman also has been named director of a new Region X with headquarters in Nashville, Tenn. During Freeman's year of service as Oklahoma AFL-CIO president, Assistant Regional Director John Klein will handle the day-to-day operations of Region X.

During the next year, Freeman and Williams will continue efforts to increase voluntary affiliation of local unions with the Oklahoma AFL-CIO and help focus the state federation's legislative and political activities.



Workers' compensation conference is addressed by Richard Dwyer, assistant director of the George Meany Center, and the AFL-CIO's James Ellenberger, a specialist on job injury benefits.

Unions hit delay in comp benefits for job injuries

Red tape needlessly delays benefits from reaching workers injured on the job or victimized by occupational disease, experts from 27 AFL-CIO unions and state bodies agreed.

Meeting for three days at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, 35 participants outlined ways to relieve the hardships workers endure when they're forced to wait years before receiving awards.

They also recommended that unions become more involved in the rate-setting process and continue to monitor insurers' costs and profits.

AFL-CIO compensation specialist James Ellenberger pointed out that the lack of competition among insurers in many states and the industry's exemption from antitrust laws worked against injured workers and consumers. With the industry largely unregulated, unions should carefully examine insurers' requests for rate increases and cutbacks in benefits, he said.

Robert Hunter, president of the National Insurance Consumers Organization, called for an end to the widespread practice followed by most states of ignoring the interest earned on insurance reserves when determining an insurer's profits and setting new premium rates for employers.

Reforms needed

David Wilderman of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO agreed, noting that rate-making in the state was controlled by the insurance industry. He outlined the state federation's reform program, including provisions to require open competition among insurers.

Participants reviewed reform initiatives underway in California, Rhode Island and Michigan, while Martin Foley of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO outlined the measures adopted by the state last year, which included cost-of-living increases in benefit levels, a cap on attorneys' fees and penalties against employers who frivolously contest claims.

The conference expressed its opposition to so-called "compromise and release agreements," that provide a lump-sum payment to injured workers instead of a weekly benefit award and condemned the "wage loss" system used by many states in place of compensation for a worker's injuries, pain and suffering.

Because occupational disease is not covered by workers' compensation in most states, the labor movement has proposed a federal system to compensate workers who are stricken by work-related disease, David Mallino of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. said.

Mallino also outlined a second labor proposal to require employers to notify workers of the risk in contracting an occupational disease on the job.

Courts uphold worker rights in organizing, support strikes

In separate decisions, federal courts upheld workers' rights to be free of management harassment when they organize and honor another union's picket lines even when their contract contains a no-strike clause.

The 7th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals upheld a National Labor Relations Board finding that Del Rey Tortilleria Inc. of Chicago broke the law by interfering with employees' organizational rights in what the court called "a classic case of anti-union behavior."

The 9th Circuit U.S. Court of appeals, overruling the NLRB in another case, held that a broad no-strike clause in an Electrical Workers Local 387 contract with the Arizona Public Service Co. did not expose employees to discipline for engaging in a sympathy strike.

In the Chicago case, employees asked Local 76 of the Ladies Garment Workers to organize the tortilla firm's wholesale and retail operations in 1982.

The firm responded by suspending one member of the organizing committee for three days, threatening other employees with suspension, subjecting workers to "coercive interrogation" that led to the firing of three employees, and promising some employees raises if they abandoned the union.

The court noted that nearly all the employees were of Mexican descent, that some were undocumented aliens and that most were poorly educated immigrants with little working knowledge of English who worked for the minimum wage.

Not only did the company engage in "retaliatory measures" against workers for supporting the ILGWU organizing drive, the court noted, but management's "threatening and hostile posture" carried over into hearings before an administrative law judge. On two separate occasions, the ALJ noted that the firm's owner made "audible comments" that affected witnesses' responses.

Reinstatement ordered

The court ordered the reinstatement of the three employees who were fired for union activities, upheld a cease-and-desist order issued by the NLRB and directed the company to post a notice to let workers know of their right to join a union.

In the Arizona case, eight IBEW members at the public utility who had been ordered to remove overhead power lines during construction of a municipal building complex in Flagstaff in July 1982 refused to cross picket lines set up by the Arizona District Council of Carpenters because of a dispute with one of the contractors at the work site.

The utility initially suspended the eight employees for five days but when the Carpenters agreed to remove their picket line temporarily, the suspensions were lifted the next day so the IBEW members could complete the job. The company then levied three-day suspensions on the electricians.

When Local 387 filed charges with the NLRB, an administrative law judge ruled in the union's favor, pointing out that the no-strike clause was linked to resolving disputes through the grievance and arbitration procedure. The board overruled the ALJ, declaring that IBEW members waived their right to walk off the job when they accepted the no-strike provision in the contract.

Board overturned

In overturning the labor board, the court pointed out that the sympathy strike was an issue that could not be resolved through the grievance and arbitration machinery and that no employee had ever been disciplined before for refusing to cross another union's picket line.

Moreover, the court said, the Arizona utility proposed changes during 1982 contract negotiations that would have made sympathy strikes subject to the no-strike clause but the union rejected the proposal.

Because the language was not included in the final agreement, the court said, it was clear that the intent of the parties was that the no-strike clause did not extend to sympathy strikes.

COPE-backed candidates win key primaries

Labor-endorsed candidates scored impressive wins in Pennsylvania and Oregon as followers of the right-wing extremist Lyndon H. LaRouche suffered crushing defeats in Pennsylvania and West Virginia in the latest rounds of primary balloting.

In Pennsylvania, labor's backing helped six-term Rep. Bob Edgar capture the Democratic senatorial nomination, narrowly defeating Auditor Gen. Don Bailey, while George Elder, a LaRouche supporter, drew only 5 percent of the vote to finish a distant third. Edgar will face incumbent Sen. Arlen Specter, who handily defeated a conservative challenger by a 3-to-1 margin in the Republican primary.

Former Auditor Gen. Robert P. Casey, who also had COPE endorsement, swept to an easy victory over former Philadelphia District Atty. Edward G. Rendell in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. In the process, another LaRouche candidate, Steven Douglas, went down to defeat with a mere 4 percent of the vote. Lt.-Gov. William W. Scranton III was unopposed for the GOP nomination for governor.

Oregon victory

In Oregon, former Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt, who served as transportation secretary in the Carter Administration, overwhelmed State Sen. Ed Fadeley to win the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Goldschmidt, the COPE-endorsed candidate, will face former GOP Sec. of State Norma Paulus in November.

Oregon's Democrats nominated Rep. James Weaver in a three-way race to oppose Sen. Bob Packwood who won renomination only after a spirited challenge from Baptist minister Joe Lutz who picked up 42 percent of the vote.

West Virginia voters renominated the state's four Democratic congressmen, three of whom ran unopposed. In the fourth race, Rep. Harley O. Staggers piled up 86 percent of the vote as he coasted to victory over two opponents, one of them a member of the LaRouche cult.

Meanwhile, Nebraska voters broke new ground as both political parties nominated women to run for the governorship. Helen Boosalis, former mayor of Lincoln, defeated six candidates to win the Democratic primary, while State Treas. Kay A. Orr won the Republican nomination in an eight-way race.

More sites set for June 14 parley

Planning moved ahead for the AFL-CIO's 1986 regional conferences, which will feature a nationwide satellite hookup involving union members in 20 major cities in discussions of the key challenges facing the labor movement.

Arrangements have been completed for three more sites for the June 14 "union meeting of the air" that will link union members across the country with federation officials in Washington. They are:

Detroit—Operating Engineers Local 547 hall, 24270 West Seven Mile Rd.

Los Angeles—Auto Workers Local 509 hall, 6508 South Rosemead Blvd., Pico Rivera.

San Francisco—Sailors' Union of the Pacific hall, 450 Harrison St.

Still to be determined is the site where conferees will gather in Knoxville, Tenn.

Site locations were announced earlier for Albuquerque, N.M., Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Salt Lake City, Seattle, Syracuse, N.Y., and Tampa.

Clip & Mail this form to the AFL-CIO

We will send _____ delegates to the 1986 AFL-CIO NATIONAL VIDEOCONFERENCE in _____ (city).

Name of Organization _____

Names of Participants: 1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Union Affiliation (including local number) _____

Address _____

Telephone _____-_____-_____ *Please indicate if you are an officer of an*

☐ Int'l, ☐ State, ☐ Central Body, ☐ Local Union, ☐ Int'l Rep. ☐ or Other.

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Mail to:

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815 16th Street, N.W., Room 200
Washington, D.C. 20006

Labor commends USO on 45th anniversary

Throughout its years of devotion to the men and women of the nation's armed forces, the United Services Organization has earned the support of all Americans, the Executive Council declared.

In a statement saluting the USO on its 45th anniversary, the council noted that the USO had grown from a small coalition of church groups into a worldwide service organization, with programs ranging from care for orphans in the Mediterranean to help for the handicapped in Phildelphia.

The council recalled the beginning of labor's "fruitful relationship with the USO," when union members "poured their skills and energy into the construction of the USO Labor Plaza" in Philadelphia during World War II.

The USO reciprocated, the council declared, by tackling "the multiple problems of relocated workers and their families during the massive defense efforts"—a proud beginning to a 45-year record of service and voluntarism.

EDITORIALS

The State of the Nation

SLOW, UNBALANCED economic growth and job-destroying imports result in continued high levels of unemployment. Federal budget policies and a squeeze on workers' wages add to the hardship and suffering of many Americans.

Except for defense, President Reagan's budget ignores the need to provide government services. Unfortunately, Congress has abdicated its proper role in determining national priorities by discarding a responsible federal budget process in favor of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings straitjacket.

In spite of a booming stock market and skyrocketing executive compensation, unemployment, underemployment and inadequate paychecks continue to plague millions of America's working men and women.

Top business executives got salary and bonus compensation averaging $679,000 in 1985, according to Business Week. This was a 9 percent increase. In contrast, the buying power of workers' paychecks actually dropped in 1985 as a result of low pay raises, no pay raises or pay cuts. This lag in workers' buying power continues in 1986, further harming workers and undermining the strength of the American economy.

FOR THE PAST two years, with a few aberrations, unemployment has remained on the high plateau of 7 to 7.5 percent. Joblessness for black workers has been about 15 percent and for Hispanic workers about 10 percent.

The most recent report of 7.1 percent unemployment represents 8.3 million workers officially without jobs. There are another 1.1 million discouraged workers not counted in the government statistics and another 5.9 million forced to work part time. Thus, there are 15.3 million workers, or approximately 13 percent of the workforce, suffering serious job and income loss.

Only 35 percent of jobless workers are actually getting unemployment insurance payments. Long-term unemployed workers get almost no protection from the UI system. Only 1.3 percent of the 1.25 million workers without jobs for 27 weeks or more are getting unemployment insurance benefits.

Despite this Administration's rosy claims, a wide range of actions continue to support efforts that deal with the economic problems plaguing American workers.

—AFL-CIO Executive Council statement on the national economy, May 21, 1986.

A Hero of Our Time

THE AFL-CIO Executive Council extends to Dr. Andrei Sakharov its warmest greetings and best wishes on his 65th birthday.

We call upon all working men and women to reflect on the heroic and often lonely struggle of this Nobel Peace Laureate, one of the towering moral figures of our century, who is held in isolated exile by an inhumane totalitarian government that has good reason to fear his eloquent defense of universal human rights.

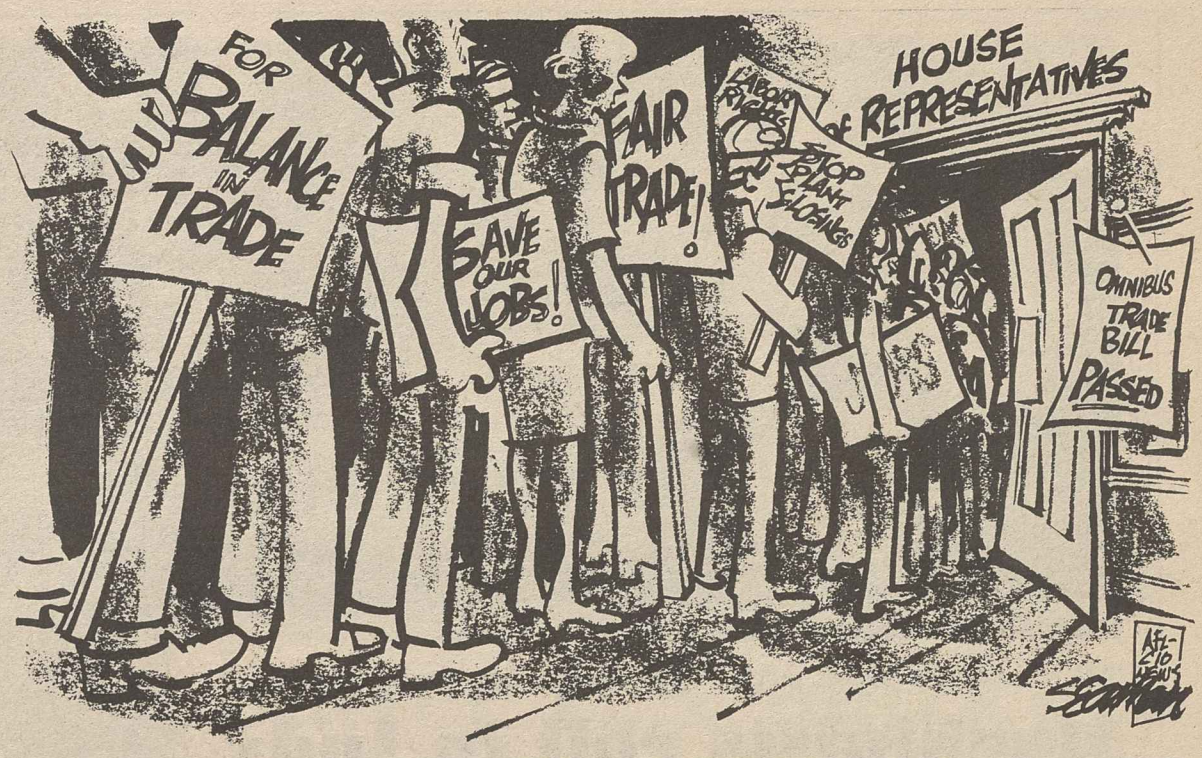
On behalf of millions whose names are unknown to us, he has spoken truth to power, counseling reason against cruelty and hope against despair. He is living proof that even in the bleakest tyranny, democratic values can find a voice that inspires courage and sacrifice.

The voice of this gentle humanitarian cannot be silenced by his tormenters. It can only be muted by the indifference of those in the West who already enjoy in large measure the rights he has championed under the most adverse and trying circumstances.

The AFL-CIO pledges that it will not weary of the many-sided struggle for human rights and democracy. We look forward to the day when Dr. Sakharov, his courageous wife, Yelena Bonner, and all of his family can celebrate his birthday together, wherever they choose to live, free of persecution and harassment.

We will not relent in our determination to bring that day closer.

—From Executive Council statement on May 21, 1986, which was the birthday of Andrei Sakharov.



Washington Window

Involuntary part-time jobs spell poverty for millions

By Press Associates Inc.

Sylvia, 55, works part time in sales and is desperately looking for full-time work. Her part-time job doesn't provide enough income to support herself and her 9-year-old granddaughter. She recently placed the child in foster care, and applied for emergency financial aid to restore her gas and electricity that were shut off recently.

Alec, 29, after a relocation and a long job search, settled for a 28-hour-a-week department store job. His part-time status made him ineligible for health insurance. Alec, who recently underwent emergency surgery, has been promised his job back after his recuperation. Meanwhile, he has no income or savings to pay his medical bills, and is forced to seek temporary public assistance and emergency food.

Both Sylvia and Alec happen to live in the San Francisco Bay area, but their plight is typical of the growing nationwide problem of what the Labor Dept. calls "involuntary part-time" workers, or "part time for economic reasons."

Between 1979 and 1985, the number of involuntary part-timers increased 60 percent, from 3.5 million to 5.6 million. Increases in underemployment occurred in every state in the nation, according to a report compiled from Bureau of Labor Statistics data by the Full Employment Action Council.

Two-year high

In April, those working part time for economic reasons rose 385,000 to about 5.9 million, the highest level in more than two years. Most of the increase occurred among workers whose hours had been cut because of slack work, BLS Commissioner Janet Norwood reported.

During the course of a year, many more workers experience a period of underemployment than the average during a given month or the year as a whole. In 1983, the most recent year for which this data is available, 14.9 million Americans who wanted full-time jobs had to settle for part-time work for a portion of the year.

For many persons, part-time work is an attractive option or is necessitated by family or other circumstances. However, in most states, about one of three part-time workers wants full-time work but cannot find it.

For many of these underemployed, poverty is the result. In 1983, about 20 percent of the involuntary part-timers were in families living in poverty. For black female heads of families who experienced some underemployment during the year, the incidence of poverty was more than 60 percent.

Service trade jobs

Some 62 percent of all involuntary part-time wage and salary workers were employed in the service sector in 1985. Nearly half of these 3.3-million service workers were in wholesale or retail trade. The rest of the underemployed were in manufacturing, 635,000 workers, and in construction, 390,000.

Society also loses when human resources aren't fully utilized. Sar Levitan, director of the Center for Social Policy Studies at George Washington University, noted that involuntary part-timers contribute only half their potential to the gross national product. This shortfall, if corrected, would make a significant dent in the federal deficit, Levitan said.

The official unemployment rate reported each month by the BLS does not include the underemployed, who usually get buried toward the end of news stories if they are mentioned at all. Media feature stories on the jobless rarely include the partially jobless. Thus the problem, and its growing dimensions despite more than three years of economic "recovery," is obscured from public view.

The situation should spur congressional and other policymakers to pursue economic growth and job creation strategies as well as targeted employment and training programs to provide the underemployed full-time work opportunities.

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IAM racing team makes quick tire change on Indy class car.

Machinists roll in Indy 500

Indianapolis—As the world watches 33 drivers respond to the time-honored command, "Gentlemen, start your engines," three of them will be in cars owned by the Machinists.

After seven years on the Indy class circuit, the IAM has its best shot yet for the winner's circle at "the Brickyard."

Qualifying from the IAM racing team for this year's 500-mile race are Josele Garza in car No. 55, Chip Ganassi in No. 59, and Johnny Parsons Jr. in No. 95. Garza, qualifying at 208.939 miles per hour, will start in 19th position; Ganassi at 207.590 is 28th and Parsons at 207.894 is 31st.

Building on its natural link with its members' mechanical expertise, the IAM in 1979 chose a bold path to showcase their skills. That year, the union sponsored two races in Trenton, N.J., and in 1980, bought its first racing machine.

'Shoestring' budget

In racing circles, the IAM effort is operated on a "shoestring" budget, with the costs offset by prize money and sponsors who pay well to have their names on the cars. The cost to the union is around $250,000 a year—the billing of a one-minute, prime-time television ad, the IAM noted.

The racing team, under the direction of IAM national automotive coordinator Andy Kenopensky, has done well in Championship Auto Racing Team competition. It finished in ninth place in 1983 and garnered 12th place spots in 1984 and 1985 among more than 60 regularly competing teams.

Tough breaks

Thus far this year in two of the 16 races that make up the 1986 CART season, the IAM drivers have had more speed than luck.

Garza, 23, who has been on the IAM team for four years, was forced into the wall on the 31st lap at the Dana 200 in Phoenix. A week later at the Long Beach, Calif., Grand Prix, he worked his way up to fourth from a 19th place start. But on the 39th lap, Garza spun out after his car was hit in the right side by Danny Sullivan, last year's Indy 500 winner. Despite the mishap and heavy traffic, he finished the race in seventh place.

Ganassi, 27, finished the Dana 200 in 14th place. He is on the comeback trail after being severely injured in a crash in 1984. This year's Indy race will be Ganassi's fifth try at the Brickyard.

Parsons, 41, a veteran Indy driver, joined the IAM team for this race.

Oil price drop distorts data on economy

Skidding world oil prices continue to distort the nation's economic picture, the AFL-CIO pointed out, as the Labor Dept. reported a four-tenths of 1 percent drop in consumer prices in April.

"Without the sharp decline in prices for gasoline and home heating oil," Research Director Rudy Oswald asserted, "consumer prices would have risen three-tenths of 1 percent last month."

Moreover, Oswald said, energy prices are not expected to continue on a downward course and may be close to bottoming out. He forecast a "moderate but steady upward movement in consumer prices" in the months ahead.

With the exception of energy costs, the Bureau of Labor Statistics noted that all other components of the CPI moved upward in April.

The surge was paced by a steep seven-tenths of 1 percent increase in medical care costs. In the past 12 months, medical costs have risen a sharp 7.5 percent and currently are increasing at an annual rate of 9.4 percent.

Seven-year lag

The drop in consumer prices helped boost real average weekly earnings four-tenths of 1 percent last month, BLS reported. But real take-home pay of the average American worker was still 5 percent below the level of April 1979, federation economist Ann Draper stressed.

In other economic developments:

- The economy grew at a 3.7-percent clip during the first quarter, the Commerce Dept. said, thanks to less expensive oil, a cheaper dollar and lower interest rates. The figure represented an upward revision of five-tenths of 1 percent from preliminary data announced a month ago.
- Prices at the wholesale level fell six-tenths of 1 percent in April, marking the fourth consecutive month of declines.
- U.S. industry operated at 79.3 percent of capacity in April, unchanged from the March level and the lowest operating rate in more than two years. The government blamed the weakness in the industrial sector on the decline in domestic oil and gas production as a result of moderating energy prices.
- Industrial output advanced two-tenths of 1 percent last month as the result of modest gains in the automotive industry and increased production of defense equipment.
- Unemployment rates were above 6 percent in 34 states and 8 percent or higher in 21 states in March, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported. Hardest hit was Louisiana, where the jobless rate reached 13.1 percent. Other states with double-digit unemployment were West Virginia, 11.7 percent; Kentucky and Alaska, 11.3 percent; Mississippi, 11.2 percent, and Wyoming, 10.6 percent.
- Orders for heavy manufactured goods declined eight-tenths of 1 percent in April, the Commerce Dept. reported, a drop of $862 million from the previous month.

Teachers praise Carnegie proposal linking pay to education standards

The Teachers welcomed a proposal to give public school educators higher pay and greater autonomy in exchange for accepting increased responsibility for student performance.

AFT President Albert Shanker also hailed the long-range plan for recommending establishment of a national board to set minimum standards for new entrants into the teaching profession.

Shanker served on the 14-member blue-ribbon panel of leaders from government, business, education and the minority community brought together by the Carnegie Forum on Education & the Economy to draw up a broad program for reform of the nation's public schools.

The report from the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession "heralds a new era in the nation's quest for educational excellence and equity," the AFT leader contended.

It "promises to turn teaching into a full profession, make structural changes in the schools and take giant steps forward in the improvement of learning," he added.

Meets AFT goals

The head of the 620,000-member AFT predicted that members of the union would support the Task Force recommendations. For years, Shanker pointed out, the AFT has supported "rigorous education and training, rigorous standards for entry into the profession, professional salaries, decision-making authority and conditions that promote teaching and student learning." All these goals are addressed in the Carnegie report.

The study's proposals to revamp America's schools were keyed to the changing national economy. "While it was once possible for people to succeed in this society if they were simply willing to work hard, it is increasingly difficult for the poorly educated to find jobs," the Carnegie study pointed out.

"A growing number of permanently unemployed seriously strains our social fabric. A heavily technology-based economy will be unable to invest vast sums to maintain people who cannot contribute to the nation's productivity.

"If our standard of living is to be maintained, if the growth of a permanent underclass is to be averted, if democracy is to function effectively into the next century, our schools must graduate the vast majority of their students with achievement levels long thought possible for only the privileged few."

The study, titled A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century, called for:

- A national board with regional and state components to establish teacher standards and to certify teachers who meet those standards.
- Restructuring schools to provide a professional environment for teachers, freeing them from record-keeping roles and holding them accountable for student progress.
- Providing economic incentives for teachers based on school-wide student performance and backing them up with the technology, services and staff they need to get the job done.
- Making teachers' salaries and career opportunities competitive with those in other professions.
- Requiring a bachelors' degree in the arts and sciences as a prerequisite for the professional study of teaching and developing a graduate teaching degree program that would include internships and residencies in the schools.
- Restructuring the teaching force and introducing a new category of lead teacher to provide active leadership in helping their colleagues attain high teaching standards.
- Mobilizing the nation's resources to prepare minority youngsters for teaching careers.

"The proportion of minority students is increasing," the report noted. "At the same time, the proportion of minority teachers is declining. Schools should be staffed by teachers who reflect the diversity of the nation's racial and cultural heritage. We cannot tolerate a future in which both white and minority children are confronted with almost exclusively white authority figures in the schools."

Interest in a teaching career among entering college freshmen has plummeted 80 percent in the last decade and a half, the Carnegie study noted, at a time when the demand for more teachers is increasing. Some 115,000 new teachers were hired in 1981, and the number is expected to increase to 215,000 annually by 1992. "Between 1986 and 1992," the study said, "1.3 million new teachers will be hired."

IAM bowls over Teamsters in TWA booking agent vote

New York—The Machinists defeated the unaffiliated Teamsters in a representation election for more than 4,300 reservations agents at Trans World Airlines in balloting supervised by the National Mediation Board.

The IAM polled 1,279 votes to 935 for the Teamsters. The unaffiliated Independent Federation of Flight Attendants received 36 votes.

The Machinists' victory came despite the Teamsters' successful effort to exclude the votes of 336 reservations agents who were working as substitute flight attendants because of the IFFA's strike against the carrier.

Immediately after the vote was announced, management asked the NMB to impound those ballots and indicated it might go to court to have them included in the tabulation as the IAM urged from the outset.

The contested ballots could not alter the outcome of the vote, since the IAM would still have a majority even if all the votes went to the Teamsters—something that Machinists' officials called "impossible."

Meanwhile, NMB certified the Machinists as the bargaining agent for the reservations agents.

IAM Airline Coordinator William Scheri attributed the union's victory to its long "track record" at TWA. "We've been on the property for 40 years," Scheri pointed out, and the IAM already represents the carrier's 10,000 mechanics.

In another development, the IFFA asked its 6,000 flight attendants, on strike at TWA since Mar. 7 after failing to reach agreement on a new contract, to return to work unconditionally. Ignoring the plea from the union's leadership, however, the attendants voted almost unanimously to reject management's "final" offer calling for the same concessions the union turned down nearly 11 weeks earlier.

AFL-CIO news

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Rookie of the year

Scott Jarrett, Washington-area poster child for the Muscular Dystrophy Association, steals the action from Professional Athletes President Gene Upshaw and AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue at the annual banquet of the National Football League Players Association. Scott, who is 4 years old, told Upshaw, Donahue and an audience of 1,000 people about his computer hobbies and favorite pets. The NFLPA benefit raised more than $35,000 to help children stricken by muscular dystrophy.

White House links help foreign firms batter U.S. markets

By Gene Zack

Congress launched a far-reaching investigation of nearly a dozen former Reagan Administration officials who left high-level government trade posts to go to work for foreign governments and industries whose trade practices have ravaged the American job market.

The AFL-CIO predicted that the probe into the ethical and legal ramifications of switching sides in the trade war could spur passage of legislation to slam the door shut on such practices.

Since the Reagan Administration took office, imports have wiped out more than 3 million jobs in basic industries. Barriers erected by foreign governments to keep U.S.-made products from their markets have cost another 1.8 million jobs.

Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald denounced as "morally indefensible" the growing practice whereby officials "parlay their previous service with the government and their connections with the Administration into personal enrichment."

Rep. Doug Barnard Jr. (D-Ga.), chairman of a House Government Operations subcommittee, asked the General Accounting Office to conduct the investigation, concentrating on the former Administration executives who have gone to work for foreign textile and apparel interests.

Specifically, Barnard said, the GAO should target the activities of Walter C. Lenahan, former deputy assistant secretary for textiles and apparel in the Commerce Dept., who began representing Hong Kong interests in multilateral textile negotiations three days after leaving his Administration post.

Revolving door

The investigation drew praise from the leaders of two AFL-CIO unions most directly affected by the activities of former high government officials in the textile and apparel field.

President Sol C. Chaikin of the Ladies' Garment Workers denounced the "revolving-door" syndrome afflicting Reagan appointees who move to the private sector and use the information they gained in government service "for personal profit at great cost to the average American citizen."

Lenahan is employed by countries and businesses "whose only desire is to flood the American market" with textile and apparel imports "made by horribly exploited workers who are paid unconscionably low wages," Chaikin charged.

Clothing & Textile Workers President Murray Finley said that, although he does not want to "prejudge the facts" while the case is under investivation, he consideres it "a questionable practice" to accept such employment so soon after leaving government office.

"In far too many instances," Finley declared, "personal gain seems to have replaced honor and service as a hallmark of the Reagan Administration."

In his letter to the GAO asking for the investigation, Barnard expressed concern

Continued on Page 8

Federal unions welcome agreement on pensions

Unions representing federal and postal workers welcomed final congressional approval of a new government retirement system and the end of an impasse that had imposed a double payroll deduction on recently hired employees.

The compromise legislation sets up a three-tier retirement system for government workers hired since Jan. 1, 1984, the date when social security coverage replaced the Civil Service Retirement System as the basic retirement plan for new federal and postal employees.

The AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept. said it was "generally pleased" with the new program.

Bipartisan agreement

John Leyden, director of the PED's federal/postal division, said the Administration's initial reluctance was overcome by the strong bipartisan support for the program. He cited especially the efforts of House Post Office & Civil Service Committee Chairman William D. Ford (D-Mich.) and Senate Civil Service Subcommittee Chairman Ted Stevens (R-Alaska).

As approved by a House-Senate conference committee, the basic social security retirement base will be supplemented by a second tier of civil service pension benefits, including provisions for various forms of early retirement.

The new program will start next January, with employees contributing 1.3 percent of pay in addition to their social security deductions the first year. But that will drop to 0.94 percent in 1988 and to 0.8 percent in 1990.

Fire fighters, air traffic controllers and members of Congress will be entitled to additional early retirement benefits, but will be required to pay a higher percentage of pay into the plan.

A third tier of benefits under the new program will be provided through a tax-deferred thrift plan, similar to the 401-K plan in private employment. The government will contribute 1 percent of payroll for each employee and up to 4 percent additional in matching contributions. Employees can earmark up to 10 percent of their pay for the thrift plan.

Workers now covered by the Civil Service Retirement System may stay under their present plan, which is entirely separate from social security, or choose to join the new system. Those who stay under the

Continued on Page 3

Jobless aid cuts shut out millions from benefit rolls

The unemployment insurance system is failing millions of America's jobless and the situation is worsening, the AFL-CIO charged at House hearings.

There's blame to share for the "scandalous" deterioration of the unemployment compensation system, James N. Ellenberger testified for the AFL-CIO. He cited the "callous" decision of Congress and the Administration not to renew the federal supplemental compensation program when it expired last year and the deliberate underfunding of the insurance program by many states in order to keep benefits low.

Ellenberger, an assistant director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, traced the slippage of unemployment insurance coverage over a 10-year period. In 1975, he noted, an average of 75 percent of the unemployed were receiving benefits. By last October, the percentage had tumbled to 26.6 percent.

Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), whose

Continued on Page 4

Chile regime assailed on rights abuses

Santiago, Chile—Denouncing the government of Gen. Augusto Pinochet for trampling on "fundamental human, political and social rights," leaders of the world's free trade unions pledged to continue to work with Chilean labor to "restore peace, freedom and social justice."

In a strong demonstration of support for workers victimized by the military dictatorship, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions sent a "solidarity mission" here to meet with representatives of labor, the Catholic Church, political parties and the press to explore ways to reverse the policies of the Pinochet regime.

The mission was headed by ICFTU Gen. Sec. John Vanderveken. Representing the AFL-CIO was Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, who was accompanied by William Doherty Jr., executive director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

The labor delegation strongly condemned as "disgusting and intolerable" the Pinochet government's denial of freedom to Chile's workers and their unions and the "violent oppression" of union leaders and members "who only seek to exercise peacefully their rights to protest and dissent" in the struggle for justice.

The military regime, the ICFTU officials charged, has not only curtailed union activities but has refused to "satisfy their minimal demands" and has imposed an "inhumane labor law" that is contrary to the conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Organization.

Mistaken policies

At the same time, they criticized the "mistaken financial and economic policies" of the Pinochet government, pointing out that they have led to a soaring international debt, chronic unemployment and underemployment, impoverishment of the Chilean people, widespread malnutrition and the dismantling of schools and hospitals.

The ICFTU delegation praised such Chilean organizations as the National Accord and the Assembly of Civility which are leading the struggle for democracy.

Expressing concern over "unjustified attacks" on Solidarity Vicariate, a leading human rights organization, the mission called for the immediate release of two of its officials—Dr. Ramiro Olivares, a physician, and Gustavo Villalobos, a lawyer—who, the ICFTU charged, have been "victims of the repression and revenge" of the military government.

Before leaving the country, the ICFTU accepted applications for affiliation from Chile's two major groups of democratic trade unions—the Confederation of Democratic Workers and the Coordinating Committee of the Chilean Labor Movement. The applications will be acted on at the ICFTU's November executive committee meeting.

Other members of the commission included Gen. Sec. Luis Anderson of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), the ICFTU's branch in the Western Hemisphere; Gen. Sec. Nicholas Redondo of Spain's UGT, and Richard Martin and Rick Jackson of the Canadian Labor Congress.

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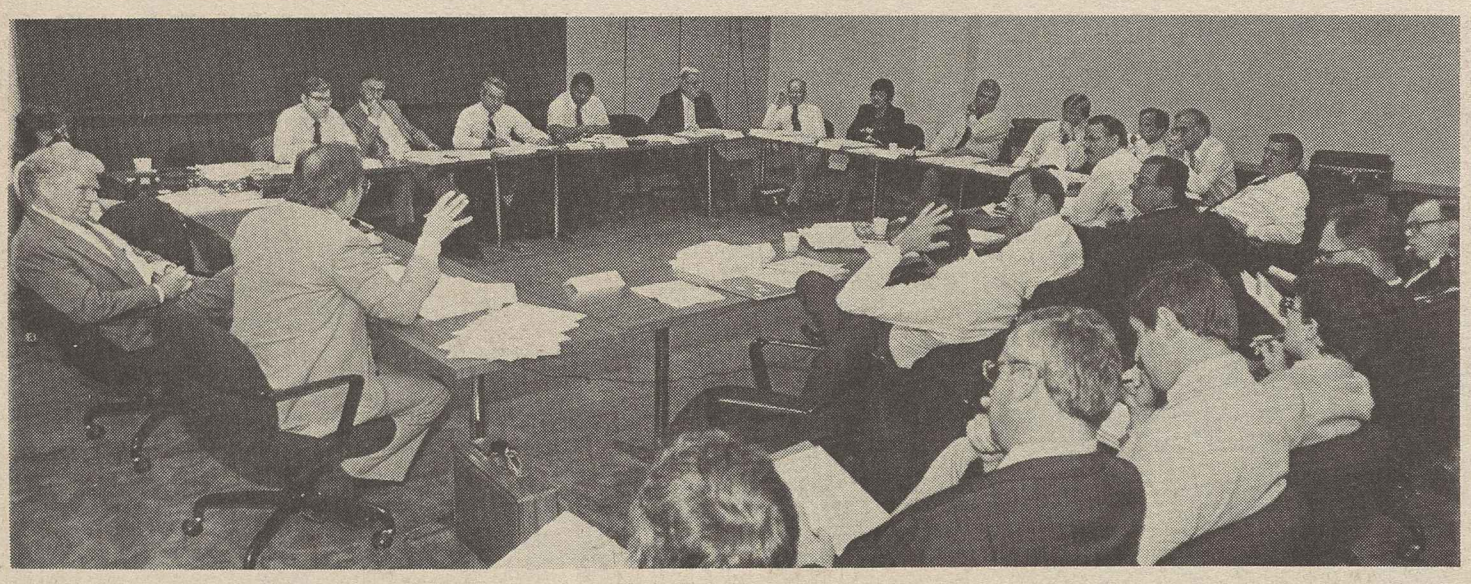

Impact of dislocation

The problems of workers whose jobs are shot out from under them by foreign trade and technological change are discussed by a Labor Dept. task force made up of representatives of government, labor, industry, academia and the economic research community. Labor officials attending the third in a year-long series of sessions included President Howard D. Samuel of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., Vice President Joyce Miller of the Clothing & Textile Workers, Vice President Leon Lynch of the Steelworkers, Vice President Don Ephlin of the Auto Workers, Executive Vice President Jay Foreman of the Food & Commercial Workers and Tom Hickman, Manufacturing Dept. director of the Electrical Workers.

Steelworkers negotiate pact at Bethlehem

Pittsburgh—The Steelworkers reached a tentative contract settlement with the Bethlehem Steel Corp. that would give workers company stock and a profit-sharing plan in exchange for reductions in wages and benefits. The agreement also includes a pledge by the steelmaker to reinvest the savings it realizes in steel operations.

The 37-month agreement is subject to ratification by the membership, with results expected June 16, the union said. If accepted, the contract would replace an agreement set to expire July 31. Some 30,000 USWA members at Bethlehem plants in four states—Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York and Indiana—would be covered by the new pact.

The settlement calls for a "dollar-for-dollar" repayment of workers' concessions through a combination of a profit-sharing pool and new stock offerings. The union also won an "experimental gain-sharing plan" that provides quarterly bonuses based on quality and productivity increases along with guarantees that will sharply limit contracting-out at Bethlehem mills.

USWA negotiators agreed to pay cuts that would lower the average hourly wage by about 99 cents, with a corresponding 99-cent decrease in benefits. The pact would suspend cost-of-living adjustments and waive three holidays, but monthly pension benefits would go up $1 for each year of service with additional improvements in survivors' benefits.

Benefits improved

The union also won improved major medical insurance coverage, a prescription drug plan and health care cost-containment measures to preserve benefits.

In addition to the basic steel agreement, the USWA and Bethlehem negotiators also reached a settlement covering about 800 office and technical workers.

The Bethlehem accord is the third in the union's efforts to win early agreements with the six major steelmakers whose contracts expire July 31. Settlements earlier this year with LTV Corp. and National Steel Corp. provided for similar "dollar-for-dollar" reimbursement for wage and benefit reductions, along with incentives for greater productivity and pension increases.

The USWA is continuing its negotiations with Armco Inc. and Inland Steel Co. in efforts to reach an early settlement and will meet with U.S. Steel Corp. for the first time on June 1.

Maritime unions back Caribbean organizing plan

A drive to halt the erosion of jobs in the maritime industry and to organize workers on "runaway-flag" vessels has been launched by union leaders from 13 Caribbean countries and the United States.

At a three-day conference in Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad & Tobago, held under the auspices of the Caribbean Maritime & Aviation Council, delegates ratified a sweeping resolution aimed at protecting the rights and securing work opportunities for unionized American and Caribbean longshoremen and seagoing crews.

Delegates applauded the recent program instituted by the International Transport Workers' Federation establishing a nine-member team to help organize crews aboard U.S.-owned vessels that register under foreign flags to avoid American wages, manning scales and safety standards. Longshoremen's President Thomas W. Gleason is vice president of the worldwide secretariat.

The CMAC announced plans for a series of meetings with the ITF to monitor progress in this area, and Gleason indicated that the resolutions and recommendations emerging from the conference would be presented to the secretariat's June meeting.

Acknowledging that automation and containerization are "irreversible," the resolution insisted that dockworkers share in the benefits secured by the introduction of new cargo-handling methods.

As the first step toward unifying and strengthening their bargaining position, the union leaders called for a common agreement covering all dockworkers in the Caribbean "with special emphasis on containerization." Such agreements, delegates stressed, should have a common expiration date.

In addition to the host country of Trinidad & Tobago and the United States, Caribbean countries represented at the meeting included Antigua, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Curacao, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts, St. Lucia and St. Vincent.

Texas high court ruling cracks anti-labor bias in RTW law

Austin, Tex.—The state supreme court ordered the reinstatement of Farm Workers' member Maria Guadulupe Vasquez to her former job with Bannworths Inc., from which she was fired in 1982 after complaints about sanitation facilities brought county health officials to the fields.

The Farm Workers hailed the ruling as a "significant victory" for the state's field workers. UFW Texas Director Rebecca Flores Harrington said, "This is one of the few times we have been able to use that law we hate—the 'right-to-work' law—in favor of workers. Obviously, this is a victory for union members. Workers don't have to be afraid to belong to unions."

Although the UFW doesn't have a contract at Bannworths, it assisted Vasquez in the case. Harrington noted that the health department officials didn't cite the grower for violating the field sanitation standard. "No grower has ever been cited in violation of these regulations," Harrington said.

Abuse of discretion

The state high court remanded the case, stating that the lower court had "abused its discretion" by refusing to issue an injunction ordering that Vasquez be rehired.

Vasquez was employed by Bannworths, the largest grower in Hidalgo County, for several seasons each year from 1973 to 1982, working five to six days a week for up to 10 hours a day at minimum wage.

In early 1982, Vasquez became an active member of the Farm Workers and told UFW representatives that "all employees were required to share a common drinking cup and that portable restroom facilities provided for the workers in the fields were filthy." On Nov. 5, 1982, county health department officials inspected the field toilets at Bannworths, and later that day Vasquez was fired.

A jury found that Vasquez was fired because of her union membership and her complaints about the toilet facilities. It determined that Bannworths would not rehire her because of her union membership.

The trial judge, however, only provided Vasquez with $3,000 in lost wages for the period from her dismissal until she filed suit and issued an injunction against future discrimination, conditioned on Bannworths voluntarily rehiring Vasquez.

The Corpus Christi Court of Appeals affirmed the trial court's decision, ruling that "it was not an abuse of discretion for the trial court to refuse to order Bannworths to rehire Vasquez."

But the state supreme court ruled that because discrimination against Vasquez would continue, it is "mandatory for the trial court to issue an injunction which would remedy the violation" of the Texas right-to-work law, which prohibits an employer from denying a person the right to work on account of membership or non-membership in a labor union.

The court held that "the injunction issued by the trial court does not alleviate the violation that occurred in this case." It noted that "when faced with the twin findings of firing because of impermissible discrimination and a refusal to rehire on that basis, as well as a request by the plaintiff for reinstatement, we can see no reason which would justify a court's refusal to order reinstatement."

20 cities set for June 14 linkup

With just two weeks until the AFL-CIO's 1986 regional conference series goes "on the air," local central bodies hosting the meetings are firming up arrangements that will link union members in 20 cities with federation officials in Washington.

Union halls designated as conference sites have been specially equipped with portable satellite dishes and telephone hookups to allow participants to watch the program on large-screen television, joining in discussions and activities throughout the day. The program will be on the air about seven hours. Starting time will be 11 a.m. Eastern Daylight Time, 10 a.m. Central Time, 9 a.m. Mountain Time and 8 a.m. Pacific Time.

Conference locations are:

Albuquerque, N.M., Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Knoxville, Tenn., Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Seattle, Syracuse, N.Y., and Tampa.

Council modifies policy on Article XX

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has modified a 1981 policy statement dealing with enforcement of the no-raiding provisions of Article XX of the federation's constitution in view of the new procedures adopted earlier this year for determining organizing responsibilities.

Still in effect is the provision of the 1981 statement that gives an affiliate that has lost representation rights for a bargaining unit a five-year period in which it can seek to reestablish the bargaining unit without competition from any other AFL-CIO union.

But the council deleted a section that allowed the union involved to seek additional three-year extensions of this Article XX protection, citing two reasons:

First, the council noted, a new mechanism exists for determining whether one of several interested affiliates should have an exclusive opportunity to organize a particular unit. In that determination it noted, the impartial umpire can take into account the claims of a union that had formerly represented the workers in the unit.

Furthermore, it said, experience has shown that extension of Article XX protection beyond the original five years serves little purpose. "Where a union has not recaptured its lost representation rights during the initial five-year period, it is unlikely that an extension will change the situation," the council noted."

Still in effect, however, is a provision that permanently bars any union that brought about the loss of another union's bargaining unit in violation of Article XX from seeking at any time to gain representation rights for that unit.

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Reagan's failed policy

U.S. market flooded with European steel

Branding the Reagan Administration's attempts to restrain steel imports a "failure," the Steelworkers and the industry accused the European Community of dumping "a whole year's worth" of stainless steel into the United States in the first quarter of 1986.

The European Community "crammed" 38,000 tons of stainless sheet and strip steel products into this country between January and March to capture 15.4 percent of the domestic market, USWA President Lynn R. Williams and Richard P. Simmons, chief executive officer of Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corp. charged.

This level of penetration was nearly four times the 3.99-percent limit negotiated by the Administration five years ago.

Williams said the total number of jobs generated by special steel production nosedived from 45,000 in 1979 to 34,000 today as the industry "continues to lose market share to a rising tide of imports from an ever-increasing number of foreign suppliers," many of which, he said, are either government owned or subsidized.

The union and management officials joined in a call for more effective enforcement of existing trade laws and enactment of "new and stronger" measures to prevent other countries from using the United States as "a dumping ground."

Meanwhile, the Steelworkers warned that the continued decline in U.S. steel-producing capacity under the impact of imports poses a grave threat to the nation's ability to "sustain a mobilization effort" in case of a national emergency.

USWA Vice President George Becker called on the Reagan Administration to take "the crucial steps needed to prevent further erosion of the country's steel industry," citing reports from the Federal Emergency Management Agency showing a production shortfall of 18 percent from the level necessary to deal with an emergency.

"The closing of American steel mills is rapidly limiting our ability to produce the required amounts of particular types of steel necessary for our national defense," Becker warned.

Approximately 10.4 million tons of steel plate are required annually for mobilization efforts, he said, with FEMA reporting that the total domestic tonnage dropped to 9.2 million tons by 1983. Projections indicate a continuing decline to approximately 8.6 million tons today.

Crisis spreads

As part of an ongoing effort to focus national attention on the crisis in domestic steelmaking, the USWA brought a contingent of union members and community representatives from Bethlehem, Pa., to Washington to meet with congressional representatives and Pentagon officials to plead the case for action to save the import-battered steel industry.

Bethlehem's ties with steel and national security are indicative of the nationwide steel crisis, the USWA explained. During World War II, some 27,000 people worked in that city's steel mills; today the city's industry provides jobs for only 4,100 steelworkers.

Steel plate is a necessary component in any national defense plan, the union explained, because of its use in tanks, ships and ammunition as well as such civilian applications as pipelines, storage tanks, railroad cars and industrial machinery which are keys to any mobilization effort.

Becker said that while Defense Dept. analysts have "expressed concern" about the continued decline in the domestic industry's capacity to meet mobilization needs, the State Dept. maintains the shortfall can be made up by imports from "friendly" countries.

Soviet output up

At a time when the nation's capacity to produce steel continues to erode, Becker said, production in Soviet bloc countries is on the rise. Crude steel output for the United States fell from 117 million tons in 1975 to 87 million tons last year, while the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries increased their production from 245 million tons to 301 million.

The USWA was joined in presenting its case at a Washington press conference by Reps. John Murtha (D-Pa.), Don Ritter (R-Pa.) and Samuel Stratton (D-N.Y.). The three House members expressed concern over the economic decay of the steel industry and its grave effect on the nation's security.

Federal workers welcome accord on pension plan

Continued from Page 1

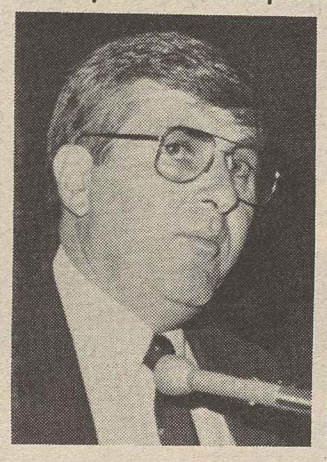
civil service system will be able to put up to 5 percent of their pay into the new thrift plan, but will not receive any matching contributions from the government.

The conferees agreed in principle on the outlines of the new system this year, but the Administration initially protested that it would be too costly. Under temporary legislation, employees hired after Dec. 31, 1983, had been paying 8.45 percent of their pay for combined social security and civil service retirement coverage. But when that temporary law expired on May 1, their deductions shot up to 14 percent of payroll.

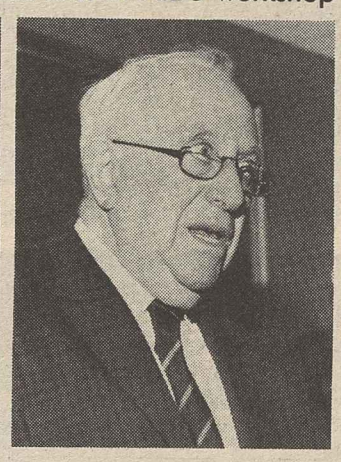
Under the conference agreement that both the House and Senate approved by voice vote before starting a Memorial Day holiday recess, the 8.45 percent rate is reinstated retroactively, and employees will receive a refund for amounts above that which were deducted from their pay.

The estimated cost of the new program to the government in its role as an employer is about 23 percent of payroll, lower than the 25 percent cost of the present system but higher than the 20 percent the Reagan Administration initially had set as the maximum.

Participants discuss precautions in AIDS workshop sponsored by PED.



John Leyden



Dr. Irving Selikoff

Al Bilik

Public Employees explore AIDS treatment safeguards

New York—Public employees who come in contact with AIDS victims deserve a safer workplace and adequate information about the deadly disease, a day-long conference sponsored by the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept. emphasized.

Al Bilik, executive director of PED's state/local division told the more than 200 union leaders attending the conference that there needs to be a greater understanding and compassion for AIDS victims and for "all of you who put your own health on the line every day, day-in-day-out."

Bilik stressed that there needs to be more information on AIDS put out "in the labor movement and indeed throughout society," and promised that PED would do its best to help provide that information.

Executive Director John Leyden of the department's federal/postal division said public service workers "must be people who approach AIDS without prejudice or misinformation. We've been successful if this conference dispels some of the myths and the bogeyman aspects of the disease in the workplace."

Dr. Harold Jaffe, head of the AIDS program at the U.S. Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, told conferees that although current medical evidence indicates the risk of infection through occupational exposure is slim, workers should follow basic hygienic practices. He suggested that health care workers who treat AIDS victims wear masks and eye protection and handle needles and scalpels with care.

The Centers for Disease Control, however, came in for some criticism from Jordan Barab, safety and health coordinator for the State, County & Municipal Employees. Barab accused CDC of failing to realistically address the conditions in mental health facilities and prisons.

"CDC doctors have little idea of what goes on in the workplace," Barab charged. He cited problems of bites, needlesticks, and throwing of human wastes as typical behavior in those settings. "CDC needs reality training from the rank and file to prepare realistic guidelines" on handling AIDS, he said.

Dr. Stephen Schultz, deputy commissioner of the New York City Dept. of Health, told the participants that widespread testing of workers for AIDS is no easy solution to the problem.

Schultz pointed out that the tests can be flawed and their utilization goes a long way toward unfairly "medicalizing the workplace." He stressed that the issue of whether the screening is done as a public health measure or to isolate those infected by AIDS must be settled before testing programs are used.

Legal questions

The legal questions raised as government seeks solutions to the AIDS problem were recounted by Rhonda Weingarten, counsel to the president of the New York United Federation of Teachers.

The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to rule on whether AIDS is a handicap, Weingarten noted, and until then, occupational rules relating to AIDS will vary. "Union members do have some protections," she pointed out. "Their collective bargaining agreements offer a measure of security against arbitrary rules concerning AIDS."

Five afternoon workshops were tailored to the broad occupational categories represented at the conference. Participants attended sessions on health care, correction and mental health, police and public safety, schools, and hazardous wastes disposal.

Dr. Irving Selikoff, an occupational disease specialist, encouraged conferees to work with the Occupational Safety & Health Administration, to strengthen labor's ties with other safety and health groups, to improve union health programs and to help develop international standards for hazardous materials.

Studies Center schedule for June, July

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies will offer nine institutes and workshops in June and July. The schedule:

Labor Law for Organizers, June 8-13—A review of laws governing private sector organizing, election procedures, and legal issues in workplace tactics and corporate campaigns.

Individual Rights in the Workplace, June 8-13—An examination of the union role in protecting workers' rights on polygraphs, pre-hiring tests and discipline and discharge cases.

Negotiating for Employee Benefits, June 15-20—An institute for union negotiators focusing on pensions, health insurance, group insurance and deferred income programs.

Occupational Health & Safety, June 22-27—A program on effective ways to deal with physical hazards in the workplace.

Alcohol & Drugs: Standards of Discipline & Discharge, June 29-July 3—An advanced course on standards for employer discipline and discharge actions in grievance arbitration hearings.

TV: The Cool Medium, June 29-July 2—A workshop to coach union leaders on working with television cameras and reporters.

Education Techniques for Training Organizers, July 7-18—An institute, cosponsored by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Education, to aid experienced organizers in developing training programs for new organizers.

Public Communications: How to Work with the Media, July 13-17—A workshop for business representatives and local union officers on using the media to improve labor's image.

Organizing Techniques, July 20-25—A program covering organizing basics, including measures to counteract employers' anti-union tactics.

About 70 union leaders enrolled in the center's college degree program will be on campus July 27-Aug. 1 for their regular semi-annual week-in-residence. College degree alumni will meet July 30 and 31.

Affiliates using the campus in July for their own training conferences are: Food & Commercial Workers, June 1-6; Teachers, June 1-6; Service Employees, June 1-6; Frontlash, June 8-11; Operating Engineers, June 15-20; Flight Attendants, June 15-20; Dept. of Organization & Field Services, June 22-24; Graphic Communications Union, June 22-27; Dept. of Economic Research, June 29-July 1.

The Labor Heritage Foundation is sponsoring the Great Labor Song Exchange for union troubadours June 8-10.

Starting June 15, the American Institute for Free Labor Development will tutor 40 trade union women from South and Central American in a five-week course on leadership and political education.

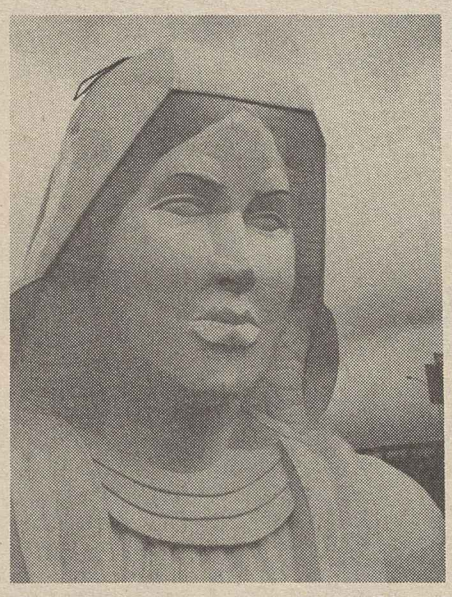
More information on labor studies programs is available from Robert Pleasure, executive director, George Meany Center, 10000 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md. 20903. Phone 301/431-6400.

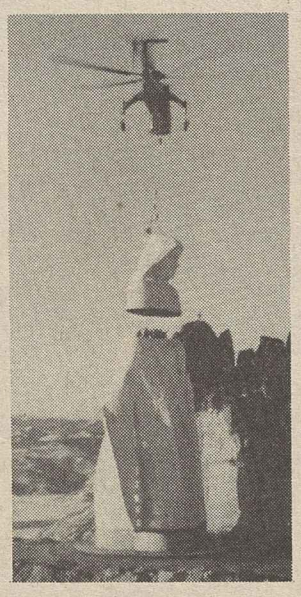
Calvin Johnson joins legislative department

Calvin P. Johnson has been appointed an AFL-CIO legislative representative and will specialize in health care, social security and unemployment insurance issues, Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten announced.

Johnson, 39, has been an attorney for health care groups and has held both federal and state legislative posts.

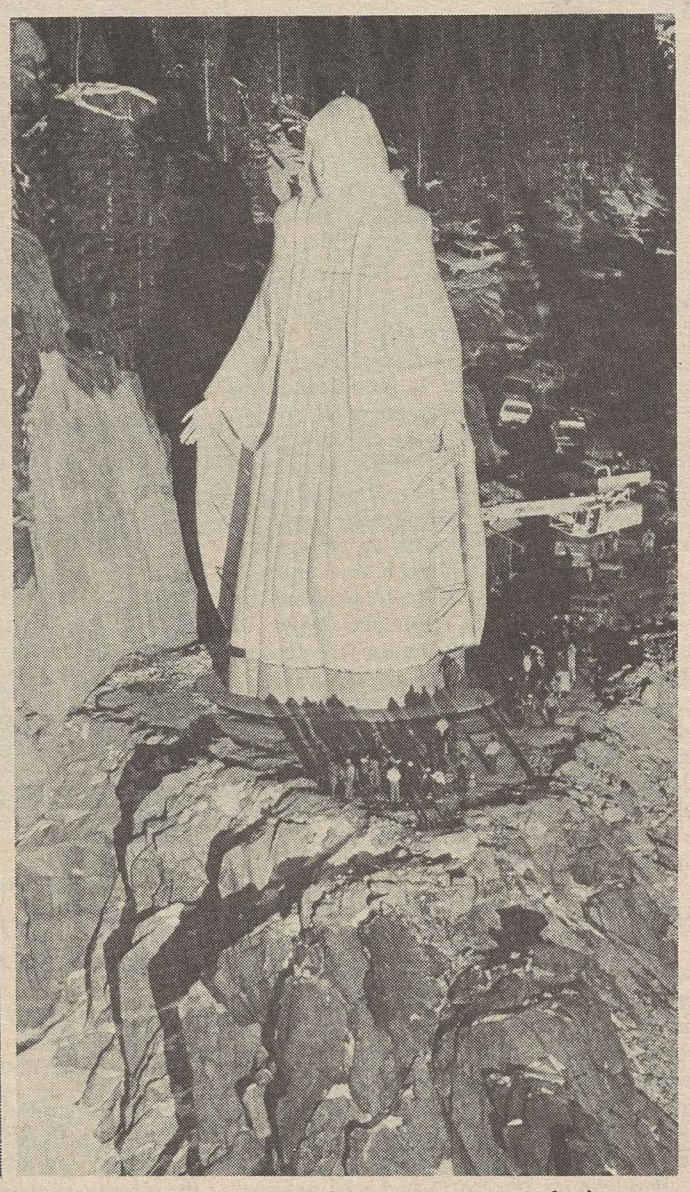
After graduation from Stanford University Law School in 1971, Johnson served as urban affairs counsel to the governor of Missouri, legal adviser to the chairman of the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and senior legislative assistant to former Sen. Richard S. Schweiker (R-Pa.).





Careful placement of the head is completed.

Union volunteers signal topping out.



Four-day effort is capped by a moment of silence.

Union benediction for 'Lady of Rockies'

Butte, Mont.—High on a cliff in the Rocky Mountains overlooking this city in a silent vigil stands a nine-story statue of the Virgin Mary—a product of the vision on one man and the efforts of many union members here.

Just as New York is home to the "Lady of the Harbor," Butte is now home to "Our Lady of the Rockies." As a tribute for the recovery of his terminally ill wife, Robert O'Bill of the Electrical Workers wanted to show his gratitude to God by building a simple, five-foot statue of the Madonna.

His idea blossomed into a community project that took six years to complete. The result is an 80-ton statue that stands atop the East Ridge Mountain—8,510 feet up. Resting on a base of 425 tons of concrete, she is secured to the mountain by four six-foot square girders driven into the solid granite of the mountain.

O'Bill's idea was expanded by Leroy Lee of the Machinists who designed the ironwork in the statue. The project eventually involved the citizens of Butte in softball and bowling tournaments, church bazaars, school projects and road races, all in an effort to raise the funds for the construction.

The site was donated by a local company. The National Forest Service aided in providing the two-mile road up the mountain. Access to the mountaintop was limited and concrete had to be mixed at the site. Pat O'Boyle of the Cement Finishers said that 1,200 bags of cement was mixed at the construction area and that trucks hauling sand and gravel up the mountain could only be half filled because the road was so steep.

The National Guard provided a helicopter used during the erection of the statue. Most of the materials was donated, as were the thousands of hours of work by numerous union craftsmen in building "Our Lady."

The Iron Workers erected the finished structure over a four-day period. Aided by a large Sikorsky helicopter, each section was flown to the mountaintop and gingerly placed one atop the other.

The union workers joined hands and said a prayer as the final segment of the statue—a six-ton head—was brought to the top. When the last piece was secured, the Iron Workers members decorated it with the Montana state flag and the traditional evergreen tree—to top off the job.

Ron James, Iron Workers local business agent, stressed that "this was a very special project for our local, for the town of Butte, and the state of Montana. It gave the union members the recognition for our craftsmanship and the special skills we have on projects of this type."

"It just made a person feel so good—especially when it was done," said Iron Worker member Jim Keto. "I walked around the front of the statue and looked up. I never realized how beautiful she was."

Iron Worker Ray Nelson added, "It's a once-in-a-lifetime experience. That's something that will be there when I'm gone," and Tom Vega stressed, "It has been an inspiration for the city and a morale booster for our union."

Among the volunteers working on the project were members of the Boilermakers, Carpenters, Cement Finishers, Electrical Workers, Laborers, Machinists, Miners, Operating Engineers, Painters, Plumbers & Pipefitters, State, County & Municipal Employees, and the unaffiliated Teamsters.

The union workers will likely continue a strong involvement in the project as it continues to expand. Planned for the site now are a chapel, garden and research center.

Cuts demolish safety net of aid to jobless

Continued from Page 1

Government Operations subcommittee called the hearing, said he is concerned with the plight of workers whose jobs have been permanently wiped out at a time when programs to help the long-term unemployed have been drastically reduced.

Ellenberger told the panel that "the AFL-CIO has tried in every possible way to arouse the conscience of Congress and the nation to the tragic plight of the uncompensated unemployed and their families."

Because of changes in the method of triggering the federal-state program of extended benefits, he testified, only 15,800 out of 1.2 million long-term jobless received unemployment compensation payments last month.

Preventing jobless spread

While the "first goal" of the unemployment insurance system is to provide partial income replacement for workers who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own, Ellenberger noted that it also helps prevent unemployment from creating new unemployment, especially in areas of high joblessness.

"It is not only the jobless who benefit," he stressed. "It is employers and their businesses, the communities in which the unemployed live and ultimately the entire nation."

States are under constant pressure to toughen eligibility standards and hold down benefit levels to avoid draining unemployment insurance reserves, Ellenberger noted.

The continued "underfunding is not accidental," Ellenberger told the subcommittee. "It is the single most important factor operating within the UI system to keep benefits low and access to those benefits difficult or impossible for the majority of the unemployed."

Shrinking wage base

Ellenberger pointed to the shrinking wage base for the unemployment insurance payroll tax which funds the system. In 1939, he noted, 98 percent of wages were subject to the UI tax. Now it's only 36 percent.

"The formula is to keep the program underfunded in relation to needs so that inadequate outlays can be kept in balance with inadequate revenues," Ellenberger charged.

In the face of the inadequacy of benefits, Ellenberger noted, the Labor Dept. is going ahead with a program to audit unemployment compensation claims paid by states and has put off until sometime in the future a comparable check on claims that were denied.

The priority concern in the administration of the unemployment insurance program, he suggested, should be "the vast numbers of unemployed who are without any protection at all."

Global studies confirm worker VDT hazards

Work involving video display terminals is hazardous to workers' health, said labor representatives who just returned from an international conference on VDTs, as they called for manufacturers to shield emission of magnetic-field radiation suspected of causing abnormalities in births among some users of the machines.

At a news conference, President Karen Nussbaum and Executive Director Jackie Ruff of Service Employees District 925 and Newspaper Guild Research Director Dave Eisen discussed studies presented at the four-day International Scientific Conference on Work with Display Units, held in Stockholm. The studies show VDTs can cause eyestrain, muscle pain, stress and possibly affect pregnant women, the union safety specialists reported.

Nussbaum, who is also executive director of 9to5, National Association of Working Women, cited a Swedish study which showed mice exposed to pulsed magnetic fields had a higher rate of deformed fetuses. The researcher, Dr. Lars-Erik Paulsson, recommended that VDTs be shielded to block these magnetic fields because "at this point we don't know whether VDT work is completely safe or not," she said.

While long-term research continues on pregnancy-related effects of VDTs, Nussbaum said, protections from low-frequency electromagnetic fields must be provided. She pointed out that the technology is now available to protect workers from this kind of radiation.

Changes made

She told reporters that the Swedish Minister of Labor had limited computer terminal purchases earlier this year to only those providing shielding from magnetic fields. Although manufacturers decried the move, they were able to provide such units at no additional cost within a month of the announced change.

Key among VDT studies being done is one being conducted by Dr. Irving Selikoff and other researchers at Mt. Sinai Medical Center in New York along with 9to5 and SEIU, Nussbaum said. In that study, thousands of VDT users will be followed for a one-year period through questionnaires to see if there is a connection between VDTs use and a higher rate of miscarriages.

Concerning VDT-caused stress, Nussbaum said there was agreement at the conference that rest breaks could "greatly reduce" worker stress.

Eisen reported that 36 trade union representatives from eight countries attended the conference adopted a statement calling for "adequate protections immediately" for VDT users to shield against very low-frequency radiation. The statement urged that trade unions insist that manufacturers in their countries "develop similar or other effective shielding" for new terminals and for retrofitting older ones.

The trade unionists insisted that VDT operators be "universally granted the right to transfer from VDT work when they become pregnant."

Ruff charged that "millions and millions of workers are still being asked to absorb the risks of a developing technology" at a time when the dangers could largely be eliminated.

She pointed out that the Campaign for VDT Safety, jointly sponsored by SEIU and 9to5, has helped win regulatory action and legislation that sets safety standards in states and cities across the nation. Thus far, seven states and the District of Columbia offer VDT protections, and legislation has been introduced in about 20 others, Ruff said. Legislation continues to "be the most effective way to ensure safe working conditions for all VDT operators."

RTW backlash felt in Idaho primaries

Boise, Idaho—Advocates of an Idaho "right-to-work" law went down to defeat in four Republican primary races.

Candidates supported by compulsory open-shop forces lost their bids for nomination in statewide races for lieutenant governor and state treasurer and in two legislative contests.

State Rep. Myron Jones, house sponsor of the "right-to-work" proposition that will be on the November ballot, was defeated in his bid to move up to the state senate.

Formaldehyde rule

Unions score delays on curbing cancer risk

By Arlee C. Green

Union witnesses called on the Reagan Administration to end its five-year campaign to water down a long-overdue comprehensive health standard on formaldehyde, a cancer-causing chemical to which millions of workers are exposed.

Testifying at Occupational Safety & Health Administration hearings, labor safety specialists cited recent human studies on formaldehyde as adding "even further proof" that workers need greater protection.

The current proposal "indicates OSHA's continued willingness to bow to pressure of the formaldehyde industry," AFL-CIO safety specialist Margaret Seminario said, noting OSHA twice denied union petitions for an emergency formaldehyde standard. It took court action, she said, to wrest a proposed standard from the agency.

An early version of the proposal made clear the cancer-causing potential of the chemical, Seminario said. But the version that emerged from the White House Office of Management & Budget included industry-suggested alternatives that formaldehyde only be regulated as an irritant, with no short-term exposure limit or other protective measures imposed.

The current rule limits exposures to 3 parts formaldehyde per million parts air. The proposed measure would lower that to 1.5 ppm if the chemical is considered an irritant, as the Formaldehyde Institute wishes, or 1 ppm if it is a carcinogen.

"Available scientific evidence requires that formaldehyde be considered a potential human carcinogen under OSHA's cancer policy," Seminario said. More than 10 studies of workers exposed to formaldehyde have shown "some finding of increased cancer risk," including cancers of the brain, lung, liver and digestive system, she said.

A study sponsored by the Formaldehyde Institute is being touted by the industry and OMB as proving formaldehyde is not a carcinogen, even though it showed an excess number of lung cancers among workers with more than 20 years' exposure to the chemical.

The Auto Workers and the Clothing & Textile Workers told OSHA hearing officers that the study, conducted by the National Cancer Institute, was severely flawed. UAW Industrial Hygienist Rafael Moure contended that many of the jobs and exposure levels experienced by the workers were misclassified, especially in the highest exposure categories.

Intolerable hazards

UAW Vice President Marc Stepp said exposures at the current legally permissible level are "intolerably hazardous." He said exposures in foundries and other workplaces can be reduced using existing technology and involving modest cost.

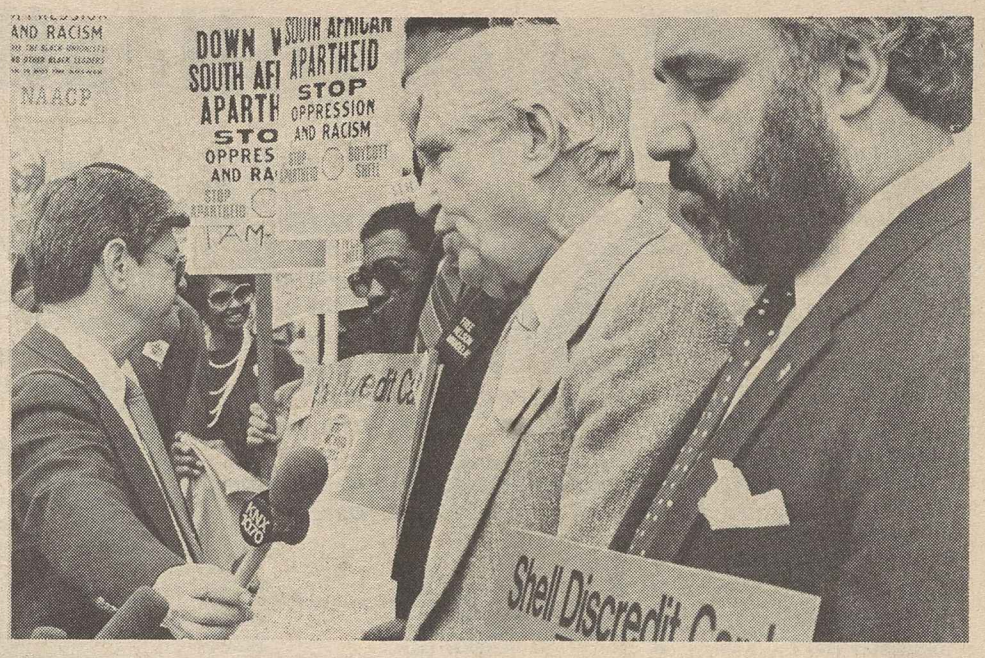
ACTWU Sec.-Treas. Jack Sheinkman said one million apparel workers are exposed to low levels of formaldehyde from the handling of permanent-press cloth, including 250,000 whose exposures are high enough to trigger coverage by the proposed standard. A short-term limit is needed, he said, and the fact that one still does not exist "clearly indicates that OSHA is allowed to function only at OMB's sufferance."

ACTWU Safety Director Eric Frumin explained that a recent study of garment workers by the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health found a nearly six-fold increase in cancers of the mouth and throat, and increases in all cancers among workers with more than 10 years' employment in workplaces where they are exposed to formaldehyde.

A Paperworkers' survey found that in every sector of the paper industry, an exposure limit of 1 ppm is "not only feasible, but has already been attained by a majority of companies." UPIU safety specialist Clare Sullivan urged OSHA to address concerns over various types of formaldehyde-laden dust that do not release the chemical in the air, but rather in workers once they have breathed the air.

Carpenters Safety Director Joseph L. Durst Jr. presented a copy of an OSHA inspection report charging a firm with a serious violation for peak exposures in excess of 20 ppm. Under the proposed rule, it would not be a violation.

Furniture Workers safety specialist Jamie Cohen said that "there is no safe threshold limit for a carcinogen and workers need a comprehensive standard."



Out of gas

Los Angeles AFL-CIO Executive Sec.-Treas. William Robertson calls for all-out boycott of Shell Oil Co. products at a recent rally in Los Angeles. Robertson told demonstrators that the giant oil company "cannot expect to prop up apartheid in South Africa and fill the gas tanks of Southern California" as protesters leaflet a nearby Shell-owned service station. More than 50 Los Angeles-area labor, church and civil rights groups have joined the boycott campaign against South Africa's racial policies.

Reagan's Latin debt policies harm U.S. workers, farmers

Pro-banking policies of the Reagan Administration and international lending institutions have heaped new burdens on Latin American countries and their workers, destroyed the jobs of U.S. factory workers and driven farmers into bankruptcy.

This is the conclusion that emerges from a staff study prepared for the congressional Joint Economic Committee. The staff report noted that more than a million U.S. jobs were lost because the Administration policy was keyed to forcing these countries to reduce their imports of U.S.-made goods and increase their exports to this country.

At the same time, Latin American purchases of U.S. farm products declined a staggering one-third—from $6.9 billion in 1981 to $4.5 billion four years later—driving many family farmers off the land and contributing significantly to the nearly 900-percent increase in farm bank failures between 1982 and 1985.

The report charged that "since 1982, the Administration has pursued policies that . . . rewarded the big American banks whose unwise lending policies helped precipitate" the Latin American financial crunch and "penalized those sectors of the U.S. economy that had played no role in causing the debt crisis."

In 1983, the JEC said, the Administration devised a four-pronged strategy to make certain that debtor nations in Latin America would continue to pay the $38.5-billion annual interest on their combined $318-billion debt. It included:

- Generating a major portion of the dollars they needed to meet their interest payments by increasing exports and cutting imports.
- Extending for as much as 14 years the period for loan repayments.
- Encouraging commercial banks to make new loans so debtor nations could avoid falling behind on their interest payments.
- Designating the International Monetary Fund as the watchdog to ensure the debtor nations were implementing austerity programs that placed the major burden of a reduced standard of living on workers and their families.

The Latin American countries responded by slashing their imports from $100 billion in 1981 to approximately $60 billion today, while the three largest debtors significantly increased the amount of their exports—Mexico by 62 percent, Brazil by 56 percent and Argentina by 47 percent.

The new loans extended by commercial banks and the IMF to cover interest payments added $50 billion to Latin America's outstanding debt, the JEC report said, with the level predicted to rise for the next three years.

The Administration-supported actions stand in sharp contrast to the AFL-CIO policy resolution adopted at the federation's 16th constitutional convention in Anaheim, Calif., last fall.

Unjust burden

Delegates called for a substantial stretchout in the time these countries had to repay the loans and a sharp reduction in interest rates, increased production and jobs in the developing countries through new capital investments and expanding internal markets, and an end to the IMF-imposed austerity measures "that put an unjust burden on workers."

The JEC report conceded that the third world debt problem "posed a serious, potentially even catastrophic threat to the stability of the international financial system." While the steps adopted thus far have averted that "catastrophe," the congressional committee said, the only beneficiaries have been U.S. banks.

"Administration policies have gone far beyond what was needed for protecting the money center banks from insolvency," the report noted. "Besides preserving their safety and soundness, the Administration ensured, and in fact promoted, their profitability."

Bank profits have "grown steadily since the onset of the debt crisis," the JEC pointed out, and total dividends paid out to stockholders increased by nearly 33 percent in the same period.

Federal workers win battle over payless holidays

Federal meat and poultry inspectors will get their scheduled paid holidays on Memorial Day, Independence Day and Labor Day. A plan to put them on a payless furlough for days they would normally not work anyway was scrapped after the Government Employees challenged it in court and the General Accounting Office ruled it illegal.

The Agriculture Dept.'s Food Safety & Inspection Service came up with the holiday furlough plan to comply with the 4.3-percent budget cut imposed on government agencies for the balance of this fiscal year under the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law. The idea was that employees would lose three days of pay, and thus save the government money. But since they normally don't work on a holiday, they would put in just as many hours on the job.

The AFGE promptly filed suit. While the case was pending, the GAO upheld the union's claim that the payless holiday gimmick was illegal.

Payless plan illegal

In a letter to Rep. Michael D. Barnes (D-Md.), who sought a ruling, Comptroller General Charles A. Bowsher said the payless holiday plan might be ingenious but it wasn't lawful. "If salary payments could be reduced in this manner," he noted, "agencies would be free, in effect, to abolish all paid federal holidays and save the associated salary costs simply by declaring such holidays to be furlough days."

The agency has now dropped its holiday furlough plan, and has tentatively assigned the last two days of the fiscal year for a payless furlough, with other economies eliminating the need for a third day. But even that can be averted if Congress approves a pending supplemental appropriations bill that includes additional funding.

But if the furlough is imposed, workers affected at least will get a day off from work on days when they're not paid.

Donahue chides employers for union-bashing efforts

American business would reap greater profits in the long run if management "spent more time on productivity and marketing issues and less on union-busting and union avoidance," AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue told the Business Roundtable.

Many of today's labor-management problems, Donahue asserted at a meeting of the business group's Employee Relations Committee, stem from the fact that many employers see unions as "alien creatures" that come between workers and management.

Unions are "synonymous with people" and are not "separate and distinct entities," he emphasized. "They are the people they represent. They have no life separate from those people."

Donahue also charged that labor relations problems are made worse because management believes that "the only property rights are those of the employer and that the employee has no property rights in the job—unless they're wrestled from the employer in collective bargaining."

As a result, he said, management believes it has the right to fire at will, to close plants without negotiation or notice, to transfer production, to go double-breasted by siphoning off work from an organized shop to a nonunion subsidiary and to demand concessions and givebacks at the bargaining table.

Donahue urged the business leaders to stop trying to block workers' rights to join unions and instead, bargain with them for "the fairest possible arrangement of responsibilities and rewards."

Such an approach would make it possible to work toward such common goals as greater productivity, improved competitiveness, development of new products, dealing with unfair competition from abroad, establishing fair tax policies, retraining workers, and insuring quality education that prepares young people for the workforce, Donahue insisted.

Work and wages

Taking sharp issue with management's belief that lower wages are "a good idea," Donahue pointed out that "low wages drive more people into the job market at times when the work available does not require them, give rise to unemployment and generally lower the quality of life."

High wages, by contrast, are "the stuff of success" for individuals and nations, Donahue insisted. "High wages bring consumer demand and . . . produce the taxes which will one day again improve the quality of life in our society," he told the business group. "And that improved quality will include improved schools and improved training that produce a smart thinking workforce equipped with whatever skills we need."

Key House rollcall votes on trade bill

The AFL-CIO supported the trade bill the House passed on May 22 and opposed weakening amendments.

Column I shows the 276-137 defeat of an amendment by Rep. Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.) that would have stripped away key provisions to reduce the U.S. trade deficit and define violations of inernationally accepted labor standards as an unfair trade practice. Right votes (R) against the amendment were cast by 232 Democrats and 44 Republicans. Voting wrong (W) were 130 Republicans and seven Democrats.

Column II is the 295-115 rollcall on passage of the bill. Voting right were 236 Democrats and 59 Republicans. Voting wrong were 111 Republicans and four Democrats.

Numerals show congressional districts. PR—paired right; PW—paired wrong; A—absent and not paired; P—present but not voting.

	I	II
ALABAMA		
1. Callahan (R)	R	W
2. Dickinson (R)	R	R
3. Nichols (D)	R	R
4. Bevill (D)	R	R
5. Flippo (D)	R	R
6. Erdreich (D)	R	R
7. Shelby (D)	R	R
ALASKA		
AL Young (R)	R	A
ARIZONA		
1. McCain (R)	W	W
2. Udall (D)	R	R
3. Stump (R)	W	W
4. Rudd (R)	W	A
5. Kolbe (R)	W	W
ARKANSAS		
1. Alexander (D)	R	PR
2. Robinson (D)	R	R
3. Hammerschmidt (R)	W	R
4. Anthony (D)	R	R
CALIFORNIA		
1. Bosco (D)	R	R
2. Chappie (R)	W	A
3. Matsui (D)	R	R
4. Fazio (D)	R	R
5. Burton (D)	R	R
6. Boxer (D)	R	PR
7. Miller (D)	A	R
8. Dellums (D)	R	R
9. Stark (D)	R	R
10. Edwards (D)	R	R
11. Lantos (D)	R	R
12. Zschau (R)	PW	PW
13. Mineta (D)	R	R
14. Shumway (R)	W	W
15. Coelho (D)	R	R
16. Panetta (D)	R	R
17. Pashayan (R)	R	R
18. Lehman (D)	R	R
19. Lagomarsino (R)	W	W
20. Thomas (R)	W	W
21. Fiedler (R)	W	W
22. Moorhead (R)	W	W
23. Beilenson (D)	W	W
24. Waxman (D)	R	R
25. Roybal (D)	R	R
26. Berman (D)	R	R
27. Levine (D)	W	R
28. Dixon (D)	R	R
29. Hawkins (D)	R	R
30. Martinez (D)	A	R
31. Dymally (D)	R	R
32. Anderson (D)	R	R
33. Dreier (R)	W	W
34. Torres (D)	R	R
35. Lewis (R)	W	W
36. Brown (D)	R	R
37. McCandless (R)	W	W
38. Dornan (R)	W	W
39. Dannemeyer (R)	W	W
40. Badham (R)	A	PW
41. Lowery (R)	W	W
42. Lungren (R)	W	W
43. Packard (R)	W	W
44. Bates (D)	R	R
45. Hunter (R)	R	W
COLORADO		
1. Schroeder (D)	R	R
2. Wirth (D)	R	R
3. Strang (R)	W	W
4. Brown (R)	W	W
5. Kramer (R)	R	R
6. Schaefer (R)	W	W
CONNECTICUT		
1. Kennelly (D)	R	R
2. Gejdenson (D)	R	R
3. Morrison (D)	R	R
4. McKinney (R)	R	R
5. Rowland (R)	W	R
6. Johnson (R)	W	R
DELAWARE		
AL Carper (D)	R	R
FLORIDA		
1. Hutto (D)	R	R
2. Fuqua (D)	R	R
3. Bennett (D)	R	R
4. Chappell (D)	R	R
5. McCollum (R)	W	W
6. MacKay (D)	R	R
7. Gibbons (D)	R	R
8. Young (R)	W	W
9. Bilirakis (R)	W	W
10. Ireland (R)	W	W
11. Nelson (D)	R	R
12. Lewis (R)	W	W
13. Mack (R)	W	W
14. Mica (D)	R	R
15. Shaw (R)	W	W
16. Smith (D)	R	R
17. Lehman (D)	R	P
18. Pepper (D)	R	R
19. Fascell (D)	R	R
GEORGIA		
1. Thomas (D)	R	R
2. Hatcher (D)	R	R
3. Ray (D)	R	R
4. Swindall (R)	W	W
5. Fowler (D)	R	R
6. Gingrich (R)	W	W
7. Darden (D)	R	R
8. Rowland (D)	R	R
9. Jenkins (D)	R	R
10. Barnard (D)	R	R
HAWAII		
1. Heftel (D)	A	A
2. Akaka (D)	R	R
IDAHO		
1. Craig (R)	W	R
2. Stallings (D)	R	R
ILLINOIS		
1. Hayes (D)	R	R
2. Savage (D)	R	R
3. Russo (D)	R	R
4. O'Brien (R)	A	A
5. Lipinski (D)	R	R
6. Hyde (R)	W	W
7. Collins (D)	R	R
8. Rostenkowski (D)	R	R
9. Yates (D)	R	A
10. Porter (R)	W	W
11. Annunzio (D)	R	R
12. Crane (R)	W	W
13. Fawell (R)	W	W
14. Grotberg (R)	A	A
15. Madigan (R)	W	W
16. Martin (R)	R	W
17. Evans (D)	R	R
18. Michel (R)	W	W
19. Bruce (D)	R	R
20. Durbin (D)	R	R
21. Price (D)	R	R
22. Gray (D)	R	R
INDIANA		
1. Visclosky (D)	R	R
2. Sharp (D)	R	R
3. Hiler (R)	W	W
4. Coats (R)	W	W
5. Hillis (R)	W	R
6. Burton (R)	W	W
7. Myers (R)	W	W
8. McCloskey (D)	R	R
9. Hamilton (D)	W	R
10. Jacobs (D)	R	R
IOWA		
1. Leach (R)	W	W
2. Tauke (R)	W	W
3. Evans (R)	W	PW
4. Smith (D)	A	A
5. Lightfoot (R)	W	W
6. Bedell (D)	R	R
KANSAS		
1. Roberts (R)	W	W
2. Slattery (D)	R	R
3. Meyers (R)	W	W
4. Glickman (D)	R	R
5. Whittaker (R)	A	W
KENTUCKY		
1. Hubbard (D)	R	R
2. Natcher (D)	R	R
3. Mazzoli (D)	W	R
4. Snyder (R)	W	W
5. Rogers (R)	R	R
6. Hopkins (R)	W	W
7. Perkins (D)	R	R
LOUISIANA		
1. Livingston (R)	R	W
2. Boggs (D)	R	R
3. Tauzin (D)	R	R
4. Roemer (D)	R	R
5. Huckaby (D)	R	R
6. Moore (R)	W	R
7. Breaux (D)	R	R
8. Long (D)	R	R
MAINE		
1. McKernan (R)	R	R
2. Snowe (R)	R	R
MARYLAND		
1. Dyson (D)	R	R
2. Bentley (R)	W	R
3. Mikulski (D)	R	R
4. Holt (R)	W	PW
5. Hoyer (D)	R	R
6. Byron (D)	R	R
7. Mitchell (D)	R	R
8. Barnes (D)	R	R
MASSACHUSETTS		
1. Conte (R)	R	R
2. Boland (D)	R	R
3. Early (D)	R	R
4. Frank (D)	R	R
5. Atkins (D)	A	R
6. Mavroules (D)	R	R
7. Markey (D)	A	R
8. O'Neill (D)	Speaker	
9. Moakley (D)	R	R
10. Studds (D)	R	R
11. Donnelly (D)	R	R
MICHIGAN		
1. Conyers (D)	R	R
2. Pursell (R)	W	W
3. Wolpe (D)	R	R
4. Siljander (R)	W	W
5. Henry (R)	R	R
6. Carr (D)	R	R
7. Kildee (D)	R	R
8. Traxler (D)	R	R
9. Vander Jagt (R)	W	W
10. Schuette (R)	W	R
11. Davis (R)	PR	R
12. Bonior (D)	A	R
13. Crockett (D)	R	R
14. Hertel (D)	R	R
15. Ford (D)	R	R
16. Dingell (D)	R	R
17. Levin (D)	R	R
18. Broomfield (R)	W	W
MINNESOTA		
1. Penny (D)	W	R
2. Weber (R)	W	W
3. Frenzel (R)	W	W
4. Vento (D)	R	R
5. Sabo (D)	R	R
6. Sikorski (D)	R	R
7. Stangeland (R)	W	W
8. Oberstar (D)	R	R
MISSISSIPPI		
1. Whitten (D)	R	R
2. Franklin (R)	R	R
3. Montgomery (D)	R	R
4. Dowdy (D)	R	R
5. Lott (R)	R	R
MISSOURI		
1. Clay (D)	R	R
2. Young (D)	R	R
3. Gephardt (D)	R	R
4. Skelton (D)	R	R
5. Wheat (D)	R	R
6. Coleman (R)	W	R
7. Taylor (R)	W	R
8. Emerson (R)	W	R
9. Volkmer (D)	R	R
MONTANA		
1. Williams (D)	R	R
2. Marlenee (R)	W	W
NEBRASKA		
1. Bereuter (R)	W	W
2. Daub (R)	W	W
3. Smith (R)	W	W
NEVADA		
1. Reid (D)	R	R
2. Vucanovich (R)	W	W
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
1. Smith (R)	W	W
2. Gregg (R)	W	W
NEW JERSEY		
1. Florio (D)	R	R
2. Hughes (D)	W	R
3. Howard (D)	R	R
4. Smith (R)	R	R
5. Roukema (R)	R	R
6. Dwyer (D)	R	R
7. Rinaldo (R)	R	R
8. Roe (D)	R	R
9. Torricelli (D)	R	R
10. Rodino (D)	A	PR
11. Gallo (R)	W	W
12. Courter (R)	W	W
13. Saxton (R)	W	W
14. Guarini (D)	R	R
NEW MEXICO		
1. Lujan (R)	A	A
2. Skeen (R)	W	W
3. Richardson (D)	R	R
NEW YORK		
1. Carney (R)	W	A
2. Downey (D)	R	R
3. Mrazek (D)	A	W
4. Lent (R)	W	W
5. McGrath (R)	W	W
6. Vacancy		
7. Ackerman (D)	R	R
8. Scheuer (D)	R	R
9. Manton (D)	R	R
10. Schumer (D)	R	R
11. Towns (D)	R	R
12. Owens (D)	R	R
13. Solarz (D)	R	R
14. Molinari (R)	W	W
15. Green (R)	W	W
16. Rangel (D)	R	R
17. Weiss (D)	R	R
18. Garcia (D)	R	R
19. Biaggi (D)	R	R
20. DioGuardi (R)	R	R
21. Fish (R)	W	W
22. Gilman (R)	R	R
23. Stratton (D)	R	R
24. Solomon (R)	W	W
25. Boehlert (R)	R	R
26. Martin (R)	R	R
27. Wortley (R)	R	W
28. McHugh (D)	W	W
29. Horton (R)	R	R
30. Eckert (R)	W	W
31. Kemp (R)	W	W
32. LaFalce (D)	R	R
33. Nowak (D)	R	R
34. Lundine (D)	R	R
NORTH CAROLINA		
1. Jones (D)	R	R
2. Valentine (D)	R	R
3. Whitley (D)	R	R
4. Cobey (R)	R	R
5. Neal (D)	R	R
6. Coble (R)	R	R
7. Rose (D)	R	R
8. Hefner (D)	R	R
9. McMillan (R)	R	R
10. Broyhill (R)	R	R
11. Hendon (R)	R	R
NORTH DAKOTA		
AL Dorgan (D)	R	R
OHIO		
1. Luken (D)	R	R
2. Gradison (R)	W	W
3. Hall (D)	R	R
4. Oxley (R)	W	W
5. Latta (R)	A	R
6. McEwen (R)	R	R
7. DeWine (R)	W	W
8. Kindness (R)	W	R
9. Kaptur (D)	R	R
10. Miller (R)	W	W
11. Eckart (D)	R	R
12. Kasich (R)	W	R
13. Pease (D)	R	R
14. Seiberling (D)	R	R
15. Wylie (R)	W	W
16. Regula (R)	R	R
17. Traficant (D)	R	R
18. Applegate (D)	R	R
19. Feighan (D)	R	R
20. Oakar (D)	R	R
21. Stokes (D)	R	R
OKLAHOMA		
1. Jones (D)	R	R
2. Synar (D)	R	R
3. Watkins (D)	R	R
4. McCurdy (D)	R	R
5. Edwards (R)	W	W
6. English (D)	R	R
OREGON		
1. AuCoin (D)	R	R
2. Smith, Robert (R)	W	W
3. Wyden (D)	R	R
4. Weaver (D)	R	R
5. Smith, Denny (R)	W	W
PENNSYLVANIA		
1. Foglietta (D)	A	R
2. Gray (D)	R	R
3. Borski (D)	R	R
4. Kolter (D)	R	R
5. Schulze (R)	R	R
6. Yatron (D)	R	R
7. Edgar (D)	R	R
8. Kostmayer (D)	R	R
9. Shuster (R)	R	R
10. McDade (R)	R	R
11. Kanjorski (D)	R	R
12. Murtha (D)	R	R
13. Coughlin (R)	R	R
14. Coyne (D)	R	R
15. Ritter (R)	R	R
16. Walker (R)	W	W
17. Gekas (R)	W	W
18. Walgren (D)	R	R
19. Goodling (R)	R	R
20. Gaydos (D)	A	R
21. Ridge (R)	R	R
22. Murphy (D)	R	R
23. Clinger (R)	R	R
RHODE ISLAND		
1. St Germain (D)	R	R
2. Schneider (R)	R	R
SOUTH CAROLINA		
1. Hartnett (R)	W	W
2. Spence (R)	R	R
3. Derrick (D)	R	R
4. Campbell (R)	R	R
5. Spratt (D)	R	R
6. Tallon (D)	R	R
SOUTH DAKOTA		
AL Daschle (D)	R	R
TENNESSEE		
1. Quillen (R)	W	R
2. Duncan (R)	W	W
3. Lloyd (D)	R	R
4. Cooper (D)	R	R
5. Boner (D)	R	R
6. Gordon (D)	R	R
7. Sundquist (R)	W	R
8. Jones (D)	R	R
9. Ford (D)	R	R
TEXAS		
1. Chapman (D)	R	R
2. Wilson (D)	R	R
3. Bartlett (R)	W	W
4. Hall (D)	R	R
5. Bryant (D)	R	R
6. Barton (R)	W	W
7. Archer (R)	W	W
8. Fields (R)	W	W
9. Brooks (D)	R	R
10. Pickle (D)	R	R
11. Leath (D)	R	PR
12. Wright (D)	R	R
13. Boulter (R)	W	R
14. Sweeney (R)	W	R
15. de la Garza (D)	R	A
16. Coleman (D)	R	R
17. Stenholm (D)	R	R
18. Leland (D)	R	R
19. Combest (R)	W	R
20. Gonzalez (D)	R	R
21. Loeffler (R)	W	W
22. DeLay (R)	W	W
23. Bustamante (D)	R	R
24. Frost (D)	R	R
25. Andrews (D)	R	R
26. Armey (R)	W	W
27. Ortiz (D)	R	R
UTAH		
1. Hansen (R)	W	PW
2. Monson (R)	W	W
3. Nielson (R)	W	W
VERMONT		
AL Jeffords (R)	W	R
VIRGINIA		
1. Bateman (R)	W	W
2. Whitehurst (R)	W	W
3. Bliley (R)	W	W
4. Sisisky (D)	R	R
5. Daniel (D)	A	R
6. Olin (D)	R	R
7. Slaughter (R)	W	W
8. Parris (R)	W	W
9. Boucher (D)	R	R
10. Wolf (R)	W	W
WASHINGTON		
1. Miller (R)	W	W
2. Swift (D)	R	R
3. Bonker (D)	R	R
4. Morrison (R)	W	W
5. Foley (D)	R	R
6. Dicks (D)	R	R
7. Lowry (D)	R	W
8. Chandler (R)	W	W
WEST VIRGINIA		
1. Mollohan (D)	R	R
2. Staggers (D)	R	R
3. Wise (D)	R	R
4. Rahall (D)	R	PR
WISCONSIN		
1. Aspin (D)	R	A
2. Kastenmeier (D)	R	R
3. Gunderson (R)	R	R
4. Kleczka (D)	R	R
5. Moody (D)	R	R
6. Petri (R)	W	W
7. Obey (D)	R	R
8. Roth (R)	W	W
9. Sensenbrenner (R)	W	W
WYOMING		
AL Cheney (R)	W	W

EDITORIALS

Like a Cancer

THE TRADE DRAIN is gnawing like a cancer at the vital organs of the American economy.

Only six years ago, we had a healthy trade surplus; this year we're running a $150 billion trade deficit. Four years ago, we were the world's biggest creditor nation; today, we're the world's largest debtor.

Translate that to approximately 4 million workers whose livelihood has been jerked from under them and sent overseas, to an eroding industrial base . . . a shrinking opportunity horizon for America's youth.

We must not settle for that. America can do better than that. The public looks to Congress for leadership.

One bedrock industry after another has closed its factories, many to open in other countries. Hardly an American community remains unscathed.

We need to launch a purposeful plan to reindustrialize America, modernize our plants and methods, improve our productivity, and restore the cutting edge of America's productive genius.

—House Majority Leader Jim Wright, closing the debate on the trade bill, May 22, 1986.

Neo-Nonsense

A LOT OF people are selling political merchandise under false labels these days. We have neo-liberals and neo-conservatives.

The old conservatives and old liberals had different ideas about what's fair, but they tried to live up to the idea of fairness.

Republicans wrote the Clayton Act, the Davis-Bacon Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Today's Republicans, the neo-conservatives, are working to kill those expressions of fairness.

In the same way, today's neo-liberals start with the proposition that the liberal initiatives of Roosevelt's New Deal, Truman's Square Deal, Kennedy's New Frontier and Johnson's Great Society were failures and need to be reversed.

How do we fight back?

We do it by advancing our agenda of jobs and justice, of equal rights and equal opportunity, and by supporting candidates for public office who share our principles and our agenda and who still know how to distinguish right from wrong.

We do it by sending as many as possible of our friends to replace our old enemies and our neo-enemies in both the Senate and the House.

To do that we have to educate, agitate and organize. We have to build unity within our ranks and solidarity with all the allies we can find.

We can't equal the big bucks of our opponents, but we don't have to. Money can do many things, but it can't vote. Only people can do that.

—From address by AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue to the A. Philip Randolph Institute, St. Louis, May 16, 1986.

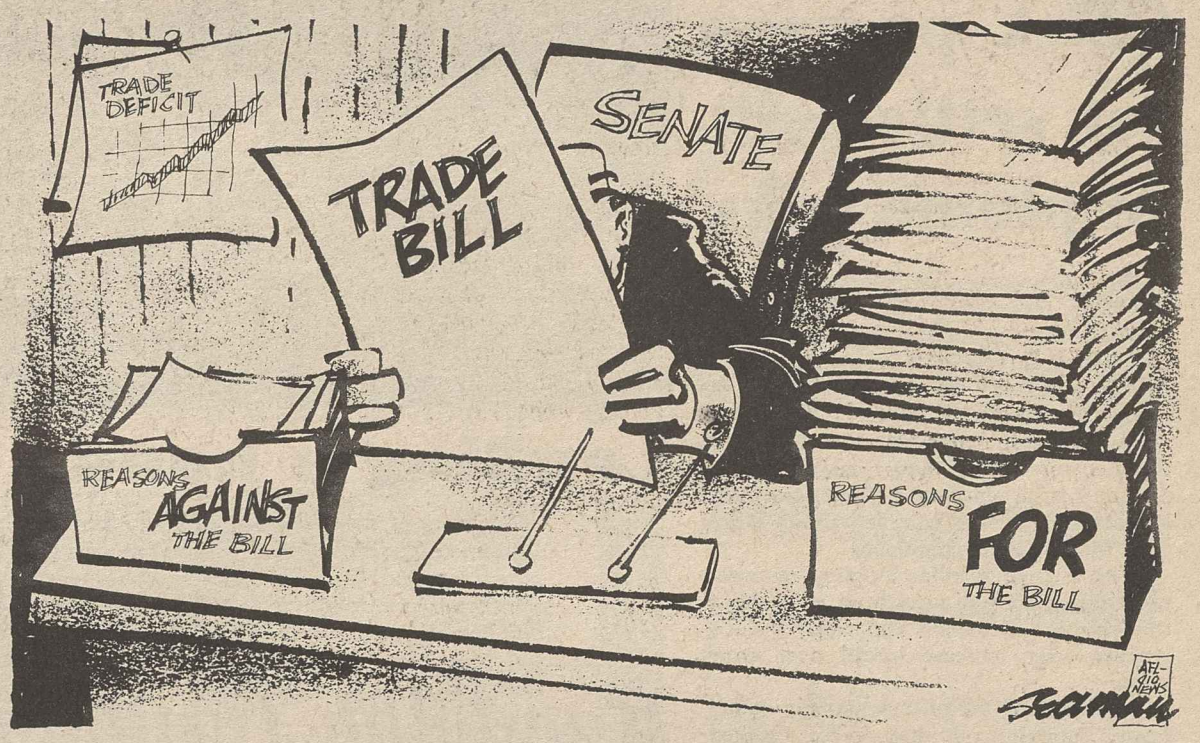
Helping Hands

ALL CREDIT to those who gave of their time and money to dramatize the plight of the homeless in the Hands Across America demonstration. But theirs were not the only hands that have been put to good use to provide emergency shelter for those in need.

Union building trades workers across the country have contributed thousands of hours of volunteer labor for community projects as diverse as mental health facilities, children's centers and, yes, shelters for the homeless.

In Los Angeles, donated union labor built a shelter for the homeless, and area unions picked up the tab for the building materials. In Phoenix, unions and union members put their hands and money to the task of erecting a 13,000-square-foot shelter for homeless men.

Not for the first time, the hands of America's workers have been put to the service of the communities in which they and their families live.



Washington Window

Toxic hazard disclosure a matter of life or death

By Press Associates Inc.

If there is a recurrent theme in past decades of medical research, it is that the more people know about causes and factors of disease, the greater the opportunity for prevention or prompt treatment.

Thus, it is strange that anyone could object to a national effort to provide workers exposed to toxic substances with information on exposures and disease risks, and medical monitoring to detect occupational diseases early.

Legislation to provide urgently needed disease prevention information has been proposed by Senators Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) and Robert T. Stafford (R-Vt.). A similar measure was proposed last year in the House by Rep. Joseph M. Gaydos (D-Pa.).

At Senate hearings, workers described how being kept in the dark about toxic chemical health hazards destroyed their lives.

Shoeworker Patricia Ware of Villa Hills, Ky., was exposed to chemical cements and solvents on the job. In 1984, Ware was diagnosed with pneumonia caused by inhalation of chemicals.

With more than half of her lung function gone, Ware said she shifted "from an active life to an existence." She spends about 10 hours a day on oxygen, lives on the bottom floor of her house because she can't climb stairs, and she can't work.

"It didn't have to happen," Ware said. "We didn't have any idea what the chemicals we worked with would do to us . . . It seems to me that somebody had to know there was something in those chemicals that would do this to us."

Cancer victim

George Hight of Bluffton, Ohio, worked in the rubber industry in a compound mixing department. In 1979, he began to have kidney and bladder infections. A year later, he was diagnosed with bladder cancer, and his bladder was removed.

Hight's doctor said his cancer was caused by exposure to chemicals, but he was "never told chemicals were harmful to me" by the company.

William Ailiff worked in a Chagrin Falls, Ohio, plant where he was exposed by methylene chloride, isocyanate, lead chromate and other toxic chemicals. He noticed that he got dizzy, irritable and couldn't breathe. At first he thought it was the dust in the plant or the flu.

When he started getting nosebleeds and headaches, he told the plant owner's nephew, who told him, "Don't worry, we all get those. It's normal here." But he said he knew that "something was wrong," so he quit.

Ailiff's doctor told him chemical exposures caused his organic brain damage and double heart tumor. He is unable to work and "had to sell everything," including his home to pay medical bills.

No warning

Willie Hall of Augusta, Ga., worked from 1963 to 1968 with beta-naphthylamine, a toxic skin penetrant used to make leather dyes and known for a long time to cause bladder cancer. "When I worked with it, nobody told me it was bad," he told the Senate panel.

Hall had symptoms, such as blood in his urine, before he left the company, but the company doctor wrote it off as strain. Later diagnosed with cancer, Hall had his bladder and kidney removed and has suffered two strokes.

Dr. William Johnson, a former inspector for the National Institute for Occupational Safety & Health, who appeared with Hall, said that "the United States government owes Mr. Hall an apology."

The government forced the company to stop using the chemical in 1972. Even though the workers were considered to be "at significant risk" of bladder cancer from beta-naphthylamine exposure, they weren't told of the risk until publicity and pressure from labor spurred a notification program in 1981 by NIOSH and the Workers' Institute for Safety and Health. By then, two-thirds of the workers at Hall's worksite had developed bladder cancer.

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CWA presses for settlement in phone talks

The Communications Workers and the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. moved toward a contract expiration deadline with both sides still far apart in negotiations with only hours remaining on the current agreement.

The 155,000 telephone workers voted by an overwhelming 6-to-1 margin to authorize a strike on June 1 if no agreement is reached on a new contract, CWA President Morton Bahr announced.

With a strike deadline looming, management finally moved away from its package of give-back demands and offered a 5-percent wage increase spread over three years.

Bahr rejected the offer as "totally inadequate," pointing out that AT&T chalked up profits of $1.6 billion last year. They soared to $550 million in the first quarter of this year—50 percent higher than the same period last year.

The only virtue of the wage offer, he declared, is that it calls for a straight pay increase rather than a lump-sum cash bonus, management's new technique to avoid raising the wage base.

The CWA president said the union's bargaining goals include significant pay raises reflecting increased productivity, guaranteed employment security in the wake of AT&T's action in slashing 24,000 employees from the payroll last year, and an end to contracting-out of services.

Post-breakup talks

The contract, the first to be negotiated between CWA and AT&T since the breakup of the Bell System in 1984, affects long-distance operators and workers who build and maintain switching systems used by local telephone companies, government and business.

In addition to the major negotiations, concurrent talks are taking place between CWA and AT&T Communications, AT&T Information Systems, AT&T Bell Laboratories and AT&T Technology Systems Sales, Installation & Management.

The Electrical workers are involved in separate negotiations with the communications conglomerate for nearly 41,000 members whose contract expires May 31.

Job losses cut rail retirement fund revenues

An additional $150 million in revenues may be needed to fund next year's rail pensions for the 950,000 current beneficiaries, according to an internal staff report to the Railroad Retirement Board.

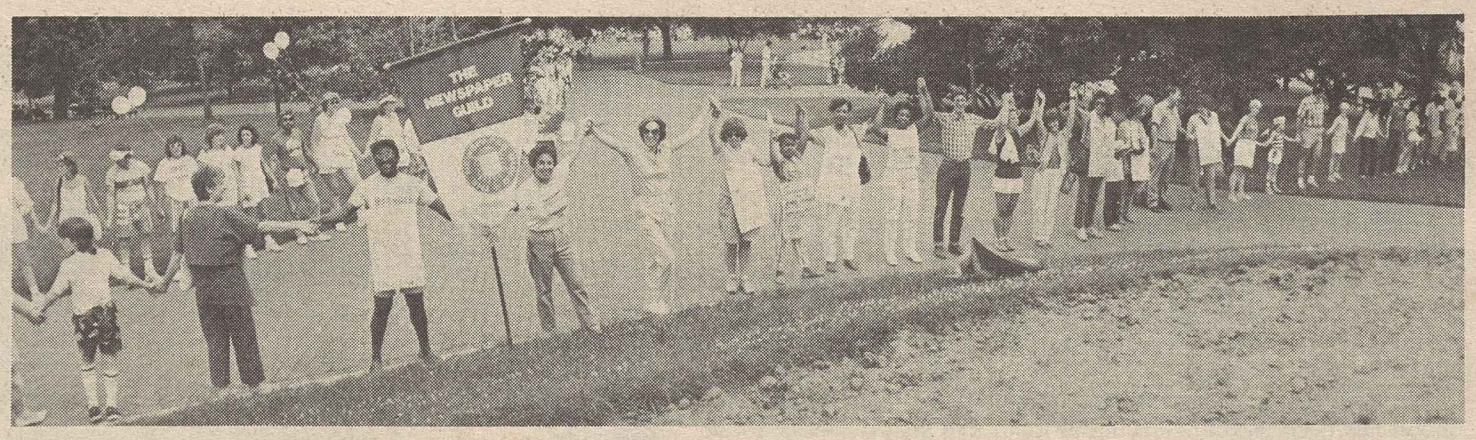
The report blamed falling employment in the rail industry, where the number of jobs has dropped from 370,000 last September to 340,000 today, for the projected 1.5-percent shortfall in the $6.25 billion needed to fund pensions in 1987. The study cautioned that another $150 million might be needed beginning Jan. 1, 1988.

A board official emphasized, however, that with a $4-billion reserve built up since enactment of Railroad Retirement Act amendments in 1983, the system is not faced with any cash-flow problem.

At present, rail workers pay 7.15 percent on the first $42,000 of earnings each year into the social security segment of their retirement program and an additional 4.25 percent on an earnings base of $31,500 into the second tier of the pension plan. The carriers contribute 7.15 percent into social security and 14.75 percent into Tier II on the same earnings bases.

The report to the three-member Railroad Retirement Board suggested that the additional $150 million needed to fund 1987 pensions could be generated either by increasing the Tier II taxes, reducing benefits, or a combination of the two. The board has not yet acted on the report.

Compounding the problem resulting from increased joblessness in the industry, the report said, is the practice by some carriers of encouraging many of their top wage earners to go onto the retirement rolls, increasing the pension payout. They are then replaced with new workers at a lower entry wage, which drives down the contributions going into the fund.



Lending a hand

Members of the Newspaper Guild join "hands across America," part of a nationwide demonstration held over the Memorial Day weekend to raise funds to aid the homeless and focus public attention to the plight caused by President Reagan's callous cutbacks. Nearly 50 members of the Washington-Baltimore Guild took their place in line at Washington's Lafayette Park. Hundreds of other union locals from California to New York also answered the call to "lend a hand" and helped form the giant chain of humanity that spanned the country.

Randolph Institute spurs jobs-and-justice agenda

St. Louis—Black trade unionists called for a return to "jobs and justice" and planned election-year strategies during the A. Philip Randolph Institute's annual conference here. More than 800 participants gathered for four days of debate and discussion. seeking ways to once again move the nation toward social justice and equal opportunity for all Americans.

APRI President Norman Hill blasted the Reagan Administration for pursuing economic and social policies that have crippled the nation's basic industries and worsened conditions for the poor. He said America needed a new agenda to protect its industrial base, preserve education and training opportunities and safeguard civil rights.

"The ghost towns of the Monongahela Valley in Pennsylvania, with their idle mills, shuttered stores and broken dreams, and the burned-out ghettoes on the fringes of our great cities will not be rebuilt through empty rhetoric or harebrained schemes like a subminimum wage, urban enterprise zones or Gramm-Rudman cuts," Hill declared.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue took aim at the Administration's attempts "to erase the progress this country has made in civil rights" by challenging affirmative action and desegregation programs voluntarily adopted by unions, employers and school districts.

He criticized a one-sided perspective that "put the nation's future on the auction block of 'free trade,' " endorsing a policy that "worships market values and despises human values."

Fighting back

But labor and the civil rights movement can fight back, Donahue insisted, "by advancing our agenda of jobs and justice, of equal rights and equal opportunity and by supporting candidates for public office who share our principles and agenda and who still know how to distinguish right from wrong."

He stressed the importance of the 1986 elections, declaring that "we have a chance to break the grip of the radical reactionaries who have been perverting the process of government to their own uses."

A foreign policy session focused on free trade unionism in developing countries and featured Joseph Makoena of South Africa's Commercial Catering & Allied Workers, Joseph Senat, president of Haiti's Federation of Free Worker Unions, and Andrew Ikufu, assistant general-secretary of the Public Employees Association in Papua, New Guinea.

Participants attended a series of workshops on grassroots lobbying and black and labor voter participation in the upcoming elections and joined in one-day caucuses with individual unions.

Andrews honored

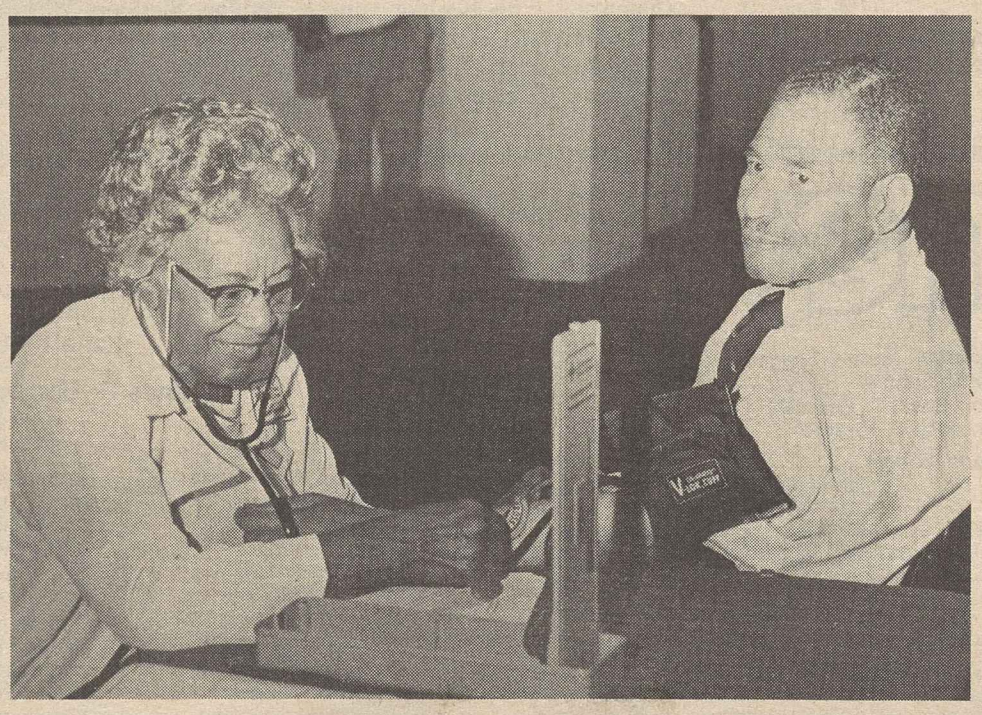
In a special ceremony, Hill presented the institute's achievement award to James Andrews, secretary-treasurer of the North Carolina AFL-CIO. The APRI Freedom Award was presented to Black Sash, a women's group in South Africa that has been working to abolish apartheid in that country since 1955.

An organization of primarily white women, Black Sash also has provided legal aid to workers victimized by South Africa's notorious pass laws.

In conjunction with the institute, labor community services representatives and Red Cross labor liaison staff conducted special blood pressure screenings for conference participants, drawing attention to the greater risk of high blood pressure that blacks face.

The screenings, organized by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Community Services, will be repeated at future labor and civil rights conferences.

Conference speakers included AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert McGlotten and Organizing Director designate Charles McDonald, Missouri Lt. Gov. Harriet Woods (D), who is a candidate for the U.S. Senate, Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.), Maryland State Sen. Clarence Mitchell III (D), Missouri AFL-CIO President Daniel McVey, Service Employees Sec.-Treas. Richard Cordtz and Robert Kortcamp, secretary-treasurer of the St. Louis AFL-CIO.



AFL-CIO Vice President Frederick O'Neal rolls up his sleeve for a blood pressure check at the Randolph Institute conference in St. Louis.

Foreign traders use White House as a hiring hall

Continued from Page 1

about "possible violations of the post-employment laws by individuals who have been hired or retained by several foreign governments presently involved in negotiation of bilateral and multilateral textile and apparel quota agreements."

In addition, Barnard asked the GAO to look into allegations that Lenahan has been advising Israel on how to obtain modifications of a bilateral textile agreement Lenahan helped negotiate while in office.

The subcommittee chairman also expressed concern about "possible violations of other criminal laws concerning disclosure to foreign governments of confidential information obtained as a result of government employment." There are also "serious questions of proper ethical standards for government employees who are approached with job offers by foreign governments and other outside employers," Barnard added.

In addition to Lenahan, the Government Operations subcommittee counsel identified two trade account executives at Michael K. Deaver & Associates—Doral S. Cooper, a former assistant U.S. trade representative for the Asian, Pacific and African regions, and Lisa B. Barry, a former deputy assistant representative for U.S. trade policy—as among the targets of the investigation.

The GAO probe was launched as a special three-judge federal court disclosed it would appoint an independent counsel to investigate conflict-of-interest charges against Deaver, who allegedly parlayed his close personal relationship with Reagan and his former job as White House chief of staff into a multi-million-dollar consulting firm whose major clients include a number of foreign governments.

Expanded probe

Although the congressionally inspired investigation is being concentrated on the textile and apparel area, Jacobs said, it could be expanded later to include the automobile, steel and machine tool industries where other former Reagan Administration officials now are employed as consultants and lobbyists for foreign interests.

Oswald said the results of the investigation could prod Congress into acting on legislation to bar Cabinet officers, White House staffers and most presidential appointees from representing foreign interests for at least 10 years after leaving office.

The legislation, introduced by Representatives Howard E. Wolpe (D-Mich.) and Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), is now pending before a House Judiciary subcommittee.

Oswald said tough measures are needed to "restore integrity" to public service. "There's something radically wrong when government officials sit down across a table and negotiate today with people who could be their employers tomorrow."

Gerry Archuleta retires, Rogers takes OCAW post

Denver—Gerald Archuleta, publicity director for the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers and editor of the OCAW Reporter since 1975, has retired.

Named to succeed Archuleta is Rod Rogers, 48, who has been with OCAW's membership services and publicity departments for the past 10 years.

AFL-CIO news

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Court rejects bankruptcy ruling

CWA President Morton Bahr rallies strikers outside AT&T office in Washington.

Steelworkers pact restored in key case

Philadelphia—In a decision hailed by the AFL-CIO as a significant victory for workers, a federal court cracked down on management tactics of using bankruptcy proceedings to terminate collective bargaining agreements.

The 3rd Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that a bankruptcy court judge erred in allowing Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. to scrap its contract with the Steelworkers in July 1985.

The unanimous decision of the three-judge panel "should send a signal to employers that they can't go into bankruptcy court as a device to evade their collective bargaining responsibilities," said David Silberman, the federation's associate general counsel.

The AFL-CIO had filed a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the USWA's challenge to the bankruptcy court's ruling that had put its stamp of approval on the steel company's actions.

Clear-cut test

Silberman said the Wheeling-Pittsburgh case was the "first clear-cut test" of legislation enacted by Congress in 1984 which imposed two requirements—necessity and fairness—on employers seeking to abrogate labor agreements under the guise of financial reorganization. The court's decision, he asserted, "vindicates the hard work of the trade union movement in securing these amendments" to the bankruptcy law.

The legislation was made necessary after a Supreme Court ruling in February 1984 opened the door for companies to use bankruptcy proceedings as an excuse to cancel contracts, roll back wages and impose unilateral changes in work rules.

USWA District 15 Director Andrew Palm, who chaired the union's bargaining team, expressed satisfaction with the appeals court ruling. "If the bankruptcy court hadn't improperly allowed the company to reject the contract, a lengthy work stoppage could have been avoided," he declared.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh began its reorganization effort in April 1985. Under pressure from the financial community, which held more than $530 million of the steelmaker's debts, the company terminated its contract three months later.

With the approval of the federal bank-

Continued on Page 5

AT&T strikers rebuff demand for givebacks

By Arlee C. Green

A strike by 155,000 members of the Communications Workers against the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. headed into its second week. The walkout began June 1 after union negotiators rejected the company's concession-filled "final offer."

Strikers manned picket lines in scores of cities and 13 of AT&T's two dozen manufacturing plants were shutdown by the walkout. The company put thousands of supervisors on switchboards as fill-in operators with the result that long-distance services were delayed in most areas of the nation.

Electrical Workers were honoring picket lines at shared jobsites along with CWA members working for regional Bell companies. CWA begins bargaining with the seven "baby" Bells in July to replace contracts that expire Aug. 9.

IBEW settles

IBEW bargainers, who represent 41,000 AT&T workers, reached a tentative settlement with the company on a new three-year package that provides an 8-percent wage increase. Three-quarters of the IBEW members are in the manufacturing operations with the remainder in telephone services.

Local IBEW union presidents will vote on the package next week, manufacturing workers will vote June 15 and the telephone sector will conduct a mail referendum with the votes to be counted July 5.

In the CWA talks, AT&T wants to eliminate cost-of-living adjustment provisions

Continued on Page 6

Rising trade gap linked to failed Reagan policy

By Gene Zack

The AFL-CIO assailed the "flawed and failed" trade policies of the Reagan Administration as the nation recorded a $55.5-billion trade deficit in the first four months of this year.

The figure was 28 percent higher than for the same period in 1985 when the nation suffered a record-shattering annual trade imbalance of $148.5 billion.

Between January and April, the Commerce Dept. reported, imports were almost $10 billion above those in the first four months of last year while exports of U.S.-made goods declined more than $2.5 billion. They combined to drive the deficit $12.2 billion ahead of the pace of a year ago.

"This exposes the weakness of the Administration's insistence that an upsurge in sales abroad this year that would somehow correct the trade problem," federation economist Mark Anderson declared.

"The Administration predicted that the falling value of the American dollar would spur exports, but that hasn't occurred," Anderson asserted. "And it predicted that a deflated dollar would stem the flow of job-destroying imports. That hasn't happened, either."

Since the Reagan Administration took office, Anderson pointed out, the nation has suffered a crushing $475-billion trade loss—$36 billion in 1981, $43 billion in 1982, $69 billion in 1983, $123 billion in 1984, $148.5 billion in 1985 and $55.5 billion thus far this year.

Government studies show that for each $1 billion in sales that imports take from U.S. producers, more than 22,000 American jobs are wiped out.

"Despite all the optimistic talk from the White House," Anderson declared, "the jobs of American workers, the future of American industry and the well-being of communities and the nation as a whole remain in jeopardy."

Senate on the spot

He renewed the AFL-CIO's call on the Senate to follow the House's lead and pass legislation that would penalize foreign firms that indulge in unfair trade practices and the exploitation of workers to penetrate and dominate the U.S. market and whose governments erect barriers to the sale of American-made goods in their markets.

Reagan urged the Republican-controlled Senate to scuttle the bill, which passed the House by a lopsided 295-115 vote, calling it a "kamikaze measure" that would destroy millions of American jobs and send the economy into "the steepest nosedive since the Great Depression."

Anderson charged that the President "has it backwards." The trade deficit for

Continued on Page 4

Crusade against unions

Mythical world of 'right-to-work'

By Karin Chenoweth

This series of articles is reprinted from a study sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy. Copies of the full report are available for $2 each from the LID, 181 Hudson St., Suite 3A, New York, N.Y. 10013. The author, Karin Chenoweth, is a Washington area journalist.

The "right-to-work" movement: the name implies that it aims to secure for all competent persons who wish to work the right to obtain a job—and that anyone opposed to a right-to-work law must be conniving to deprive somebody else of that right.

The professed goal of the movement's principal organization, the National Right to Work Committee, is to combat what it calls "compulsory unionism." Both the name and the professed goal appeal to characteristic American beliefs

First in a Series

in fairness, individual rights, self-reliance, and sticking up for the "little guy" in uneven contests with entrenched power.

But the work of the committee goes far beyond its supposedly single-minded fight against "compulsory unionism." For 30 years it has been doing battle with unions on many different fronts—betraying along the way its hostility to the very idea of workers joining together in an organized way to defend their interests.

The ideas which have inspired the modern labor movement are ironically reflected in the imagery of Right to Work Committee propaganda. American sympathies have been roused at different times by the image of workers braving the cruel tactics of employers.

So the union, too, appeals to the American virtues of fairness and self-reliance—as well as a reluctance to involve the government in labor disputes. For the collective bargaining system, protected by American law, is essentially a mechanism of the free market—something that conservatives ought to be in favor of. Thoughtful conservatives do in fact

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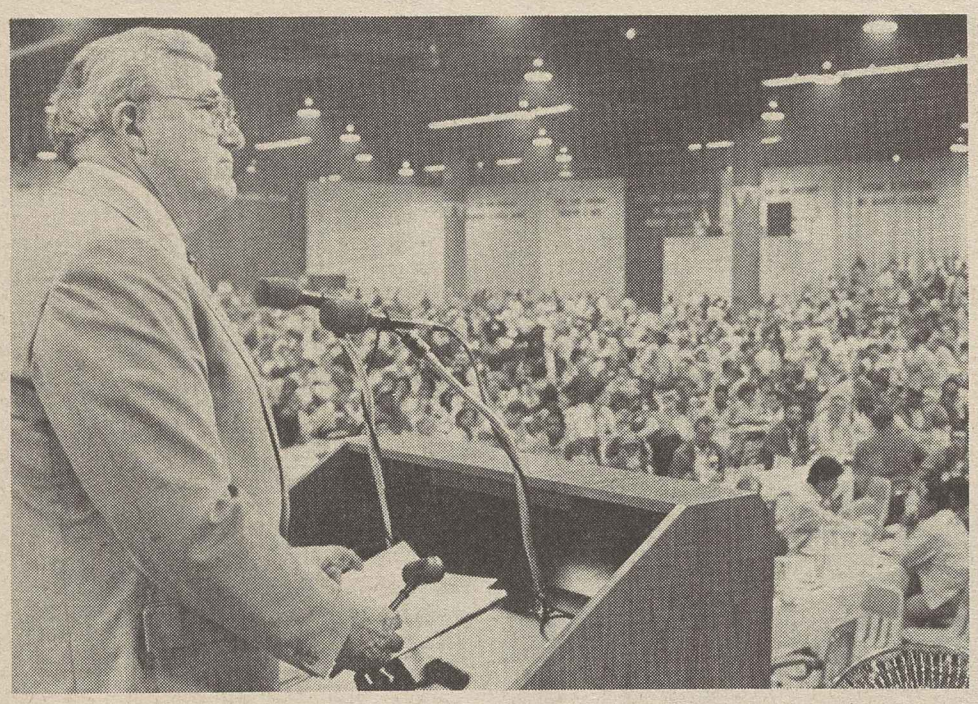


UAW President Owen Bieber keynotes 50th anniversary convention.

Agenda for progress

UAW looks forward at half-century mark

Anaheim, Calif.—Delegates representing more than a million UAW members opened the 50th anniversary convention of the Auto Workers determined to "roll the union on" to new advances in organizing, bargaining and political action.

A convention banner hailed "50 years of proudly building America," and delegates adopted a comprehensive resolution pledging to "advance the cause of working people with imagination, determination and vigor."

In his keynote address, UAW President Owen Bieber spoke of the challenges the union faces, starting with next year's round of collective bargaining with the major auto producers.

The union will hold a special collective bargaining convention next March to shape its contract proposals. But Bieber stressed that "no matter what it takes, we're going to win even greater job security for our members."

Bieber acknowledged the bargaining could be hard if U.S. production slips further as a result of imports from such countries as South Korea, Brazil, Mexico and Yugoslavia, as well as Japan. But he rejected the "hand-wringing" of those who argue that the only path to job security is wage rollbacks.

Road to nowhere

"We are not going down that road," Bieber said, "because that is a road to nowhere. A society where living standards get worse instead of better is not our kind of America."

Early in the convention, delegates overwhelmingly rejected a constitutional amendment that would have substituted a membership referendum election of officers for the present convention election procedure. They approved a constitutional change clearing the way for the formal separation of the UAW's Canadian region. A separate Canadian union is already in operation.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue spoke to the delegates about the lowering of living standards when industrial jobs are replaced by poor-paying service jobs.

"How many employed workers are going to be able to buy a house or send their kids to college when they are flipping hamburgers or waiting on tables?" he asked.

Tax reform is needed, Donahue said, when corporations use their tax windfalls and loopholes "to buy up other corporations and to close plants in America and shift jobs from Toledo to Taiwan."

Bieber said the UAW will remember the "obscene salaries and bonuses the auto executives pay themselves" when it goes to the bargaining table next year.

He affirmed the union's determination to preserve the nation's industrial base, curb job-destroying imports, and put "renewed energy into the struggle for social justice."

Bieber said he will appoint a Commission on the UAW Future from members of the union's executive board. It will "examine the rapidly changing economic environment, study shifts in politics, and look at issues like trade, organizing, education, communication and new technologies."

Novelty Workers adopt plan for major organizing push

Lake Buena Vista, Fla.—The Novelty Workers geared up for a major organizing offensive as delegates to the union's convention voted unanimously to earmark 20 cents of the current per capita income to fund the campaign.

The constitutional change marks the first time that the union set aside a stated amount to underwrite its efforts to reach out and bring the benefits of trade unionism to the unorganized.

The organizing drive was approved on the heels of reports from President Julius Isaacson and Sec.-Treas. Donald E. Terlap that the union managed to increase its membership in the past five years, in a period when many other industrial unions were losing ground.

The increased membership came despite increases in imports that have virtually destroyed the doll and toy industries that were the original basic jurisdiction of the ANP, the officers told the convention.

The 200 delegates roared their approval of Isaacson's pledge that the union would "move forward decisively in the years ahead," and adopted a resolution pledging to give the "highest priority" to the organizing campaign.

Union-busting scored

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue told delegates that, despite the anti-union climate engendered by the Reagan Administration and a 7-percent unemployment rate that is "conducive to union-busting," organized labor remains one of the nation's major pillars and will continue to be "the most significant force" both in the workplace and society.

NPW's organizing effort is in line with the recommendations in the Executive Council report, "The Changing Situation of American Workers and Their Unions," Donahue pointed out. Other recommendations range from mergers to coordinated organizing campaigns, from added benefits for members to the enrolling of supporters as associate members.

Implementation of the report's recommendations are necessary, Donahue declared, "if trade unions are to continue to be the effective, civilizing, humanizing and democratizing force" that the nation needs.

He lashed out at the Administration's trade policies for causing "a massive job erosion" in the past six years that has converted the nation's industrial complex into an "economic wasteland."

The convention unanimously re-elected Isaacson and Terlap to new five-year terms. Miles Nekolny was elected to fill a vacant vice presidency.

Jean Ingrao, executive secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Dept. joined in assailing the White House for its failure to address the trade problem. "The same Reagan Administration that sent your jobs overseas is now threatening to scuttle what is left of the American merchant marine," Ingrao warned delegates.

COPE Director John Perkins urged the union to step up its local and national political activities in the drive to regain control of the Senate and "a greater liberal margin in the House."

Delegates responded by giving unanimous approval to a resolution calling on locals to form COPE committees to conduct year-round political activities at the grass-roots level and to develop greater fund-raising capabilities through promotion of the political check-off.

Other resolutions supported:

- Trade adjustment assistance as part of a revamped U.S. trade policy.
- A "compassionate and equitable" policy to deal with the problem of illegal immigration.
- A new civil rights drive to counter "the dilution of civil rights laws and enforcement by the Reagan Administration."

No apartheid

Anaheim, Calif.—Twenty U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa have been put on notice by the Auto Workers that their securities may be barred from the UAW-Chrysler Corp. pension fund because they have not endorsed the Sullivan Principles.

The Sullivan Principles establish guarantees of equal employment opportunity, equal pay and nonsegregation in the workplace for U.S. firms operating in South Africa. Under its collective bargaining agreement with Chrysler, the UAW has the right to recommend each year that the pension fund exclude investments in up to 10 companies that have not adopted the employment guidelines for South Africa.

UAW Vice President Marc Stepp, who heads the union's Chrysler Dept., notified the companies on the list that they are reported to be in noncompliance with the Sullivan Principles. He asked whether they are now prepared to subscribe to the principles.

The UAW also has a policy of withdrawing its funds from banks and financial institutions that participate in loans to South Africa.

Tentative settlement reached in El Al strike

New York—A tentative agreement settling a 26-month strike by the Machinists against Israel's El Al Airlines will be submitted to IAM members for ratification if its terms are approved by an Israeli bankruptcy court.

Meanwhile, picketing at Kennedy Airport and at the airline's New York office will continue and El Al remains on the AFL-CIO boycott list. An earlier settlement plan was thwarted last November when an Israeli bankruptcy judge insisted on "exceptions" that the IAM found unacceptable.

Arizona Fed shapes legislative goals

Prescott, Ariz.—Delegates to the Arizona AFL-CIO convention called for relief for workers hit hard by imports and tough measures against American companies that try to avoid union contracts.

Executive Sec.-Treas. Darwin Aycock reported on the state body's legislative activities and told the 150 delegates that "the working men and women of our state are reasonable safe for another year."

He reported success in winning safety inspections at worksites and mandatory registration of commercial contractors to prevent shoddy work and underpayment of wages by "fly-by-night, out-of-state" builders as examples of the successes chalked up in the just-completed state legislative session.

In addition, a bill to allow banks to investigate prospective employees was amended to include strong worker protections, Aycock said.

Keynoting the three-day session, AFL-CIO COPE director John Perkins lashed out at Reagan Administration programs that "devastate millions of working Americans and their families."

Calling the November Senate races "the 1986 political Super Bowl and World Series wrapped into one," Perkins urged union members to "take control of the Senate out of the hands of the Republican ultra-conservatives and put it into the hands of friends."

The delegates condemned the Newmont Mining Co., an area copper producer, for replacing its security firm with the Ohio-based Nuckols & Associates agency, which has been associated with union-busting. Nuckols was hired to provide security services at two Newmont subsidiaries where contracts with the Steelworkers are set to expire July 1.

In a series of resolutions, delegates pressed for passage of a federal law against "double-breasting" in the construction industry and urged Congress to renew that portion of the Copyright Act that requires manuscripts written by U.S. residents to be printed and bound in the United States or Canada to preserve copyright protection. That provision is set to expire in July.

The convention also urged Gov. Bruce Babbit (D) to deny an operating permit to the Phelps Dodge Copper Corp. for a smelter in Douglas, reiterating the Environmental Protection Agency's findings that the Douglas smelter was "the largest polluter in the nation."

The delegates voted to establish a statewide labor women's committee to help women workers win "full social, economic and political equality."

Convention speakers included Diana Rock, director of women's activities for the State, County & Municipal Employees; Region VI COPE Director Lamar Gulbransen, and State Cope Director David Gregory.

Contract changes approved at two Michigan steel plants

Detroit—Steelworkers at two McLouth Steel Products Corp. plants in Michigan approved mid-term changes in their contracts, accepting some wage gains and a restored dental plan in exchange for job reclassifications and work rule changes sought by the company.

The agreement, which expires Nov. 15, 1988, covers 2,100 workers at McLouth plants in Trenton and Gibralter, Mich.

With more than two years left on a five-year contract, union and management representatives agreed to new terms to keep McLouth solvent. Members of USWA Locals 2659 and 7990, including both production and office workers, approved the act by a nearly two-to-one margin.

The settlement includes a general hourly pay increase of 20 cents, effective Nov. 1, 1987, with some workers in the new classifications to receive raises of 22 to 60 cents per hour. It also provides early retirement incentives and a $400 supplement paid to retired workers until they are eligibility for social security. The contract restores a dental plan that was eliminated under an earlier contract when McLouth was in bankruptcy and maintains a profit sharing and stock ownership plan for all workers. The USWA members also won the right to remain on the job while pursuing discharges through the grievance procedure.

In exchange, the workers agreed to delay cost-of-living increases until August 1988 and to combine some job classifications, with the aim of reducing the number of manhours needed to produce a ton of steel from five to three, USWA director Harry Lester said.

Labor's allies show strength in primary elections

By David L. Perlman

Labor-backed candidates won or were leading in nationally spotlighted Democratic primaries held June 2, and candidates identified with the extremist Lyndon LaRouche movement were soundly trounced.

In a California congressional district, where a LaRouche supporter was belatedly found unopposed for the Democratic nomination to run against an unbeatable incumbent, the Orange County AFL-CIO helped carry out a successful write-in campaign for a mainstream Democrat.

These were some of the primary results of special interest to union members:

Alabama—COPE-endorsed Lt. Gov. Bill Baxley led a five-candidate field for the Democratic nomination to succeed four-term Gov. George Wallace, who is retiring. He will face a June 24 runoff with state Atty. Gen. Charles Graddick, a conservative "law-and-order" candidate.

Baxley, in Alabama's populist tradition, was described in a recent Washington Post political profile as a liberal who "is embracing labor unions and blacks, defending school teachers from attack, and promising to spend more money on day-care centers, schools and senior citizen programs."

In the Senate race, four-term congressman Richard C. Shelby, a political moderate who had COPE endorsement, won the Democratic nomination against a strong field. He will face incumbent Jeremiah A. Denton, who became Alabama's first Republican senator in a century when he was elected six years ago.

California—The close gubernatorial battle of four years ago will be rerun with incumbent Republican George Deukmejian again facing Democrat Tom Bradley, the popular mayor of Los Angeles. Neither had serious opposition.

Senate targets

Republicans have targeted the Senate seat of veteran liberal Democrat Alan Cranston and free-spending Ed Zschau, a two-term congressman and Silicon Valley millionaire led the 13-candidate pack. Zschau was billed as the most moderate of the heavily conservative GOP field, but the term is relative. His COPE record over three years was a skimpy 11 percent "right" on issues important to labor.

LaRouche candidates made no headway in Democratic contests. But when Art Hoffman emerged from the woodwork as the unopposed candidate for the Democratic nomination in the 40th District, it looked like an embarassment for the Democrats. Hastily, the Democratic County chairman, Bruce Sumner, was drafted for a write-in campaign. Labor was among the groups distributing instructions for the complicated write-in ballot procedure, Sec.-Treas. Mary L. Yunt of the Orange County AFL-CIO reported.

When the ballots were tallied, Sumner had 16,342 votes to 14,832 for the LaRouche candidate. He will face incumbent five-term Republican Robert Badham in November.

Iowa—The state's farm-based economy is on the rocks, and Democratic gubernatorial candidate Lowell Junkins is given an excellent chance of unseating the GOP incumbent, Terry Branstad. COPE phone banks helped get out the vote for Junkins, a former majority leader of the state Senate.

Incumbent Republican Sen. Charles Grassley is strongly favored for re-election. The Democratic victor was John Roehrick, a little-known attorney who was an easy winner once the LaRouche ties of his only primary opponent became known.

In open districts, Democrats nominated former state chairman David Nagle for the seat held by Republican Cooper Evans. In the 6th District, where six-term Democrat Berkley Bedell is retiring, Democrat Clayton Hodgson led four other candidates. The easy Republican winner, who basked in national media attention, is Fred Grandy, an actor on television's Love Boat series and a former congressional aide.

Democratic nominee Scott Hughes will run against the most vulnerable of the incumbent Republican congressmen, freshman Jim Lightfoot.

New Jersey—In perhaps the most watched contest, House Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino was virtually assured a 20th term. His district has a majority black population, but Rodino's leadership on civil rights and strong endorsements from black and trade union groups assured his renomination.

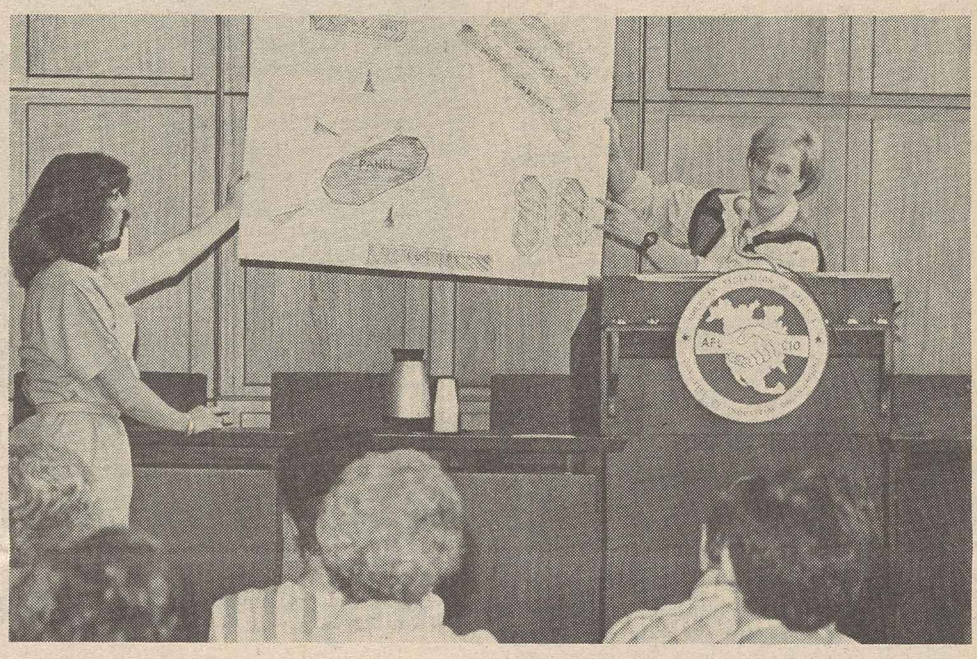
LaRouche candidates ran for the Democratic congressional nominations in 13 of the state's 14 congressional, calling themselves "FDR Democrats." But with media attention and alerts from labor, civil liberty watchdogs and other groups, they didn't fool many voters.

Elliott Greenspan, the best-known LaRouche candidate because he was a candidate for governor in the last election, polled only 520 votes against two-term Democrat Robert Torricelli in nearly complete returns.

'86 conventions slated by AFL-CIO affiliates

Below is a list of conventions scheduled for the remainder of 1986 by AFL-CIO national and international affiliates, departments, state central bodies and fraternal organizations. Changes and additions will be reported.

DATE	ORGANIZATION	PLACE
June 8-12	Pattern Makers	Las Vegas, Nev.
June 9-11	Idaho	Coeur d'Alene
June 9-13	Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees	Chicago
June 9-13	Office & Professional Employees	Montreal
June 11-13	Ohio	Cleveland
June 12-14	South Dakota	Sioux Falls
June 23-27	State, County & Municipal Employees	Chicago
June 24-25	Oregon	Portland
July 3-7	Teachers	Chicago
July 11-19	Maintenance of Way Employees	Kansas City
July 13-18	Firemen & Oilers	Las Vegas, Nev.
July 14-18	Theatrical Stage Employees	Hollywood, Fla.
July 15-18	Stove & Appliance Workers	Las Vegas, Nev.
July 16-22	Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers	Las Vegas, Nev.
July 19-20	Nevada	Las Vegas
July 20-25	Letter Carriers	St. Paul, Minn.
July 21-25	Elevator Constructors	Denver, Colo.
July 27-Aug. 1	Professional & Technical Engineers	Bal Harbour, Fla.
July 28-Aug. 1	California	Sacramento
July 28-Aug. 1	Plumbers & Pipe Fitters	Las Vegas, Nev.
Aug. 4-9	Fire Fighters	Las Vegas, Nev.
Aug. 4-9	Iron Workers	Las Vegas, Nev.
Aug. 9-15	Typographical Union	Hershey, Pa.
Aug. 11-15	Government Employees	Las Vegas, Nev.
Aug. 11-15	Postal Workers	San Francisco
Aug. 11-15	Boilermakers	Hollywood, Fla.
Aug. 18-22	Tile Finishers	Las Vegas, Nev.
Aug. 21-23	Montana	Great Falls
Aug. 21-23	Virginia	Norfolk
Aug. 25-28	New York	Kiamesha Lake
Aug. 25-28	Washington	Spokane
Aug. 25-29	Steelworkers	Las Vegas, Nev.
Aug. 25-29	Sheet Metal Workers	Chicago
Sept. 2-5	North Carolina	Raleigh
Sept. 8-12	Transit Union	Toronto
Sept. 12-18	Missouri	St. Louis
Sept. 14-17	Minnesota	Duluth
Sept. 15-17	Illinois	Chicago
Sept. 15-19	Electrical Workers	Toronto
Sept. 17-19	Connecticut	Hartford
Sept. 19-21	Vermont	Smugglers' Notch
Sept. 25-29	Electronic Workers	Miami Beach, Fla.
Sept. 28-Oct. 3	Broadcast Employees & Technicians	Bal Harbour, Fla.
Oct. 1-3	Massachusetts	Boston
Oct. 2-4	South Carolina	N. Myrtle Beach
Oct. 5-10	Carpenters	Toronto
Oct. 6-9	Wisconsin	Milwaukee
Oct. 6-11	Telegraph Workers	St. Louis
Oct. 8-10	Industrial Union Dept.	Hollywood, Fla.
Oct. 13-17	Marine & Shipbuilding Workers	Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Oct. 15-17	Georgia	Atlanta
Oct. 20-24	Chemical Workers	Las Vegas, Nev.
Nov. 10-19	Air Line Pilots	Bal Harbour, Fla.
	AFL-CIO MEETINGS & EVENTS	
June 14	Teleconference	Washington and 20 cities
June 22-27	Community Services Conference	San Diego
Aug. 5-7	Executive Council	Chicago



Susan Dunlop, right, an assistant to the AFL-CIO President, and Carla Garland of LIPA at briefing on videoconference.

Regional parleys go national with 20-city television link

When the AFL-CIO's national videoconference goes on the air June 14, union members across the country and federation officials in Washington will put their heads together—by TV satellite and telephone linkup—to talk over some of the tough issues facing the labor movement.

About 70 union coordinators met in Washington for a one-day training session to put the finishing touches on plans for the 1986 regional conference series—the union meeting of the air—to be held simultaneously in 20 cities.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, presidents of several affiliated unions and federation staff in Washington will exchange ideas and join in give-and-take sessions with trade unionists at specially adapted union halls serving as conference sites. Kirkland, Donahue and other union officials will be present throughout the seven-hour program.

Union members will view the conference on large screen televisions and will be connected by telephone during the entire conference. The program also features new videos produced by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs and news breaks and reports from individual sites.

Broad agenda

Discussions will focus on the federal budget and tax reform, international trade, union privilege benefits programs, new strategies for organizing and changing the climate for unions. Each topic will be introduced by a short videotape, followed by a panel discussion in the Washington studio and questions from the 20 sites. Participants also will receive fact sheets on Senate and gubernatorial races in their areas and a legislative briefing guide to supplement the discussions.

In a "union opinion poll," members will voice their views and set priorities for each of the discussion issues, with the survey results to be tabulated and announced on the air from the Washington studio.

For example, during the budget and taxes presentation, participants will be asked to consider various tax reform components and determine which they believe is most important.

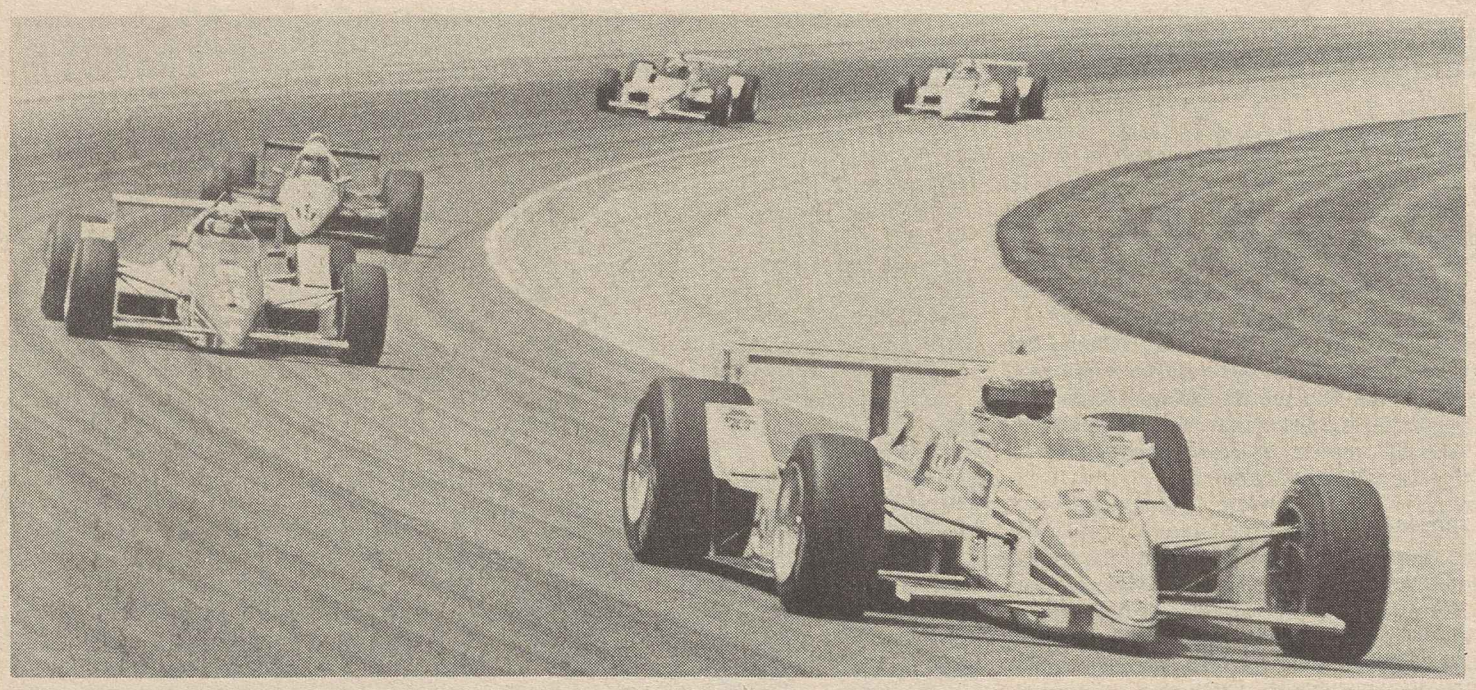
Suggestion box

In the union benefits segment, participants will be asked for suggestions on additional consumer benefits and the caucus following the organizing segment will survey alternatives to traditional organizing techniques.

Conference participants also will be asked to use the "union suggestion box" and share their ideas and questions on topics not covered by the agenda. Kirkland has credited suggestions made at earlier regional conferences as the basis for several federation programs including Solidarity Day and the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

Questions from union members will be fielded by on-site coordinators who will telephone all questions to the Washington studio. There, telephone volunteers from affiliates and the AFL-CIO's support groups will consolidate the questions which will be directed to Kirkland, Donahue or panels of union experts.

The conference is being produced by LIPA with assistance from Confersat, an arm of the Public Broadcasting Service. The program gets underway with a "sign on" by Kirkland at 11 a.m. Eastern Daylight Time (10 a.m. Central, 9 a.m. Mountain, 8 a.m. Western) and will remain on the air until 7 p.m. EDT, ending with a coast-to-coast chorus of "Solidarity Forever."



IAM's Chip Ganassi, No. 59, and Josele Garza, No. 55, in the shoot.

Machinist entries finish in money at the Indy 500

Indianapolis—The Machinists racing team didn't streak to victory in the Indianapolis 500, but the IAM's three cars did finish high in the money—winning $247,537 for the effort.

This year's rain-delayed race provided the team's best chance at gaining national recognition as it owned three of the 33 cars qualified for the race. Weather conditions held up the start of the annual Memorial Day classic for nearly a week.

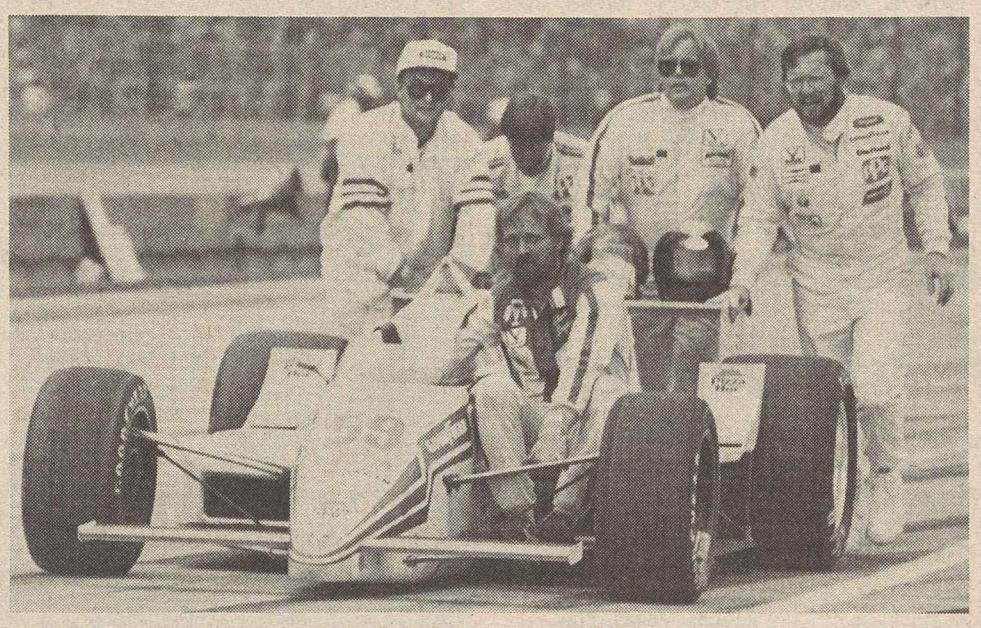
Bobby Rahal won the Indy in two-lap sprint to the finish. An accident on the 194th lap brought out the yellow flag. Rahal jumped past leader Kevin Cogan when the green came out on the 198th lap and held on to the finish, winning with a record speed of 170.7 miles per hour.

The IAM's lead driver, Josele Garza, was running in sixth place when an overheated left-front wheel bearing forced him to the pits. The crew fixed the car in 28 minutes and Garza continued, completing 167 laps, averaging 142.4 mph. He finished 18th.

Garza's car had been damaged on the final day of practice, but the Machinists got it back in running condition by race day. Driver Roberto Moreno swerved to avoid a damaged car and skidded wildly down the pit road, crashing into Garza's car. Donald Cox of the IAM crew was one of five persons to receive minor injuries in the accident.

IAM's Chip Ganassi ran 151 laps with an average speed of 160 mph before a blown engine sidelined the car. He finished in 21st place.

Johnny Parsons, the third IAM driver, drove 100 laps before a drive-train joint broke and his car spun out, netting him 27th place.



Chip Ganassi's car is pushed down pit road after engine blew.

Some lump-sum payments subject to overtime rules

Lump-sum bonuses negotiated by unions may have to be included in base pay under some circumstances when computing overtime pay, the Labor Dept. said in a nonbinding opinion that is supposed to provide guidance to regional Wage-Hour Division offices.

Deputy Wage-Hour Administrator Herbert J. Cohen made a distinction between bonuses that are "compensation for services rendered or to be rendered," and those that are "not related to the quality or quantity of the employee's past or future service."

It was only a qualified answer to the request made by the Paperworkers in March 1985 that the government spell out a single policy to end "conflicting interpretations" by various regional offices over how lump-sum bonuses, negotiated by unions in lieu of weekly or hourly pay increases, should be treated.

Since 1981, the Labor Dept. has taken the position that such bonuses were excludable from overtime pay computation because they were made "unconditionally to employees on the payroll" at the time a contract was negotiated.

Treated as wages

The opinion conceded, however, that "where an employee must be on the payroll in order to receive a future bonus payment," that would be considered "remuneration for employment" which would be included in a worker's base pay for the purposes of calculating overtime.

The controversy dates back to late 1984, when the UPIU brought charges with the Wage-Hour Division against Georgia-Pacific Corp. and Owens-Illinois Inc., for failing to consider the bonuses in computing overtime pay.

The UPIU put the suits on the back burner pending the issuance of instructions by the Labor Dept. on the uniform treatment of lump-sum bonuses. It is studying the opinion before making a determination on whether to proceed against the two companies or challenge the Labor Dept. position in court.

Delays in dispute settlements tied to overloaded arbitators

Contract grievance and arbitration procedures are being undermined by "the appearance of partiality by arbitrators, unnecessary and long delays, high costs and excessive formality," the AFL-CIO charged.

Economist John Zalusky, who chairs a federation committee on grievances and arbitration procedures, detailed labor's concerns about the trends in dispute resolution, including the increasing use of judicial review.

Zalusky told the presidential advisory committee on mediation and conciliation that there is a "lack of acceptable arbitrators" with the result that most of the workload is being carried by a relatively few arbitrators.

The American Arbitration Association reported that in 1984, two-thirds of its arbitrators heard no cases. The Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service had a similar experience, Zalusky said, with one-third of its arbitrators handling no cases in 1984 and nearly half with no cases in 1985.

The FMCS and AAA should take an more active role in "seeing that costs are held down, delays cut, formalities reduced and arbitration lists improved," Zalusky said, noting that in 1984 it took 200 days from the request to the award for AAA arbitrators and 260 days, or 30 percent longer, for FMCS arbitrators.

Zalusky said there should be tighter standards for individuals to get on the FMCS and AAA lists and suggested that the FMCS set up a task force of labor, management and arbitrator representatives to improve the standards of arbitrator professionalism.

The increased use of transcripts and lawyers adds to the delay and costs, Zalusky said. FMCS found that the filing of briefs in a case added 45 days to the proceedings and that the average cost per case reached $1,468 in 1985.

Zalusky urged the advisory committee to "consider ways of limiting transcripts and briefs, and establishing expedited procedures for all but the most complex issues."

Max Zimny, general counsel for the Ladies' Garment Workers, urged that a training program be developed to replenish a dwindling pool of arbitrators acceptable to labor and management.

Zimny testified on behalf of the American Bar Association's committee on arbitration.

Reagan policy hit for surge in trade gap

Continued from Page 1

the first four months of this year, he said, "is larger than the entire trade deficit in either 1981 or 1982, the first two years this Administration was in office, and it's American workers and their employers who have suffered."

Although April's merchandise trade deficit was $2.4 billion below the figures originally announced last month—and virtually unchanged from the revised March figure—whatever decline did occur resulted mainly from plummeting prices in the world oil market. The value of oil imports plunged to $1.8 billion—the lowest level in 11 years.

But the good news stopped there.

- Imports of new passenger cars from Canada increased 11.6 percent to $1.2 billion, while those from Japan rose 2.3 percent to $1.5 billion with the rest of the world sending in another $1.1 billion worth.
- Combined textile and apparel imports last month were up 28 percent from April 1985.
- Footwear imports in April were 2.2 percent above year-ago figures as 71.3 million pairs of shoes entered the United States, compared to 69.8 million pairs in April 1985. Imported shoes have now captured nearly 81 percent of the domestic market.

New impetus

The textile, apparel and footwear figures added new impetus to the drive to override Reagan's veto of legislation to crack down on these low-wage imports and give American industry an opportunity to compete. Congress is scheduled to vote on the veto override on Aug. 6.

Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige conceded that, with oil prices now about as low as they can be expected to go, they will be of little further help in reducing the overall deficit figures in the months ahead. Last month's trade figures "probably do not mark a turning point" in the five years of Reagan-inspired trade deficits, Baldrige said.

The National Association of Manufacturers agreed.

NAM Vice President Jerry Jasinowski, the industry lobby's chief economist, was pessimistic because the April figures showed "no improvement in manufacturing, which accounts for 76 percent of U.S. trade activity." He predicted this year's trade deficit would top the $167-billion mark—more than 12 percent above last year's level.

BCT retirees get $15 million bonus

Approximately 33,000 retired members of the Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers are sharing in a $15-million bonus payment because joint labor-management investment policies have improved the value of the pension fund.

BCT President John DeConcini, who chairs the pension fund's board of trustees, said that pensioners who retired on or before Dec. 31, 1977, received $500 each, while those who retired between Jan. 1, 1978 and Dec. 31, 1985, received $400 each.

The extra payments mark the fourth time since establishment of the fund in 1955 that bonus checks have been issued.

Labor lobbyist Ken Meiklejohn dies

Kenneth A. Meiklejohn, a retired AFL-CIO legislative representative, died of a heart attack on June 2 at the age of 78.

His public service career dated back to the early New Deal era when he came to Washington as an attorney for the Interior Dept. and then the Labor Dept. It included service at the United Nations as an aide to Eleanor Roosevelt, staff director of the Senate Subcommittee on Health, and lobbyist for the Ladies' Garment Workers. He was director of the AFL-CIO's Joint Minimum Wage Committee before joining the federation's legislative staff in 1961.

Meiklejohn's legislative assignments included work for enactment of the equal employment section of the Civil Rights Act, bargaining rights for government workers, immigration reform and minimum wage improvements.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue paid tribute to his "effective advocacy on behalf of the rights of American workers." He helped millions of Americans achieve a better life, they said in a letter to his wife, Bianca.

Meiklejohn was active in Virginia Democratic politics and served as a legislative consultant to unions after his retirement from the AFL-CIO in 1980.

Besides his wife, he is survived by a daughter, Nanine, who is assistant director of legislation for the State, County & Municipal Employees, and a son, Kenneth A. Meiklejohn Jr. of Detroit.

Imports, sweatshops

Chaikin cites perils to garment workers

Hollywood, Fla.—Workers in the garment industry are caught between the "twin millstones" of uncontrolled imports and the rebirth of sweatshops and homework, Ladies' Garment Workers President Sol C. Chaikin told the union's 39th convention.

In his keynote address, Chaikin called on the 700 delegates to "redouble your efforts" to pass import legislation and a new immigration law to end the exploitation of undocumented workers.

He reminded the convention that the ILGWU has been speaking out for more than 15 years on the import problem which threatens to destroy the domestic textile, apparel and clothing industries which employ one out of every eight blue-collar workers in America.

Despite the industry's vital role in the national economy, Chaikin said, U.S. trade negotiators have consistently failed to represent the interests of American workers. "They gave away the game before the cards were even dealt," he charged.

Although the labor movement and management are adversaries at the bargaining table, the ILGWU president declared, "we are together in this fight, and it is a fight to keep an industry alive."

Active alliance

The two sides joined forces to win passage last year of the Textile & Apparel Trade Enforcement Act vetoed by President Reagan, and the alliance is gearing up for a scheduled Aug. 6 vote to override the veto.

Turning to the problem of the re-emerging sweatshop, Chaikin recalled that the ILGWU was in the forefront of the battle to prevent undocumented workers from becoming "grist for the mill" of unscrupulous employers who exploit them.

The union has urged enactment of a new immigration law containing a generous amnesty for undocumented workers already in the country, sanctions against employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens and a nonforgeable social security card.

Chaikin sharply assailed the so-called recovery from the Reagan Recession that has left millions unemployed or underemployed and millions more shunted to low-paying jobs in the service sector. Despite the problems confronting the ILGWU because of the erosion of its industry, he asserted, the union "is in the forefront of the battle to make life just a little bit better for those Americans who have even less than we have."

Union's role praised

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland saluted the union for its "immense contributions to the health and stability not only of the clothing industry, but to the progress and well-being of the trade union movement as a whole."

The ILGWU's fight to prevent "the destruction of your industry by the flood of cheap imported goods," Kirkland told delegates," is as vital to the health of the American society as anything that you have ever done in the past."

In 1980, Kirkland reminded the convention, Candidate Reagan promised American voters "jobs, jobs and more jobs." Since then, he pointed out, "11.5 million Americans have lost their jobs" and ILGWU members "were among the first to feel the pain of a national trade policy that injures the lives and diminishes the prospects of all Americans."

The lost jobs were ones that "paid well enough to allow American families to improve their material circumstances and raise their educational levels in each generation," Kirkland asserted. The jobs that have replaced them "are not a fair exchange" because they are low-wage and part-time service industry jobs that "are no foundation on which to build any kind of stable and hopeful family life."

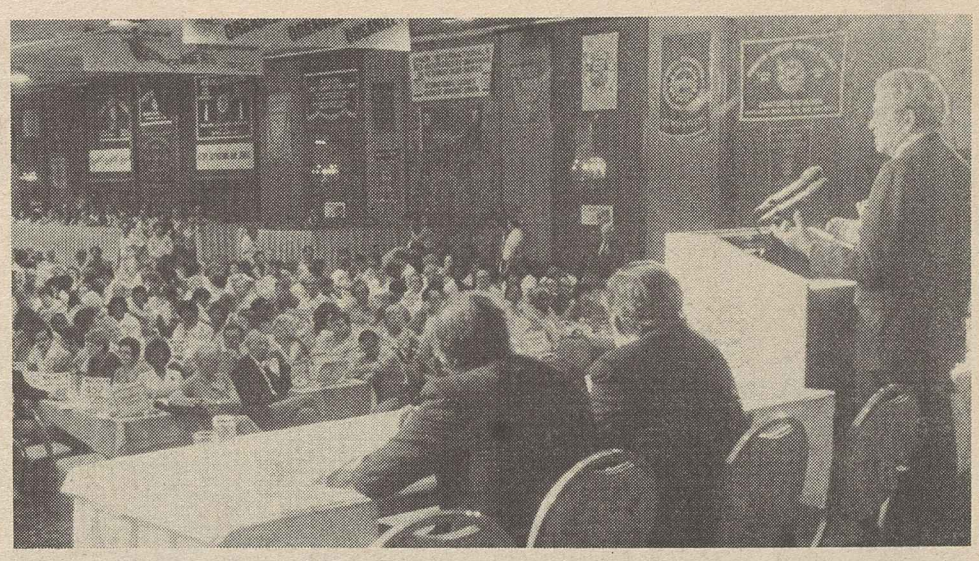
Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.) said part of the trade problem results from a lack of coordination among the 28 different Cabinet-level departments and agencies involved in administering existing laws against dumping and other unfair practices.

Trade council urged

He urged creation of a National Trade Council to "enforce these laws in a very deliberate, positive balanced way" and to "develop a good trade policy in this country."

Over 300,000 jobs in the textile and apparel industry have "gone down in flames" because of the Administration's trade policies," Hollings said, declaring that overriding Reagan's veto would be the first step toward "putting out the flames."

Ahead of the convention's delegates lay the task of electing a new president to succeed Chaikin, who is retiring this year; action on a broad range of social and economic issues, and addresses from Vermont Gov. Madeline Kunin (D), Congressman Claude Pepper (D-Fla.), Canadian Labor Congress President Shirley Carr, and Emma Mashinini, founder and now general secretary of South Africa's Commercial Catering & Allied Workers' Union.



ILGWU President Sol Chaikin calls for crackdown on sweatshops and imports.

NLRB's Collyer endorses Auto pact at Saturn plant

In a sharp rebuff to anti-labor forces, National Labor Relations Board General Counsel Rosemary Collyer upheld an agreement between the Auto Workers and General Motors Corp. for the new Saturn plant in Spring Hill, Tenn.

Collyer authorized the NLRB's regional director in Detroit to dismiss charges brought by the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, which claimed the agreement giving UAW members first crack at the 6,000 jobs violated Tennessee's compulsory open-shop law.

It marked the second time that organized labor won a major challenge to union representation in constructing the $3.5-billion facility.

Two months ago, the NLRB regional director in Memphis threw out a complaint by the nonunion Associated Builders & Contractors challenging an agreement between the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. and Morrison-Knudsen Co., the general contractor.

That agreement requires contractors and subcontractors to hire workers through a union hiring hall, follow union work rules and contribute to health and benefit funds.

In the latest challenge, "right-to-work" forces claimed the UAW-GM agreement discriminated against nonunion workers. But Collyer ruled that giving hiring preference to current GM employees was consistent with NLRB and Supreme Court rulings requiring employers to bargain with unions whenever management decisions could impact adversely on union workers.

The Saturn plant will "clearly" have an impact on workers at existing GM small-car manufacturing facilities, she declared, and consequently could affect the job security of present UAW members.

Protecting jobs

The agreement will help protect the job rights of the UAW's members at GM plants, Collyer pointed out, and will guarantee management an immediate source of skilled employees when the Tennessee facility begins operation in 1990 with a goal of producing 500,000 vehicles annually.

Collyer also authorized dismissal of the open-shop group's charge that GM "prematurely" recognized the UAW before beginning the hiring of workers at Spring Hill. The legal effect of the agreement, she said, is that GM will recognize the UAW in the future only when a majority of employees at Saturn choose union representation.

UAW President Owen Bieber and Vice President Donald F. Ephlin hailed the action as "consistent with existing law," adding that the agreement covering hiring of the Saturn workforce is in "complete conformity" with practices in use for years.

A Saturn spokesman said that, with the open-shop challenge now laid to rest, the company could concentrate "on the task for which Saturn was established—competitively manufacturing small cars in the United States."

The "right-to-work" cabal said it would appeal the decision to dismiss the unfair labor practice charges.

Changes in bankruptcy law basis for restoring contract

Continued from Page 1

ruptcy court, the company slashed wages and benefits by one-third and insisted on freezing them at that level for five years. The action triggered a 98-day strike of 8,200 Steelworkers at nine steel plants in West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The walkout ended only after the company's chairman agreed to resign and a new contract was negotiated giving the USWA two seats on the board of directors, an active voice in managing the import-battered steel company and a bonus plan linked to future steel price rises and profits.

Although the bankruptcy judge's decision was upheld by a federal district court, the appeals court ruled that there was no evidence that the company's decision to renege on its contract was "fair and equitable," or that it was necessary for successful reorganization under Chapter 11 of federal bankruptcy laws.

Reviewing the legislative history of the 1984 amendments, the court said it was clear that a bankruptcy court could not "authorize rejection of a labor contract merely" for the convenience of management and creditors.

Although the 1984 law required that an employer first make a proposal to the union and bargain in good faith to try to reach a decision, Wheeling-Pittsburgh failed to follow this procedure before repudiating its contract, the court held.

Writing for the three-judge panel, Circuit Judge Dolores K. Sloviter said the company also never made a showing that the plan was necessary for the steelmaker's financial health or that the proposal was fair to all parties.

On that basis, the court said, U.S. Bankruptcy Court Judge Warren W. Benz erred when he authorized the company to dissolve its contract with the USWA 13 months before its expiration date and to unilaterally roll back wages on the basis of a "worst-case" scenario assuming that everything would go wrong for the industry and the company.

The bankruptcy judge "failed to give any persuasive rationale for the disproportionate treatment of the employees," Judge Sloviter said. Instead, the workers were asked to accept a new five-year agreement "without any possibility for restoration or share in the event of a better-than-anticipated recovery."

Mentally ill win battle over social security

A unanimous Supreme Court rejected a Reagan Administration appeal and upheld lower court rulings that the Dept. of Health & Human Services illegally deprived more than 10,000 mentally ill New York residents of their social security disability benefits.

The case is a hangover from the period of brutal terminations of social security benefits that caused Congress to impose a moratorium on further purging of the disability benefit list until more humane standards were put in place.

It directly involves some 10,000 to 15,000 mentally ill New Yorkers whose benefits were ended or whose applications were rejected. But the decision could have far-reaching affects for the handicapped in other states who suffered similar setbacks.

The Supreme Court backed the finding of a district court and of the 2nd Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals that the Social Security Administration used a "clandestine policy" of determining eligibility, secretly changing its criteria for benefits.

Deadlines invoked

While the agency backed down on its disqualification policies under congressional pressure and after adverse court rulings, the Justice Dept. argued that most of those who lost social security benefits were barred from using the courts to seek reinstatement because they hadn't complied with various appeal deadlines and administrative procedures.

The Supreme Court opinion, by Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr., said that those deprived of benefits couldn't be expected to challenge a policy they didn't know existed and were now entitled to have their cases decided under "fair and neutral procedure."

Both New York City and the state joined advocates of the rights of disabled in challenging the Administration's benefit cutoff.

Some of the mentally disabled affected are homeless and an earlier district court ruling noted that many had been "hospitalized due to the trauma of having disability benefits cut off."

The case was not "hard" to decide, Justice Powell noted.

Sour grapes

Because the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board rejected its challenge to the unionization of an automobile plant in a compulsory open-shop state, the National Right to Work Committee wants President Reagan to fire her.

Reed Larson, president of the fanatic anti-union group, fired off a letter to the White House demanding the scalp of Rosemary Collyer who upheld a contract between the Auto Workers and General Motors Corp. for the Saturn plant that is due to begin operations in Tennessee in 1990.

Larson accused Collyer of having "politicized her office" and of demonstrating her "eagerness to prop up the bosses of big business and big labor."

He also called for a Senate investigation of the Saturn decision that will guarantee permanent job security for at least 80 percent of the UAW members who will be building the new small-size American car.

For local heroes

Letter Carriers President Vincent Sombrotto accepts 1986 Volunteer Action Award from President Reagan saluting the NALC's Carrier Alert program. The NALC was one of 19 recipients out of more than 2,300 nominations. In the Carrier Alert effort, begun in 1982, union members keep track of elderly and disabled persons on their routes who may need assistance and watch for signs of trouble including accumulated mail and newspapers.

AT&T giveback demand triggers strike by 155,000

Continued from Page 1

which have been in the contract since 1972, an end to night shift pay differentials, limit on incentive pay for factory workers, and downgrade job classifications.

The job reclassification concession centers on 20,000 skilled systems technicians who would be subject to layoffs if the company is permitted to split the classification into several job titles. One of those new classifications, wire pullers, could receive a pay cut of $300 a week, Bahr said.

The company also wants to downgrade some data processing jobs and weaken the language on downgrading protections covering manufacturing workers.

CWA President Morton Bahr said AT&T is seeking "unwarranted concessions," despite the company's increasing profitability. AT&T's 1985 earnings rose to $1.56 billion—14 percent higher than 1984's level. First quarter earnings for 1986 hit $530 million.

He stressed that while AT&T is demanding give-backs from its workers, the firm's chairman of the board got a 33 percent pay increase last year and all its top executives carried home hefty bonuses.

"They seem to be trying to take advantage of the environment in this country over the past few years," Bahr said. "We have chosen to make this time and this place our stand against unwarranted concessionary bargaining."

AT&T initially offered its concessions tied to a wage package that contained a mere 1 percent raise the first year and 2 percent pay increases in each of the following two years, for a total pay raise package of 5 percent over three years. Bahr termed the offer from the communications giant as "an elephant giving birth to a gnat."

It was improved to 7 percent over three years, and then just before the strike deadline, raised to 8 percent with the breakout being 2 percent the first year and 3 percent in each of the remaining two years.

The union also said contract language sought by the company would make it easier for AT&T to move its manufacturing facilities overseas.

Incentives to end

The tentative agreement with the IBEW provides a means for ending incentive pay. Used mainly in the manufacturing plants, incentives are "outdated" and do not fit present high-tech manufacturing industries, said IBEW chief negotiator for manufacturing, Tom Hickman.

Workers in plants that had low incentive earnings will receive flat "buyouts" ranging from $2,200 to $7,000, Hickman said. Those who earned higher incentive pay will get a 5-percent boost in base wages plus a buyout consisting of several lump-sum payments throughout the course of the contract.

Further on the manufacturing side, the current 10 pay grades in six plants would be reduced to three with no workers receiving a pay cut, Hickman said.

In exchange for reclassifying the work of systems technicians, the company will increase pension benefits to 16 percent for technicians eligible to retire, and it agreed not to downgrade more than 10 percent of the workers in that classification. A lower classification of technicians, who will start at $200 a week and go up to $360, will be used only in large urban areas.

UFCW resumes Hormel negotiations

Austin, Minn.—The Food & Commercial Workers returned to the bargaining table with Geo. A. Hormel & Co. after a federal judge upheld its right to place Local P-9 under trusteeship for failing to end a 10-month strike against the firm.

Judge Edward Devitt of the U.S. District Court for Minnesota granted the UFCW's request for a preliminary injunction and the local turned over its files and assets to the international.

Devitt held that the international acted in accordance with its constitution when it placed the local under trusteeship.

Local P-9 withdrew from the UFCW's master negotiations with Hormel last year and tried, but failed to negotiate a separate agreement at the Austin facility. It struck the plant on Aug. 17, 1985.

The UFCW supported the walkout until March, when it urged the members of the local to end their strike and offer to return to work. Failure of P-9 to follow that directive led to the trusteeship action.

RTW hidden agenda: wipe out labor

Continued from Page 1

understand that autonomous unions are an inevitable outgrowth of a free society. Yet the brand of conservatism embodied in the right-to-work movement is so extreme as to deny the validity of this basic form of free association.

The committee and its tax-exempt Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation are most visible to the public in promotional advertisements featuring downtrodden workers (often black), exhausted and desperate in their struggles to be free of union violence and intimidation. Those appeals for support are often highly deceptive. Their insinuations that individual workers have no protection from violent and powerful unions, and the foundation's claims to work for workers in the public interest, serve to mask their simple opposition to unions.

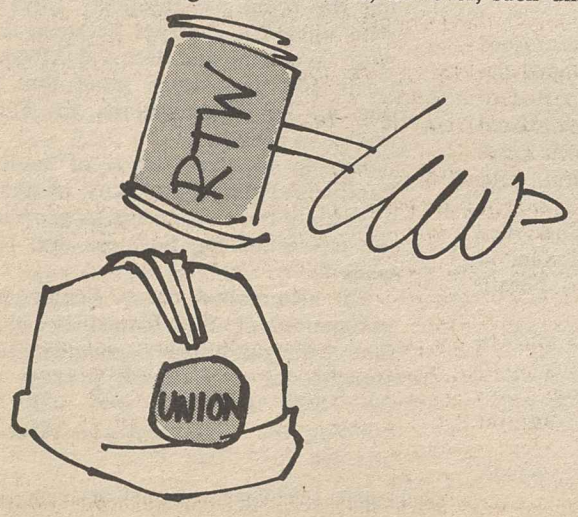
Once a union wins the right to represent the employees in a particular workplace—usually after an election, but sometimes after a petition drive—one of the union's first steps is usually to negotiate an agreement with the employer for some form of union security—a union or agency shop. This means that all employees must join the union within a specified period after being hired, usually 30 or 60 days, or, in the case of the agency shop, that nonunion members pay a fee to the union.

Importance of union security

The reason union security is considered so important by trade unions is that they are required, by federal law, to represent all employees eligible to join the union, even those who do not join. In fact, nonunion employees have successfully sued unions for not representing them well enough in grievance procedures and other matters.

Maintaining these grievance and collective bargaining structures is fairly expensive, and unions argue that all who benefit should help pay for them. Those who dislike being represented by unions are free to try to elect different leaders or to vote out, or decertify, the union. But, unions say, as long as union representation is desired by the majority of the workers, all should help pay for it.

In states with right-to-work laws, however, such union security arrangements are illegal. If a union is voted by a majority of workers in a plant, a substantial minority may still refuse to join, even though they receive whatever benefits are won by the union through collective bargaining. Generally, that leads to weaker unions. Employers sometimes offer special deals to those who refuse to join the union, or hire anti-union workers in order to undermine it.



Weaker union representation usually means lower wages and fewer benefits for workers, which is why the AFL-CIO has called the right-to-work movement the "right-to-work-for-less movement." Most right-to-work states are in the South, Southwest and Great Plains, where wages are lower and industrialization a relatively recent phenomenon.

States have been permitted to enact right-to-work laws since 1947, when Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Amendments to the Wagner Act. But even earlier, a few states had passed such laws, most notably Florida, where in 1943, a right-to-work law was passed after intense lobbying by such organizations as the Florida Citrus Canners Cooperative, the United Growers & Shippers Association and the Florida Citrus Producers Trade Association.

When business interest in right-to-work laws was aroused by the growth of unions after World War II, it was following a well-worn pattern. Earlier in the century, when the American Federation of Labor was growing dramatically, industrialists organized by the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Erectors Association and the National Trades Federation initiated an "open-shop" campaign similar to the right-to-work movement. The term "open-shop" was intended to convey that such shops or factories were open to all workers, union or nonunion, whereas the "closed" shop was closed to all but union members. (The closed shop, since outlawed by federal law, was a form of union security whereby any new employee already had to be a union member in good standing in order to be hired.)

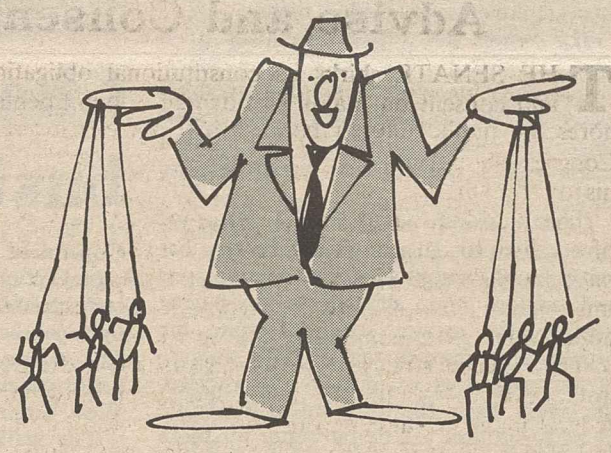
Widespread blacklisting

In reality, the open-shop was open only to nonunion workers. The Erectors trade group, for example, allowed membership to businesses that "pledge themselves to the open-shop," meaning, "not only no dealings with the union but no employment of union members." The featured speaker at the 1905 NAM convention told delegates they should "discharge union men promptly." Blacklisting of union members was widespread. Companies such as Bethlehem Steel refused to sell their products to contractors who employed union members.

The campaign for the open-shop was considered quite successful: the AFL lost more than 114,000 members from 1904 to 1906.

The next surge in union growth, during World War I, triggered a new anti-union campaign, this time called the "American Plan." Very similar to the open-shop campaign, and supported by many of the same organizations, its supposed tenet was that "voluntary unionism" was acceptable, while the union shop was "un-American."

Commenting on the American Plan, satirist Finley Peter



Dunne wrote the oft-quoted dialogue between his characters, Mr. Dooley and Mr. Hennessy:

> "What's all this that's in the papers about the open shop?" asked Mr. Hennessey.
>
> "Why, don't you know?" replied Mr. Dooley. "Really, I'm surprised at yer ignorance, Hennessey. What is th' open shop? Sur, 'tis where they kape the doors open to accommodate the constant stream av min coming in t' take jobs cheaper than the min what has the jobs. Tis like this, Hennessey: Suppose wan av these freeborn citizens is working in an open shop for the princely wages av won large iron dollar a day av tin hours. Along come anither son-av-a-gun and he sez t' the boss, Oi think Oi could handle the job nicely f'r ninety cints. Sure, sez the boss, and the wan dollar man gets the merry jinglin can and goes out into the crool world t' exercise his inalienable rights as a freeborn American citizen an' scab on some other poor devil. An' who gets the benefit? True, it save the boss money, but he don't care no more f'r money thin he does for his right eye.
>
> "It's all principle wid him. He hates to see men robbed av their indepindense. They must have their indepindense, regardless av anything else."
>
> "But," said Hennessey, "these open-shop men you mention say they are for unions if properly conducted."
>
> "Sure," said Mr. Dooley, "if properly conducted, and how would they have them conducted: no strikes, no dues, no contracts, no scales—hardly any wages and damned few members."

The American Plan, like the earlier open-shop campaign, was a success: total union membership dropped from over 5 million in 1920 to 3.6 million in 1923.

Given this pattern of employer resistance to unionization, it is hardly surprising that the post-World War II surge of union membership should have provoked a new anti-union drive. But this time, instead of leaving the anti-union campaign to the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce, a group of impatient Southern businessmen began their own, more radical organization—the National Right to Work Committee. And that is where this story really begins.

EDITORIALS

Labor's Town Meeting

EVERY YEAR for the past five years, the officers and staff of the AFL-CIO have criss-crossed the country for regional meetings. Those conferences have been well-received, and they have been a rich source of ideas and information. The experience has been as valuable to the people at federation headquarters as to the union members who came to meet with them.

This year, the AFL-CIO will experiment with something new—the television videoconference. Using this technology, the regional meetings are being combined into a one-day "Union Meeting of the Air" beamed live from Washington by satellite to 20 cities coast-to-coast next Saturday.

Not a television show, but a real live meeting, every part of this conference is planned to provide for spontaneous, two-way communications.

A key goal of this Space Age get-together is to bring the meeting home to more unionists in more cities. To hear and be heard on June 14, be in Albuquerque, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Knoxville, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Philadephia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis, Salt Lake City, Seattle, Syracuse or Tampa. Tune in and take part.

Truth in Politics

COULD THERE be a more outrageous example of mislabeling than that displayed by the Lyndon LaRouche candidates for Congress in New Jersey who called themselves FDR Democrats? It boggles the mind to conceive of an association between the principles of America's New Deal president and the rantings of the LaRouche cultists.

But the lesson of the Ilinois primary was not forgotten. The FDR mantle did not fool many voters. Nor was New Jersey alone in identifying and rejecting the LaRouche attempt to infiltrate the mainstream of American politics. Iowa, beset by farm calamities, appeared vulnerable to the LaRouche demagoguery. It wasn't.

In California, a successful write-in campaign prevented a LaRouche candidate from winning a Democratic congressional nomination unopposed. It is a reminder that there is still the possiblity of political embarrassment. But not, thankfully, when voters are informed.

Advise and Consent

THE SENATE shirks its constitutional obligation to advise and consent on major presidential appointments when it ignores the public interest because of a knee-jerk assumption that Congress should not interfere with the President's "right" to pick his own team.

The President has the right to nominate a person with a record of hostility to the program he is to administer: a foe of the Occupational Safety & Health Act to serve on OSHA's review commission for example. But the Senate shares responsibility for the appointment if it concurs in the decision.

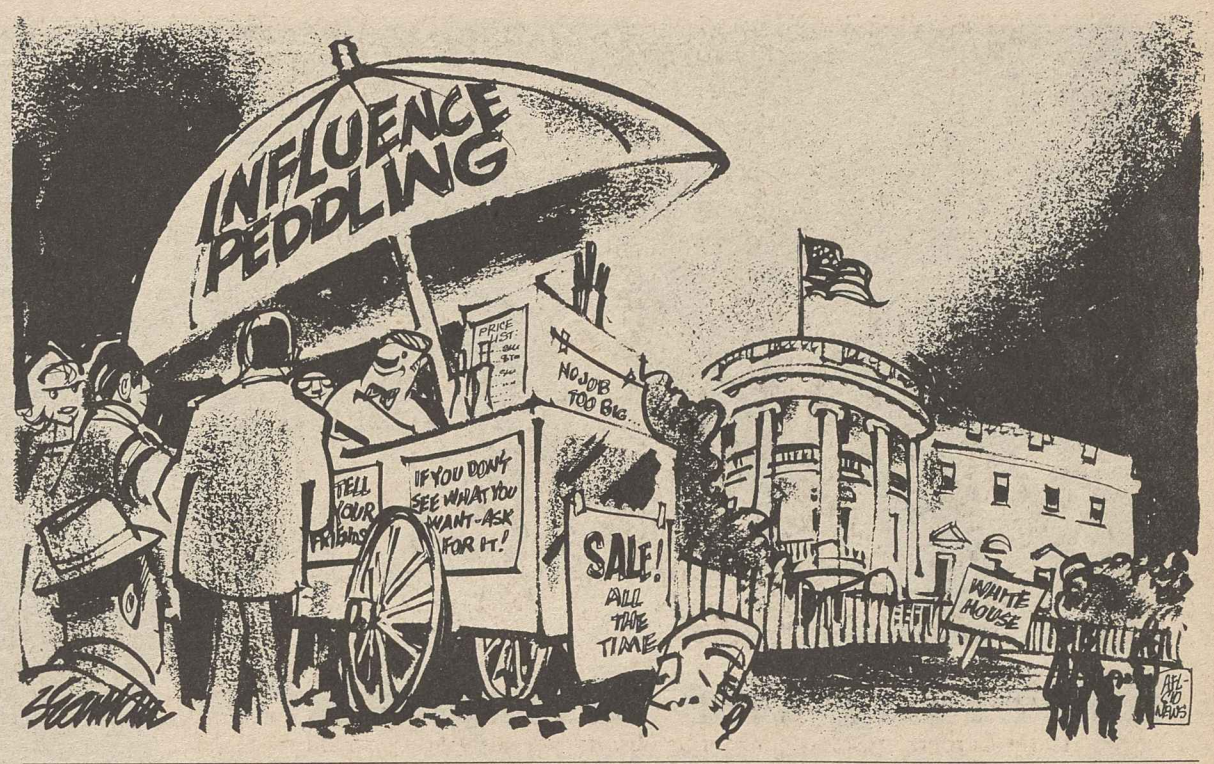
The Senate's obligation is greatest of all in the case of judicial appointments, for these are for life. Even now, an imprisoned federal judge continues to draw a paycheck while in jail because his lifetime appointment can be voided only through the elaborate procedures of impeachment.

That's why it is especially important that the Senate not consent to the unfortunate nomination of Daniel Manion to the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Manion's only claim to distinction has been in the political arena, as a rigid ideologue of the far fight. His law career has been without distinction and he is a stranger to cases of the complexity that federal judges at the appellate court level routinely handle. He has expressed scorn for Supreme Court precedents and contempt for rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Judiciary Committee, although controlled by the President's party, could not muster a majority to report his nomination favorably to the Senate. It will come to the Senate floor without a recommendation.

If the Senate takes its constitutional duties seriously, the nomination will be rejected. It should be.



Washington Window

Reagan policies mean 20 million go hungry

By Press Associates Inc.

President Reagan stood there, in front of the White House, symbolically linked via national television with five million other Americans on Hands Across America Day. The President looked out of place and embarrassed, as if he had just been caught telling a tall tale.

What Reagan had said a few days earlier in a meeting with high school students was, "I don't believe that there is anyone that is going hungry in America simply by reason of denial or lack of ability to feed them. It is by people not knowing where or how to get this help."

With that colossal gaffe, the roof caved in as experts pointed out the large increase in hunger, homelessness and poverty during the Reagan years and blamed his policies for worsening the problem.

Moving quickly to control the damage to the President's image, the White House staff said Reagan had a change of mind and would participate in the Hands Across America chain. That's how the line happened to run through the White House grounds.

When the President blamed hunger on the ignorance of the poor, had he forgotten that in 1981 he had killed a $5 million outreach program designed to find eligible needy families and tell them where they could get food?

Had Reagan forgotten that his Administration got Congress to cut federal food and nutrition programs by some $7 billion?

Selective memory

Had the President forgotten that, in an effort to get "cheaters" off the rolls, eligibility rules were tightened and many hungry people were denied food? For example, the Mississippi Dept. of Welfare said the number of forms it has to complete to sign up a client has tripled to 42.

Critics conceded that the President was partly right, that there are people unable to get food because they don't know where to go. Dr. Larry Brown of Harvard, head of the Physicians Task Force on Hunger, said surveys by his group showed that lack of information was a key factor for nearly half of the 10 to 15 million people eligible for food stamps not getting them.

Referring to the Administration's success in having Congress abolish the outreach program, Brown said he found Reagan's excuse "a bit bewildering." He said Reagan "helped create the ignorance that's there." The Physicians Task Force identified 100 changes made by the Reagan Administration which had the effect, if not the purpose, of baffling the hungry and keeping the program "in a state of turmoil."

Program killed

Robert Greenstein, director of the nonpartisan Center on Budget & Policy Priorities, pointed out that the House made an effort to revive the food stamp outreach program through the farm bill last year, but the Administration successfully defeated the move.

The facts are quite clear on what is happening in America. The U.S. Census Bureau reported that the number of Americans living in poverty has increased by 4.4 million to nearly 34 million since 1980. The official 1984 poverty line was $10,609 a year for a family of four. More than 13 million children are in poverty-level families, making the U.S. the only advanced nation in the world where children are the largest segment of the poor.

The physicians' group estimates 20 million people are going hungry. The Food Research & Action Center reports an increasing demand for emergency food in the last few years, along with increased homelessness. Union food banks, church feeding programs and community soup kitchens are strained beyond their limits.

There are many reasons for rising poverty and hunger. Reagan's "magic of the marketplace" has brought back the law of the jungle. Cheap labor imports have wiped out millions of jobs, leaving workers' families stranded. Callous cutbacks in government programs worsen the suffering. But the key factor is the Reagan Administration's failure to point the nation towards full employment.

AFL-CIO news

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Cheering the union on

Newest members of the Clothing & Textile Workers in North Carolina have plenty to cheer about as they celebrate a victory at Reeves Brothers Inc., where workers chose ACTWU in a National Labor Relations Board election by a vote of 427-284. Union supporters resisted company threats and a fierce anti-union campaign to win union representation at Reeves. The 750 workers, who make foam padding for cars and furniture, were bolstered by an Auto Workers local in Texas, whose members' pension fund owns a percentage of the Reeves operation. ACTWU is now negotiating a first contract with the firm.

Carpenters, Woodworkers battle giveback demands

Portland, Ore.—The Carpenters and Woodworkers continued negotiations beyond the June 1 expiration date of their contracts with the lumber industry although both sides remained far apart on the terms of new agreements.

The unions pressed their case for a 4.5-percent wage hike in each year of a new two-year contract, pointing out that demand for wood products has accelerated in recent months because of the sharp upward surge in construction resulting from the dramatic decline in interest rates.

Management has countered with demands for rollbacks and concessions ranging between 20 and 35 percent, depending on the type of operation and location. The companies concede that demand has picked up but claim they remain at an economic disadvantage because prices have not increased.

Western timber producers charge that their products are hurt by Canadian lumber imports, southern lumber which has lower labor and transportation costs, and by small nonunion mills in the West. As a result, they told the Carpenters and Woodworkers, the industry continues to be plagued by overcapacity.

Earlier this year, the two unions created the U.S. Forest Products Joint Bargaining Board representing 90,000 workers in a move toward obtaining national contracts with the major companies in the timber industry to replace the traditional regionally bargained contracts in the West and South.

The new board includes the Western Council of the Lumber Production & Industrial Workers and the Southern Council of Industrial Workers, both affiliated with the Carpenters, and the IWA's southern and western regions. The midwestern region of the IWA is scheduled to become a member of the joint bargaining team shortly.

The Carpenters and the IWA have joined in regional bargaining in the past. They launched the move toward national contracts to prevent the industry from playing workers in one region against those in another.

As a first step, they have proposed an extra $1 an hour for southern workers in this year's contract talks to close the present wage disparity averaging $3.50 an hour in most job classifications.

Management's response to the unions' move toward national bargaining has been to abandon the past practice under which the seven giants in the industry negotiated collectively. Not only is each company bargaining on its own with the joint board this year but many companies are pushing to get contracts on a mill-by-mill basis.

The forest products industry in the West is concentrated in Washington, Oregon and California. Southern operations include mills in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma and South Carolina.

Labor hits plan to close down 10 NIOSH facilities

The AFL-CIO voiced deep concern about a Reagan Administration proposal to close the regional offices of the National Institute for Occupational Safety & Health, terming it essential that the agency maintain the needed services.

Margaret Seminario, associate director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, stressed that the Administration has cut the agency's budget to the bone over the past few years and "it's getting close to being a skeleton of a program."

Seminario warned that the functions of the regional offices will go "unfilled" if the shutdowns are made. She pointed out that the agency "is much less visible since it moved to Atlanta, and this move will further cut its ability to interact with the public." She noted regional representatives participate in meetings and conferences and answer requests for information, besides conducting health hazard evaluations at worksites.

She pointed out that even though Congress approved a slight increase in the agency's funding for next year, the White House Office of Management & Budget is pressuring NIOSH to further cut full-time equivalent positions.

The proposal to close 10 regional offices is being considered by NIOSH and its parent agency, the Centers for Disease Control. The regional office workers would be reassigned to NIOSH offices in Atlanta, Cincinnati or Morgantown, W.Va.

Imports keep factory order at low levels

Factory orders inched up a scant one-tenth of 1 percent in April as the persistently high volume of imports continued to batter many American industries.

The Commerce Dept. reported $193.2 billion in new orders for manufactured goods last month, a slim $200 million above the March level. April's slight increase followed on the heels of a 2.8-percent decline the previous month.

For the first four months of this year, orders were an anemic 1.9 percent above the same period in 1985, showing the continued weakness of the manufacturing sector and raising serious doubts that the Reagan Administration's forecast of a 4-percent economic growth this year can be achieved.

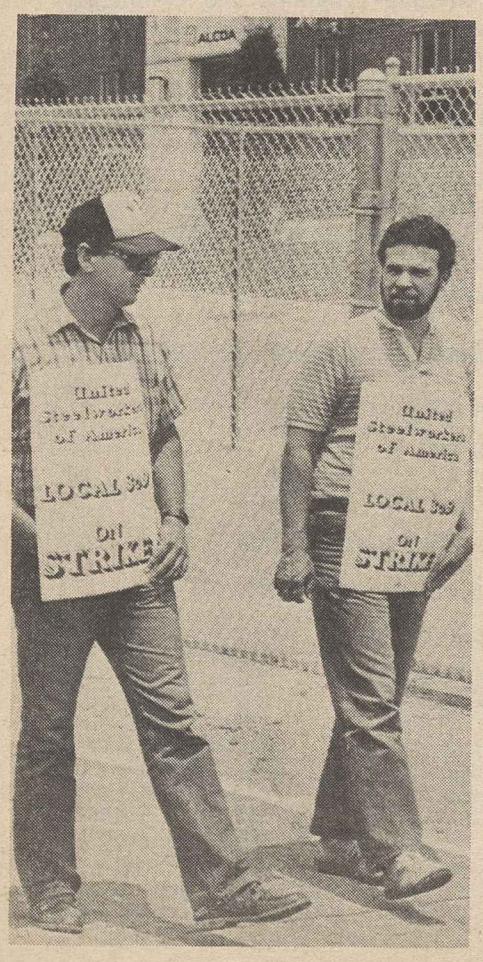
In a separate report, the government said new construction rose eight-tenths of 1 percent in April to an annual rate of $356.7 billion—4 percent higher than the year-ago rate.

Fueled by low mortgage interest rates, the value of housing construction last month rose 2.6 percent to $159.6 billion. This gain was partially offset by a 1.4 percent decline to $86.3 billion for commercial and industrial construction.

Sales of new single-family homes in April were running at an annual rate of 862,000, a decline of 3.5 percent from the March level of 893,000 but still a robust 33 percent above the April 1985 pace. The April level was the third highest on record since the government began keeping these statistics nearly a quarter century ago.

In other developments:

- Business productivity climbed 3.6 percent in the first three months of this year, as compared with the last quarter of 1985. The government said the output of goods and services jumped 4.5 percent in the first quarter while the number of hours worked rose a meager nine-tenths of 1 percent. Hourly labor costs went up at a modest annual rate of 2.2 percent.
- Public confidence in the economy took a downward turn in May as consumers pulled back on plans to buy big-ticket items in the near future, according to the Conference Board. The business-oriented research group said the May confidence index stood at 96.1, down 2.9 points from the previous month, indicating that consumer spending is not yet ready to fire up any economic resurgence.
- With the financial sector providing almost all of the impetus, the leading economic indicators shot up 1.5 percent in April. The figures used to gauge future economic activity were pumped up by Wall Street's raging bull market and the growth of the money supply. Advances in these areas overshadowed declines in the average workweek and orders for new plant and equipment.



USWA pickets in Alcoa, Tenn.

Reynolds pact extended

Alcoa struck as talks collapse

By Candice Johnson

Workers at the nation's largest aluminum producer—the Aluminum Co. of America—walked off the job June 1 after rejecting Alcoa's demand for wage and benefit concessions. More than 15,000 members of the Aluminum, Brick & Glass Workers and the Steelworkers shut down 15 Alcoa plants in eight states when their three-year agreements with the giant aluminum maker expired May 31.

A contract covering another 10,000 aluminum workers at the Reynolds Metals Co. also expired May 31, but workers there stayed on the job after Reynolds agreed to maintain existing contract terms until a new settlement is reached. Alcoa refused to extend its current contract while negotiations continued.

Alcoa admits that its aluminum operation was in the black during the first quarter of 1986, but complains it is not making as much profit as company officials had hoped, according to George Becker, USWA vice president and chief negotiator.

Alcoa also has refused to open its books to union negotiators and would not consider a profit-sharing plan or stock bonuses in exchange for any concessions, insisting on concessions from workers "at the same time they were making a profit," the USWA noted.

John Murphy, executive assistant to the ABGW president, said a return on investment of 17 percent at one Alcoa plant was judged "not enough" by company officials who are seeking even greater concessions and "special consideration" at eight locations.

Murphy outlined Alcoa's "final" proposal which would severely restrict medical coverage, eliminate the dental and vision plans, cut vacation and holiday time, and greatly reduce cost-of-living adjustments.

$1,000 charge

Under the proposed health plan, workers would be liable for $1,000 in out-of-pocket health care expenses plus 20 percent of premium costs and would be subject to "mandatory utilization controls," which Alcoa has not yet explained.

The USWA represents about 7,500 Alcoa workers and the ABGW has nearly 8,000 members at Alcoa.

The two unions are bargaining separately but have coordinated their negotiating strategies. The AGBW is seeking a wage increase plus job security provisions, pension improvements and continued cost-of-living benefits.

The Steelworkers' bargaining goals include employment security and maintaining existing medical and support benefits, and both unions put resisting Alcoa's "take-away program" at the top of their bargaining agenda.

Union negotiators have been meeting with both Alcoa and Reynolds since May 12 and have resolved many local issues with Reynolds officials, Murphy said. But representatives from both the Steelworkers and the ABGW have criticized Alcoa's "belligerent attitude during negotiations," calling the company's position counterproductive to reaching a settlement. Both unions emphasize that they are "willing to go back in immediately" to work out an "honorable settlement," but Alcoa officials said they had no plans to reopen the talks. No negotiations have been scheduled with either company.

This year, Alcoa made a first-quarter profit of $1.4 million while Reynolds showed a profit of $14.3 million. Although both companies posted losses last year, Alcoa showed a profit in 1984 of $256 million and Reynolds rang up a gain of $137.3 million.

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MEMO FROM COPE

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Singin' for the union

Free-lancing labor troubadours sing out at the annual Great Labor Song Exchange held at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies. More than 80 performers attended the three-day program, which featured workshops, song swapping, informal singing and practice sessions in preparation for a final evening concert. Whether singing the "Child Care Blues" or stepping out in a musical revue, the performers' message—that the union makes us strong—came through loud and clear.

Jobless rolls swell to 8.6-million mark as imports take toll

By Gene Zack

Imports claimed another 40,000 jobs in May and the collapse of world oil prices cost the jobs of an additional 30,000 workers, driving up the nation's unemployment rate two-tenths of 1 percent to 7.3 percent, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

The May increase leaves unemployment stuck in the same range of 7 to 7.5-percent that has prevailed for two years, the AFL-CIO pointed out. In the 35 years between the end of World War II and the beginning of the Reagan Administration, that level was surpassed only once—during the 1975 recession.

"With 8.6 million unemployed, 1.1 million discouraged and 6 million on forced part-time work," Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald noted that there are "a total of 15.7 million workers being affected by unemployment and shorter hours."

Unemployment among adult men increased by 230,000 in May, up sharply to 6.4 percent from April's 6-percent level. But, Oswald stressed, "less than one of each three jobless workers receives unemployment insurance to help tide them over their period of hardship. The suffering needs to be alleviated by improving the coverage and levels of unemployment insurance."

Few get benefits

In mid-May, only 2.5 million jobless workers were able to draw benefits, the BLS reported.

The May employment decline of 40,000 in the manufacturing sector raises to 300,000 the number of factory jobs lost since August 1984, the government acknowledged. Fifteen thousand of those jobs disappeared last month in the automobile industry. Since early 1985, automobile and truck manufacturing employment has dropped by 50,000.

Declaring that the erosion of jobs in manufacturing "demonstrates the continued impact of trade upon American industry," Oswald called on the Senate to move quickly to adopt a trade bill along the lines passed by the House "to reverse these job losses."

The jobless figures came on the heels of a Commerce Dept. report that the $55.5-billion trade deficit racked up in the first four months of this year was running at a 28-percent faster rate than the blistering pace set during the same period last year, when the nation incurred a record-busting annual trade loss of $148.5 billion.

According to government studies, more than 22,000 American jobs are wiped out by each $1 billion in sales that U.S. producers lose to foreign-made goods.

The 30,000 oil and gas jobs lost last month means that employment in that sector has declined by 100,000 this year. "Since September 1984, that industry has lost one-quarter of its workforce," BLS

Continued on Page 3

Trade assistance voted for oil industry workers

The Senate came to the aid of jobless oil and gas workers victimized by plunging world oil prices, adding $44 million to a supplemental appropriations bill to give them trade adjustment assistance.

The measure emerged as the government reported the loss of more than 100,000 jobs in the oil and gas extraction industry so far this year. The industry has lost a quarter of its workforce since September 1984.

The Senate also extended TAA benefits to laid-off workers in service fields related to the oil and gas industry, making them eligible for 26 weeks of additional unemployment compensation, job training, counseling and relocation assistance.

Veto threat

The supplemental appropriations—the first spending bill to go through Congress since Gramm-Rudman took effect—passed by a 71-8 vote. But it faces an uncertain future. President Reagan has threatened a veto because he opposes many of the provisions in House and Senate versions.

Meanwhile, the Senate continued to deal in a leisurely fashion with tax reform amid charges that the bill gives too much to the wealthy at the expense of the middle class.

A move to liberalize the measure's proposed limitations on Individual Retirement Accounts was defeated, and a group of conservative Senators announced plans to attach an anti-abortion amendment to the measure. But Republican leaders pressed for passage of the bill as is, arguing that any changes should be made in the House-Senate conference.

In another development, the Senate Judiciary Committee handed Reagan a stinging defeat on a judgeship nominee, rejecting Jeffrey B. Sessions, a former U.S. Attorney in Mobile, Ala., to be a federal district judge. The committee turned down Sessions by a 10-8 vote. His nomination was opposed by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, with which the AFL-CIO is affiliated.

Across Capitol Hill, the House moved

Continued on Page 5

Labor gives Congress plan to reignite lagging economy

The AFL-CIO called on Congress to adopt a wide range of monetary, fiscal, employment and training policies aimed at ending the "persistent, painful, high disaster levels" of unemployment.

Research Director Rudy Oswald, testifying before a House Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs subcommittee, laid out labor's program to strengthen the economy and ease the job crisis, including:

- National economic policies to achieve full employment.
- Tax reform that is "fair and productive."
- Lower interest rates to stimulate housing, small business, farming and public investment.
- Trade and industrial policies to achieve job-creating economic growth and rising living standards.

The federation warned that there could be "a serious increase in the unemployment rate" in the coming fiscal year as a result of budgetary policies being adopted in response to the Gramm-Rudman Act unless there is an "offsetting growth stimulus or monetary policy."

The nation faces the loss of $60 billion in stimulus from the federal budget beginning in October, Oswald pointed out. That equals about 1.5 percent of Gross National Product, he said, and "if the economy is limping along at an average annual growth rate of under 3 percent, the effects of the budget could again slow it down to half that pace."

Unemployment generates "tremendous" economic damage, not only in lost production but also in unpaid taxes and extra welfare and unemployment compensation payments, Oswald asserted, while the social costs include physical and mental illness, family breakdown, poverty, social alienation and crime.

"There are 15.7 million workers—about 13 percent of the workforce—suffering serious job and income loss," Oswald stressed.

"This means one out of every eight workers suffers unemployment or underemployment. For America's workers without jobs, for America's working people without adequate earnings, for America's families without adequate income, these are not good times—whatever the Reagan Administration and its economists say."

Continued on Page 3

Social programs need overhaul, ILO delegates told

Geneva—Safeguards against the economic consequences of illness, unemployment and old age for workers around the globe, pay equity, job training for the young and new asbestos safety standards topped the agenda as the International Labor Organization opened its annual conference.

AFL-CIO International Affairs Director Irving Brown said the U.S. labor delegation will urge the ILO to send experts to the site of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster—the same action taken following the Bhopal, India, tragedy when a chemical leak claimed more than 2,000 lives two years ago.

"The ILO is fully equipped and authorized to deal with radiation questions," Brown pointed out as he expressed hope that Soviet delegates would not "hide behind national frontiers" but agree to on-site inspection and discussion of the application of ILO standards on radiation protection for power plant workers.

An ILO spokesman said that although there is no resolution on Chernobyl facing

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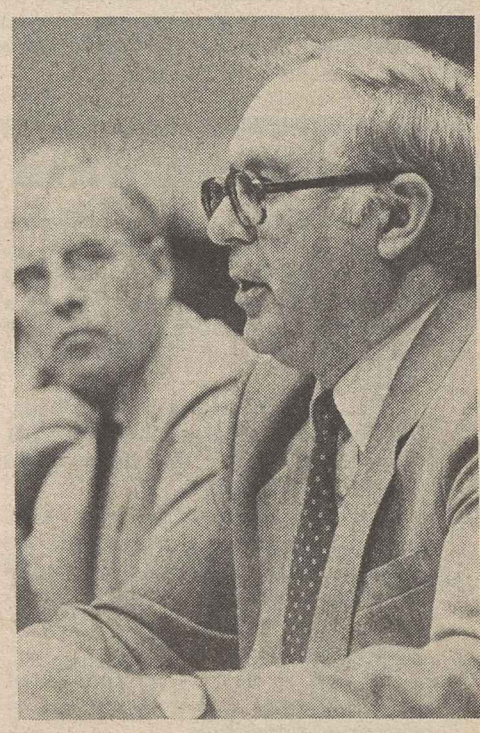

Oswald urges action on jobs.

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6/14/86

Hidden agenda of right to work

Disguising bosses as workers

By Karin Chenoweth

This series of articles is reprinted from a study sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy. Copies of the full report are available for $2 each from the LID, 181 Hudson St., Suite 3A, New York, N.Y. 10013. The author, Karin Chenoweth, is a Washington area journalist.

The most winsome description of the National Right to Work Committee's origins comes from its own literature:

> On a wintry December 14 of 1954, a coalition of railroad employees—and a group of small businessmen—met in the basement of a Washington, D.C., hotel and formulated a daring plan—to turn American unions in the direction of freedom of choice . . . . The National Right to Work Committee launched a bold national education and information program to point up the evils of compulsory unionism. In the years to come, it would survive the venomous hostilities of unions and corporate officials and grow to become one of the largest citizens' organizations in the United States of America.

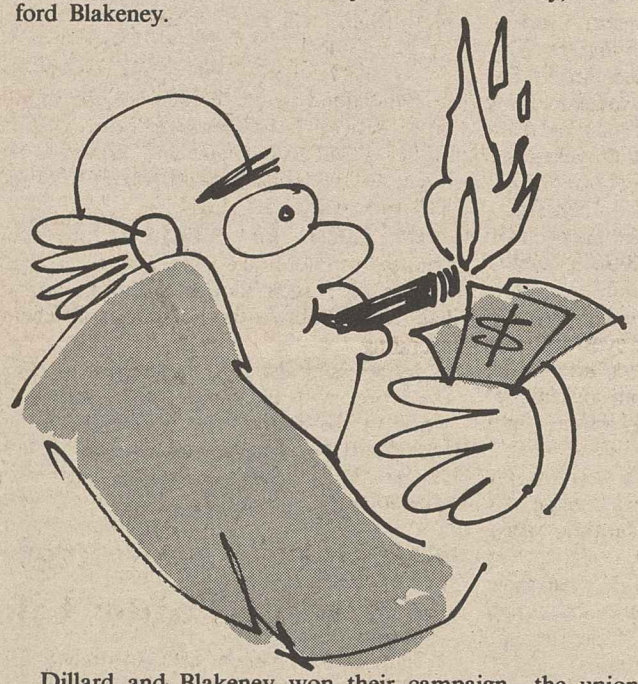
When the committee's vice president, Susan Staub, describes its origins, she employs similar language, though she

Second in a Series

omits the mention of any businessmen, claiming that the committee was founded by "railroad workers, many of whom were union workers."

What makes that story so appealing is the image of a small band of hardworking railroad men braving the obstacles of determined and arrogant forces arrayed against them. But it is almost pure fiction.

The RTW committee was founded by Edwin S. Dillard, head of Old Dominion Box Co., which he had inherited from his father. His anti-union work began after a union attempted to organize one of the many plants he owned in Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. To Dillard, a worker's decision to join a union was a sign of disloyalty. He actively fought the organizing effort by hiring one of the best-known anti-union lawyers in the country, Whitford Blakeney.



Dillard and Blakeney won their campaign—the union was not voted in. Dillard remained strongly anti-union.

He, Blakeney and W.W. McClanahan, of the Washington-based public relations firm Selvage & Lee, organized several meetings of what Blakeney called "personal friends in industry" to discuss the problem of unionism. They discussed forming an anti-union committee, but nothing came of it until the following year at the December meeting mentioned in the committee's literature.

Present at that meeting in the hotel basement were Dillard, Blakeney, McClanahan, another Selvage & Lee representative, Paul Duncan, former Congressman Fred Hartley, P.M. French of the Southern Manufacturing Co. in Nashville, Tenn., James Metcalf of the Crosley-Bendix Division of AVCO Manufacturing Corp. of Nashville, Wilbur Creighton of Foster & Creighton in Nashville, Nathan Thorington of Thorington Construction Co. in Richmond, Va., Stanley Naras of the Concrete Pipe & Products Co. in Richmond, and Ernst Farley of the Richmond Engineering Co. Not a single worker was present.

Hartley, whose best-known legacy is his sponsorship of the Taft-Hartley Act, was made first chief executive officer. Dillard was made chairman, and Selvage & Lee was hired for six months to set up the files.

At that point, the committee's identity and purpose were clear and unequivocal. As Dillard wrote in a memo after the 1954 meeting, "a group of Southern businessmen have organized the National Right to Work Committee." The purpose was to fight unions, especially the union and agency shop. However, the committee aimed to be something more than simply another employer group fighting against unions. Its founders had in mind an organization that could answer union arguments in terms that would appeal to workers.

To do that, however, it was important to have workers publicly identified as members of the committee. Thus, at that December meeting there was discussion of "extending membership to workers and labor union members."

The first worker who was approached was W.T. Harrison, who had previously written to Dillard. He once had been a clerk with the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and chaired the National Committee for Union Shop Abolition. Harrison's organization had been founded by the National Labor-Management Foundation, an employer group which was, and still is, openly anti-union. Its purpose, according to its literature, is to ensure that "the free enterprise story is told and that an agressive campaign is waged to stop the runaway power of 'big labor.'"

Committee lacks workers

Harrison became one of the committee's most important "workers." He was made a member of the board of directors and served as executive secretary until 1959, when he was succeeded by Reed Larson.

One of Harrison's jobs was to recruit other workers into the committee. To facilitate that task, workers' dues were set at $1, but, even so, Harrison signed up only about 200 people in the first year or so. In 1959, the committee set as a goal the enlistment of 1.5 million worker members, and eliminated the dues requirement entirely. Even though Harrison used lists of employees furnished by employers to mail literature and membership solicitations, the committee claimed fewer than 3,000 wage earners in 1966.

Harrison, Dillard and McClanahan selected three other workers to serve on the board of directors, which continued to be dominated by businessmen. The committee paid the way of the workers to attend board meetings, while other board members paid their own way.

Put simply, the committee was formed by businessmen who, to camouflage their purpose, added a few worker members because they felt it was important (as it says in meeting minutes) "from a public relations standpoint." It is revealing that in 1957, when the board decided to expand the number of directors and equalize the number of business and labor representatives, it had to turn to an employer organization for recommendations of both a business and a labor member. When the board members realized that this might give the wrong impression, they asked the South Carolina Chamber of Commerce to suggest a "labor representative from South Carolina who preferably shall not be a member of the Chamber."

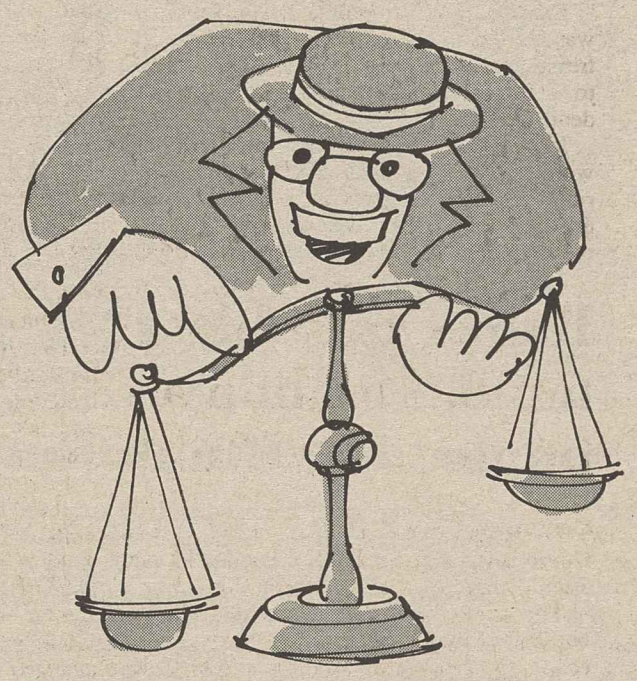
Although the composition of the board has changed since then, it has evolved into a self-perpetuating body, vacancies being filled through nominations by the board. And it remains dominated by businessmen, though "worker" members continue to be represented.

The most valuable addition to the board came in 1958, when Dillard hired Reed Larson as executive director.

Larson was a young engineer when he spearheaded the successful campaign to adopt a right-to-work law in Kansas. He had been on loan to the state right-to-work organization from the Junior Chamber of Commerce, where he was an officer, and his skills were considered essential to the only legislative success the right-to-work movement enjoyed that year.

The appointment of Larson, who is now president of the committee, proved a good move. He is an excellent organizer and propagandist and a skilled fund-raiser and political strategist. Larson took charge of a relatively obscure businessmen's group and turned it into an organization that raises millions of dollars a year and exerts considerable influence on national politics.

Actually, there are now several organizations in what has become a right-to-work network. Principal among these, of course, is the committee, which actively lobbies for anti-union legislation and engages in political work. Then there is the Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, whose board of directors is similar to the committee's and which Larson also heads. Formed in 1968, it is the tax-exempt arm of the committee, and contributions to it are tax deductible. To maintain its tax-exempt status, it must not engage in politics, but may engage in educational work. Many of the right-to-work advertisements in magazines are sponsored by the foundation.



The foundation's main function is to fund law suits against unions. It claims to have dozens of active suits at any given time. The prime targets are union political spending, union-run hiring halls, check-off dues payment and the agency shop. Many of the suits are doomed to failure because of solid legal precedents, but the foundation uses the litigation to make extensive searches through union files for potentially damaging information that can be used in anti-union propaganda campaigns.

For example, documents obtained by the foundation in its case against the Machinists were used extensively by Douglas Caddy in writing an anti-union tract titled *The $100 Million Payoff: How Big Labor Buys Its Democrats* (Arlington House, 1974). In fact, two foundation employees helped prepare the book and after publication, the committee bought copies for resale and advertised the book in its newsletter.

Teachers targeted

The committee also formed a separate organization to deal solely with teachers' unions and school issues. That organization, Concerned Educators Against Forced Unionism, is headed by the committee's vice president, Susan Staub. The CEAFU reviews textbooks with an eye to any depiction of union history that does not conform to the RTW Committee's philosophy. It claims a membership of thousands of teachers who are opposed to agency shop rules in teachers' contracts. The CEAFU also supports teachers who refuse to pay union dues: it probably arranges for legal counsel by the foundation.

An ally of the RTW committee is the Farm Labor Research Committee, formed in 1972. It advertised itself as "being set up by agricultural leaders who are concerned that farmers may be saddled with poor legislation." Such legislation included the extension of coverage of the National Labor Relations Act to farm and migrant workers, which was strongly opposed by the committee. The FLRC chairman is Wofford B. Camp, a California grower who stoutly resisted unionization of his employees by the Farm Workers, and is a major contributor to the committee.

Long-term pain

Baton Rouge, La.—The Louisiana House of Representatives voted to slash jobless benefits by 6.1 percent for the long-term unemployed, at a time when the state's jobless rate of 13.2 percent is the highest in the nation.

The measure would reduce benefits for the long-term jobless to $141 a week. It passed the House by a lopsided 99-2 margin.

The bill's principal sponsor, Rep. Mike Thompson (R), insisted that the cut matches a 6.1-percent reduction in the federal share of extended benefits mandated by the Gramm-Rudman Act.

The bill is now being considered by the Senate Labor & Industrial Relations Committee.

Public sector agenda set in Indiana

French Lick, Ind.—Bargaining rights for public sector workers and protection for farmers and consumers topped the list of legislative priorities set by the Indiana AFL-CIO 15th biennial convention.

Delegates reviewed the state federation's political agenda and extended the current officers' terms until mid-1989, when the next convention will be held. The 277 delegates also voted to establish an advisory council to the state federation's executive board, with representatives from each of the 60 international unions active in the state. The reorganization actions mark the culmination of a two-year campaign set in motion by the 1984 convention.

In a series of resolutions on public employees, delegates called for the state body to set up a public employee department and a drive to win collective bargaining rights for all public workers. The delegates spurned ploys to give public workers bargaining rights only in conjunction with a "right-to-work" agreement, as offered during the last session of the state legislature, and also urged the state to adopt competitive salaries for public employees.

Utility's ploy rejected

The convention rejected a call by the state's public utility commission to include costs associated with the now-defunct Bailey nuclear power project when setting consumer rates. The delegates also called for free legal aid to farmers and urged the state to maintain its current primary election system.

State AFL-CIO President Ernest C. Jones reviewed Indiana's economic problems and its outlook for the future. He condemned state and federal government policies that have resulted in the "trading off of higher-paid industrial jobs" for low-wage service employment.

Kenneth Young, executive assistant to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, told delegates that while the past six years of the Reagan Adminstration have been difficult, "the labor movement is on the march," growing stronger "as we meet the new needs of workers." He reviewed labor's recent successes in Congress, emphasizing that union members must continue their support for candidates "who respond to the needs of working people."

Six years in the trenches, battling "a national administration dedicated mainly to the comfort of its corporate allies and the wealthy" has produced a strong, invigorated labor movement, one that will continue to send its message to public officials, Young stressed.

Garment Workers elect Jay Mazur to succeed Chaikin as president

Hollywood, Fla.—Jay Mazur, the incoming president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, pledged to continue the union's struggle to save an industry beleaguered by imports, the transfer of plants overseas and the re-emergence of the sweatshop.

Mazur, 54, secretary-treasurer of the union since 1983, was elected at the ILGWU's 39th convention here. He'll succeed Sol C. Chaikin, who retires next month after 11 years as president.

Executive Vice President Irwin Solomon was elected to succeed Mazur as secretary-treasurer and Wilbur Daniels was elected to a fifth term as executive vice president.

Mazur told delegates his first priority would be to spearhead the drive to override President Reagan's veto of the Textile & Apparel Trade Enforcement Act—a measure that could help stem the rising import tide that has wiped out more than 300,000 jobs in the industry.

He also pledged to initiate "new methods and technologies" to organize the unorganized and eradicate sweatshops that prey on illegal aliens, and said the union would develop and promote new leadership cadres to involve more women and minorities in the union's activities.

Assailing the policies of the Reagan Administration, Mazur told cheering delegates that working people have the power to turn America around and put it on a positive course again.

'We must change it'

"As we look at our country and see . . . the homeless wandering streets, we say we must change it. As we see an ever-higher portion of our people fall into poverty, we say we must change it. As we see plants closing, ghost towns rising, millions of jobless, we say we must change that. . . . Together, we will do it," he declared.

The 700 delegates acted on 300 resolutions during the week-long convention, including a $2-a-month dues increase that will raise the average dues to $15 a month when it takes effect in July 1987.

Following up on the recommendations of the AFL-CIO Executive Council's Committee on the Evolution of Work, the convention paved the way for creation of a new category of associate members to insure a place within the union family for former members who either lost or changed jobs, those who voted for the ILGWU in a losing election or other supporters of the union's cause.

In other actions, delegates:

- Called for federal and state laws banning the use of so-called lie detectors.
- Urged an immediate increase in the minimum wage to $5.25 and indexing it in the future to the average hourly wage.
- Supported preservation and improvement of social security.
- Pledged to support equal rights for women, including passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the constitution.
- Called on the Administration and Congress to work actively for negotiated peace settlements in Nicaragua and El Salvador.
- Demanded the dismantling of South Africa's apartheid system.
- Endorsed permanent resident status for Haitians who earlier fled the Duvalier dictatorship in their country.

Mazur, who will be formally installed as president in July, is a veteran of 36 years with the union. He had served as education director, organizing director, assistant manager and later manager of New York City Local 23-25 and later became a vice president of the ILGWU.

Delegates voted to fill three vacancies on the 19-member general executive board, electing Barbara Laufman, assistant director of the New York State district; Paul Winslow, director of the Central States region, and Gerald Roy, Canadian director.

ILGWU's Jay Mazur, right, with retiring President Sol C. Chaikin.

Ranks of jobless top 8.6 million as imports take toll

Continued from Page 1

Commissioner Janet L. Norwood told the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

The weakness of the oil and gas industry has had a major ripple effect through the economy, Norwood conceded. "Oil field machinery manufacturing, for example, lost about a quarter of its jobs over the past year, much of that in the past few months," she said.

The unemployment rate for whites in May rose from 6.1 to 6.2 percent while the rate for blacks was unchanged at 14.8 percent. The rate for Hispanics jumped sharply from 10.4 percent in April to 11 percent last month.

Although there was marginal improvement in the youth employment situation last month, the Roosevelt Centennial Youth Project noted that teenagers remain worse off today than a year ago, with 27,000 more young people jobless now than in May 1985.

The unemployment rate for black teens declined slightly from 42.6 percent to 40.8 percent, but the gap between black and white teen joblessness remained "enormous," the nonprofit group pointed out. White teenage joblessness stood at 16 percent last month.

The recession-level joblessness triggered pessimistic forecasts from many economists.

Questionable data

Although the government's leading index of economic indicators showed gains in recent months, the reliability of the figures has been thrown into question because they result mainly from such financial improvements as higher stock prices. Economists pointed out that the statistics do not reflect the underlying weakness in manufacturing and what growth is occuring in the workforce comes almost exclusively in low-paying service jobs.

Employment in the service field increased by 100,000 jobs last month, BLS said.

"The unemployment numbers show an economy with a split personality," said Jerry Jasinowski, chief economist for the National Association of Manufacturers. "There's a booming services sector and massive increases in employment. On the other hand, energy, farming and durable-goods economies are flat on their backs."

The NAM official added: "We're not going to get a . . . rebound if the economy remains neurotic."

Unemployment jumped sharply in several key states last month. In Michigan, where much of the automobile job loss was centered, joblessness rose from 9.2 to 9.8 percent. Texas saw its unemployment rate shoot up from 8.5 to 9.6 percent largely as a result of the oil price decline. In Pennsylvania, joblessness rose from 7.1 to 7.9 percent. Even in Massachusetts, which has had low unemployment for an extended period, joblessness went up from 4 to 4.6 percent.

FAA technicians hit staff cuts for threat to aviation safety

Lashing out at "mismanagement" by the Federal Aviation Administration, the Professional Airways Systems Specialists warned Congress that "disastrous" cuts in the number of technicians tending the nation's air traffic control system threaten "the continued safety of the flying public."

President Howard Johannssen of PASS, an affiliate of the Marine Engineers, told a House Public Works & Transportation aviation subcommittee that seven years ago there were 11,000 systems specialists maintaining about 19,000 FAA facilities. Today, he said, slightly more than 6,000 specialists take care off 22,000 complex electronic systems.

These specialists, Johannssen pointed out, run systems that are "the eyes and ears of the controllers" who direct air traffic, help locate lost pilots through directional finding signals, and pass along crucial flight information to pilots.

Johannssen quoted from a briefing by Frank Frisbie, FAA's acting associate administrator for development and logistics, who warned in March that staffing had "diminished to a critical level," and that future funding and employment cuts would "jeopardize" its ability to "operate and maintain a safe, reliable" system.

Serious erosion

The reductions in funding for the current fiscal year and sharply reduced requests for fiscal 1987 have "seriously eroded program capability," Frisbie acknowledged three months ago, and continued operations at an effective level "will soon be impossible."

In an appearance at the current subcommittee hearings, however, Frisbie sought to minimize the budget and staffing cuts, contending that greater reliance on computers is making it possible to cut jobs.

Johannssen sharply disagreed, charging that the technicians workforce is losing personnel "at a disastrous rate." He told the subcommittee that the FAA must press for more funds to rebuild the staff and warned that even if new employees are hired, there will be a "brain drain" resulting from the loss of veteran workers.

"We have one of the oldest workforces in the federal government and one of the most senior," Johannssen pointed out. Without an immediate and concentrated hiring effort, attrition will "literally strangle" the system, he said.

He called for legislation providing bonuses to encourage these veterans to stay on the job, even though Gramm-Rudman has dictated across-the-board cuts in federal spending.

Johannssen also urged Congress to reject FAA proposals to contract out some of the work to the private sector. The FAA has tried to use private contractors on various systems in the past, he noted, and "these tests have failed miserably."

Assets hit new high At Union Labor Life

The Union Labor Life Insurance Co. posted its best year ever in 1985, ULLICO President Daniel E. O'Sullivan told a stockholders meeting.

The company's assets reached an all-time high of $1.38 billion last year, up 10.1 percent—or $126.7 million—from 1984. Benefit payments and dividends to policyholders were $574.3 million and the life insurance in force rose to a record $5.96 billion.

The company, which is primarily owned by national and local labor unions, provides a variety of health, life, accident and fiduciary insurance, as well as pension programs.

Labor presses for economic revival

Continued from Page 1

Compounding the problem, Oswald said, is the fact that only one-third of the 8.6 million officially jobless workers are actually getting unemployment insurance payments and only 1.3 percent of the 1.25 million long-term jobless—workers without jobs for 27 weeks or more—are drawing benefits.

"The tragic impact of joblessness on workers and their families is compounded by the weakness and inadequacies of the nation's unemployment insurance system," he declared, blaming "regressive" Administration policies for undermining a "middle America" social program that is supposed to "protect all Americans in time of trouble."

Oswald said continued high unemployment stems from the influx of foreign-made goods, technological change, a lower demand for goods and services, inadequate job training, employment discrimination based on race, age or sex, "geographical misallocation of workers and jobs," and poor information about job opportunities.

But he targeted trade policies as the principal villain, pointing to a recent Commerce Dept. study showing that exports wiped out 2.3 million manufacturing jobs in 1984 alone. Millions of workers and scores of communities are "suffering untold hardship" as a result of the growing deficit in the U.S. balance of trade, Oswald declared, adding:

"No nation can indefinitely sustain the massive trade deficits now confronting the United States."

Action on trade

He reiterated the federation's all-out support for the House-passed trade bill and pledged that labor will push for prompt Senate action on the measure "to promote domestic production and job opportunities." In addition, Oswald said, other administrative and legislative actions are needed to deal with the trade problems of specific industries.

To help move America toward full employment, he called for lowering the standard 40-hour workweek, vigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination protections, new sanctions and enforcement mechanisms against employers of illegal immigrants, public works programs that will produce needed community facilities while increasing job opportunities, and a greatly strengthened job training program.

"There is no greater imperative for American economic policy today," Oswald told the subcommittee, "than to provide job training and job opportunities for the 15 million American workers suffering unemployment or partial unemployment or those just too discouraged to continue the fruitless search for work."

Conventions

The 1986 Newspaper Guild convention will be held in Philadelphia, June 23-27.

The Missouri AFL-CIO has rescheduled its convention to Sept. 21-24 in St. Louis. It had been scheduled to open Sept. 14.

The Maintenance of Way Employees convention will be held July 14-18 in Kansas City. The dates listed in the June 7 issue of the AFL-CIO News were incorrect.

UAW delegates vote with their feet in a demonstration for fair trade policies.

UAW convention steps up campaign to bring 'exported' jobs back to U.S.

Anaheim, Calif.—Auto Workers at their 50th anniversary convention vowed to continue the fight against Reagan Administration trade policies and insisted that "exported jobs must come back home."

The 2,500 delegates, concluding their week-long convention, set reduction of the trade deficit as the union's top legislative priority and warned that even the new foreign-built plants in the United States and the growing number of joint ventures between American and foreign firms won't solve the jobs crisis, as long as both continue to bring in parts and components from overseas.

Citing uneven recovery from "the worst recession in 50 years" and a trade deficit that has reached "crisis proportions," the delegates endorsed a trade measure passed by the House of Representatives requiring countries to reduce excessive trade surpluses with the United States or face substantial penalties.

The convention cited a recent UAW report that found that foreign companies manufacturing autos in the United States create only about one-fourth as many jobs as high-content domestic assembly plants, because of the large volume of foreign parts used. Delegates overwhelmingly condemned U.S. auto makers for agreeing to joint ventures that use a large percentage of parts made overseas and rely on foreign design and engineering.

President Owen Bieber was re-elected by acclamation to a second three-year term. Also re-elected were Sec.-Treas. Raymond Majerus and Vice Presidents Bill Casstevens, Donald Ephlin, Odessa Komer, Marc Stepp and Stephen Vokich.

In a resolution on political action, delegates voted to step up voter registration and political education activities, declaring the upcoming elections "the most important in our non-presidential year."

"Our adversaries can outspend us, but they can't out-organize or out-think us," the resolution stressed.

Organizing program

In a series of resolutions on organizing, the convention urged all local unions to establish an organizing committee and involve rank-and-file members in the organizing process. The delegates also took up the issue of organizing workers at foreign-owned assembly plants in the United States, reaffirming the union's goal of organizing workers at seven Japanese production plants, now operating or in the planning stages.

Three of those plants are now in operation, two with a nonunion workforce, while the General Motors Corp.-Toyota plant in Fremont operates with UAW members. Three plants are now being built and one has been announced.

Bieber pointed to the recent agreements between the UAW and GM covering the Saturn plant in Tennessee and with Mazda Corp. for its planned facility in Flat Rock, Mich., as ways of organizing workers "from the inside, not the outside looking in."

The Saturn and Mazda agreements offer a guarantee that UAW members will be building the new cars when production begins at those plants, Bieber said.

With the GM-Saturn agreement in place, "we'll have a lot better chance of organizing the people 23 miles from Saturn," Bieber asserted, referring to the nonunion Nissan plant in Smyrna, Tenn.

He rejected suggestions that the Saturn agreement would become an industry pattern, reminding the delegates that in negotiations with Chrysler Corp., the UAW restored wage increases and other benefits for the first time in six years.

Ad blitz tried as AT&T strike stays on 'hold'

Informal mediated bargaining talks between the Communications Workers and AT&T continued despite a company advertising blitz aimed at selling a concession-filled contract proposal directly to its workers, who went on strike June 1.

AT&T paid $400,000 for full-page ads in more than 40 newspapers nationwide and sent each striker a seven-page letter concerning its proposal.

Although no formal negotiations have been held since June 4, Kay McMurray, director of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, has daily carried on informal talks, with no progress.

The key issues in the dispute center on company demands for elimination of cost-of-living adjustment protections, creation of a low-paid category of skilled technicians, and downgrading job classifications.

CWA Vice President James Irvine, a member of the negotiating team, reported the results of an independent survey, showing operator-assisted telephone service has deteriorated noticeably. The several thousand strikebreakers hired by the company, along with fill-in supervisors, took an average 43 seconds to handle calls once an operator was reached.

Rallies were held in 30 major cities on June 9 and another June 11 in Manhattan drew several thousand persons to hear CWA President Morton Bahr and Rev. Jesse Jackson. Even actor Cliff Robertson, who does AT&T's television commercials, told pickets in Portland, Ore., "Good luck. I'm with you."

Meanwhile, the Electrical Workers telephone bargaining council, which represents roughly a third of IBEW's 41,000 workers at AT&T, approved three out of four of the tentative agreements covering its members. Telephone sector members will vote by mail ballot with results to be announced July 5 and manufacturing plants members will vote June 15.

Merger proposal advanced by IUE, furniture union

The Electronic Workers and the Furniture Workers reached a tentative merger agreement.

Under the proposal, the merger would take effect next Jan. 1. The official name of the combined organization will be the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried & Furniture Workers.

At a Washington press conference, UFWA President Carl Scarbrough announced that his union's 30-member executive board had unanimously approved the agreement. The plan will be submitted to a special UFWA convention in September.

IUE President William H. Bywater said the union's executive board will act on the proposal later this month for submission to the IUE's biennial convention in September. If delegates approve it, the accord will be subject to a membership referendum.

In a joint statement, Bywater and Scarbrough underscored the "common purpose and common ideals" shared by the unions, declaring that workers will benefit from the increased strength and bargaining power to be gained through merger.

IUE has 175,000 members and the UFWA membership is at 21,000.

Relief measure endorsed

Jobless encounter health care crisis

By Candice Johnson

While stressing that a national health care system is the best medicine to aid the millions of Americans who lack adequate medical care, the AFL-CIO welcomed a congressional proposal to ease the health insurance crisis for unemployed and uninsured workers and their families.

Testifying before House Ways & Means Subcommittee on Health, Director Bert Seidman of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security noted the sharp increase since 1981 in the number of Americans who lack health insurance protection and access to quality health care.

Nearly 35 million persons have no health insurance coverage, and another 50 million have inadequate care, according to a recent study.

Seidman renewed labor's call for a universal health care system, pointing out that "of all the industrialized countries except South Africa, only in the United States is health care coverage tied to one's job." The decision of whether or not to provide health insurance is left to employers, he noted.

Treatment denied

"Only in the United States are individuals with chronic health care problems locked out of the system because they cannot obtain insurance protection. Only in the United States are children of the working poor and retirees not yet eligible for Medicare denied early treatment for potentially serious medical conditions because of a lack of protection and an inability to pay for health care services," he charged.

The bipartisan proposal—the Improved Access to Health Care Initiative—would require employers to continue health insurance coverage for laid-off workers and their families for four months and would make insurance more available and affordable, especially for chronically ill persons.

It would establish a state system of reimbursements to hospitals that serve uninsured and charity patients with incentives to facilities to provide such care and would set up state insurance pools for persons unable to obtain health insurance because of pre-existing medical conditions and others not covered by employer-provided plans.

Seidman said the health care proposal will provide relief to millions of workers and their families hard hit by joblessness. But labor has some concerns about the measure, Seidman added, pointing out that the bill provides little help for more than 25 percent of the jobless workers who have been unemployed for more than four months and who may still find the cost of health care coverage out of their reach.

He also expressed concern that premiums for persons covered by the state insurance pools may be unaffordable except to those with relatively high incomes and recommended a sliding scale of premium fees and out-of-pocket expenses.

Patrick Killeen, assistant social security director for the Auto Workers, told the committee that more than 200,000 UAW members lost family health protection because of layoffs. "Those workers who are lucky enough to get new jobs often have to wait months for coverage that is substantially poorer in benefits than their previous coverage," he said.

Killen said all employers should be required to share in the costs of the state insurance pools, not simply those who currently offer some health insurance coverage. "Otherwise, the states will be in the position of rewarding those employers who choose not to offer any health care coverage to their employees," he pointed out.

House sponsors of the health care initiative are Fortney H. Stark (D-Calif.), chairman of the Ways & Means Subcommittee on Health, and ranking minority member Willis D. Gradison Jr. (R-Ohio). The bill's Senate sponsors are Democrats Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.) and Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.) and Republicans David Durenberger (Minn.) and John Heinz (Pa.).

Bert Seidman spells out AFL-CIO position on health care plan.

Study finds no generation gap on social security

A study that challenges the concept of a generational battle over the division of public resources was welcomed by the AFL-CIO as a needed antidote to conservative demands that programs such as social security be cut back.

The aging of America is a reality but the picture of a shrinking workforce burdened by the care of its elders is not, according to a report titled "The Common Stake: the Interdependence of Generations," published by the Gerontological Society of America.

Pressure for budget cuts to meet deficit reduction targets has sometimes been portrayed as pitting the young against the old, the needs of working families versus the cost of meeting society's responsibilities to the elderly.

But tax cuts and higher military spending, not increased social spending, brought about the current budget crisis, the society's report notes.

It focuses on the traditional and continuing interdependence among generations, a two-way exchange in which each generation benefits from the preceding generations and both gives and receives assistance.

Long-term view

Larry Smedley, associate director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, strongly endorsed the stress on the long-term view.

The report's authors—Eric R. Kingson, Barbara A. Hirshorn and Linda K. Harootyan—take issue with the complaint that today's workers will not get as big a return on the amount they pay into the social security system when they retire as the generation that is already retired.

In the narrow sense, that is true. But the authors make these points to bring the issue into perspective:

- Social security payments are providing important protection for workers now employed, including disability insurance and survivor benefits that would be the equivalent of a life insurance policy worth $184,000 for a young family with two small children.
- Even though the percentage return on social security taxes may not be as high on retirement as for a preceding generation, the actual benefits in terms of purchasing power as well as dollar amounts will be greater.
- By relieving younger workers of much of the financial burden of supporting elderly parents, social security enables them to concentrate more financial resources on their children and on their own needs.

"Younger generations have two important stakes in programs that assist the elderly to maintain a decent quality of life," the report notes.

"First, they will be served by those programs when they become old. Second, programs that assist their grandparents and parents to remain as autonomous as possible in old age relieve young and middle-aged family members of financial burdens and intrafamily stress."

Two-way street

The obligation works both ways, the report suggests. It urges advocates for the elderly to be concerned with the needs of people of all ages.

"Because of the interdependence of generations," the authors stress, "all generations have a common stake in social policies and intergenerational transfers that meet needs across the life course."

Trade assistance voted for jobless oil, gas workers

Continued from Page 1

toward passage of a housing measure that would channel nearly all uncommitted public housing funds into rehabilitation of existing units rather than new construction.

The sharp break with federal housing policies reaching back half a century came on a 223-180 vote for an amendment offered by Rep. Steve Bartlett (R-Tex.). The AFL-CIO strongly opposed Bartlett's amendment, arguing that it would "preclude badly needed additions to the supply of public housing units" in many areas.

A House Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs subcommittee continued deliberation on a measure making it easier for financial institutions to reach across state lines and acquire "failing" banks. The federation warned this could lead to unhealthy concentration of power in the hands of a few lenders.

In a letter to subcommittee Chairman Fernand St Germain (D-R.I.), Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten warned the legislation could tempt giant bank holding companies to gobble up banks in other states to gain "greater financial market power" and charge higher interest rates.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved a tough new round of economic sanctions sharply limiting American business activity in South Africa to pressure the Pretoria government to end its apartheid policies.

The bill would ban U.S. citizens and businesses from making new loans in South Africa, prohibit new investment by companies already operating there, ban imports of South African uranium, coal and steel, and deny U.S. landing rights for South African Airways. It would trigger additional sanctions in a year if Pretoria hasn't released political prisoners and entered into negotiations with black leaders.

Labor rights pressed in airline provisions

Air Line Pilots President Henry A. Duffy urged Congress to mandate labor protection provisions as a part of any airline mergers, aquisitions or other transactions requiring government approval.

Duffy's testimony before a House Judiciary subcommittee noted that the former Civil Aeronautics Board had routinely applied labor protective provisions to airline transactions. This, he stressed, was in compliance with the Federal Aviation Act's requirement that any transaction subject to government approval be "consistent with the public interest."

During the "turbulent" transition to deregulation, the need for such protections has been greater than ever, Duffy noted. But for all practical purposes, "the Dept. of Transportation has written the labor protection program off the books."

Without pay or seniority safeguards, Duffy testified, realignment of the industry has had a "brutal impact" on pilots and other airline workers.

In a later address to the Aero Club of Washington, Duffy termed the Reagan Administration's job protection record in the airline industry "shameful."

Federal inaction, he warned, is bringing "turmoil in this industry."

Federation President Lane Kirkland denounces harsh Reagan policies at RWDSU convention.

Retail-Wholesale per capita boosted to spur expanded grassroots network

Bal Harbour, Fla.—Political action took the spotlight at the 15th convention of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union as delegates endorsed a greatly expanded grassroots lobbying effort.

The convention approved plans for a nationwide network patterned on the RWDSU's political education efforts already underway in Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania and called for an all-out mobilization of members on behalf of COPE-supported candidates for federal and state offices.

To back up their determination to forge ahead in this area, the 700 delegates voted to increase per capita dues in stages, from the present $3.50-a-month level to $3.80 by the end of 1989. The union's minimum dues will go from $12 to $13 a month effective next January.

The vote to step up grassroots activities followed on the heels of RWDSU President Alvin E. Heaps's scathing indictment of the Reagan Administration in Washington and the Mulroney government in Ottowa for pursuing "ruinous" economic policies.

The conservative governments in both countries, Heaps declared in his keynote address, have tilted their nations' economies to provide soaring profits for giant corporations and tax loopholes for big business and wealthy individuals.

"While workers in the United States and Canada are besieged by demands for givebacks in wages and benefits, the captains of industry and finance are grabbing all they can get," Heaps charged.

Pointing to the growing concern over terrorism abroad, the RWDSU president urged that people not overlook "equal terror at home—the terror of unemployment, poverty, hunger, homelessness and disease."

Voter registration

Increased contributions to COPE are vital, Heaps told the convention, and must be augmented by voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives to offset the huge financial advantage enjoyed by anti-labor candidates.

The dollars raised by the labor movement, he asserted, "will never reach the level big business and wealthy individuals pour into the campaigns of those who are willing to do their bidding. But what we can't match in money we can make up with human power."

Delegates re-elected Heaps, Sec.-Treas. Lenore Miller and Canadian Director Donald G. Collins to new four-year terms, and elected 21 vice presidents.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told delegates that the entire labor movement shares their "sense of outrage" over Administration actions that have encouraged employers to become union-bashers.

"With a reserve army of the unemployed," Kirkland asserted, "it is no wonder that so many employers are tempted to indulge their fantasy of getting rid of a union."

The attack on wages and living standards is growing "less subtle," he declared, with employers seeking to justify lower wages for women "on the basis that their's are often second incomes" when the fact is that "more and more households are headed by single women and families need two wage-earners just to maintain their current standard of living."

The convention adopted a broad range of resolutions condemning apartheid in South Africa, denouncing union-busting, supporting improved health care at prices within reach of the family budget, urging greater enforcement of civil rights laws, opposing postal rate increases and calling for a stern response to international terrorism.

Arrest of Solidarnosc leader assailed

The AFL-CIO called on the Reagan Administration to demand "the immediate and unconditional release" of Polish union leader Zbigniew Bujak and to oppose "further economic assistance or credits" to the Jaruzelski regime until all political prisoners are set free.

A federation statement said the arrest of Bujak, leader of the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarnosc, was "a sign of the continuing war of the Polish Communist regime against the Polish people."

The seizure of Bujak, along with two of his Solidarnosc colleagues—Konrad Bielinski and Eva Kulik—came only days after Poland was admitted into membership in the International Monetary Fund, following a campaign to convince the West that social and political life in that country had been "normalized."

In Warsaw, Solidarnosc issued a statement signed by its founder, Nobel Peace Prize winner Lech Walesa, terming Bujak's arrest "the price of our struggle for union rights."

The Solidarnosc statement praised Bujak for his "struggle for civic and workers' rights" and pledged that the outlawed Polish labor movement "will never agree with repression against people who have the courage to act in defense of freedom and democracy."

No reforms

Bujak's arrest, the AFL-CIO charged, "demonstrates that the Polish government has no intention of implementing the social, economic and political reforms that Solidarnosc has urged as the preconditions for Western economic aid." Those reforms include opening a dialogue between the government and Solidarnosc, freeing all political prisoners, accepting "trade union pluralism," and ending restrictions on independent intellectual activity, the federation explained.

The AFL-CIO made it clear that, until those conditions are met, it will "remain opposed to Western economic aid or credits to the Polish government." The federation said it is "unthinkable" that the Jaruzelski regime's continued war on its own people "should be subsidized by Western credits or rewarded by lifting the remaining meager sanctions" imposed after Poland declared martial law in its crackdown on Solidarnosc.

Despite Bujak's arrest, the AFL-CIO said, the work of Solidarnosc will continue and the American trade union movement will support that work "in any way we can."

Labor's allies rally to support family farmers

The crisis of the nation's family farmers, plowed under by mounting debts, high interest rates, falling land prices and limited loan sources, will be detailed to members of Congress on June 16 and 17 when an alliance of farm, labor, consumer and church groups lobby for action to halt the exodus from farming.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue will address some 150 persons taking part in the effort to save family farms. The coalition includes the AFL-CIO, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, National Consumers League, National Council of Churches, National Council of Senior Citizens, National Farmers Organization, National Farmers Union and Women Involved in Farm Economics.

With Donahue, labor's contingent will include seven state federation presidents: Daniel J. McVey of Missouri, David Kemnitz of North Dakota, J. Bill Becker of Arkansas, James Wengert of Iowa, James Freeman of Oklahoma, John W. Schmitt of Wisconsin and Jack E. Dudley of South Dakota. In addition, 13 Auto Workers' community action staffers from the farming states will take part.

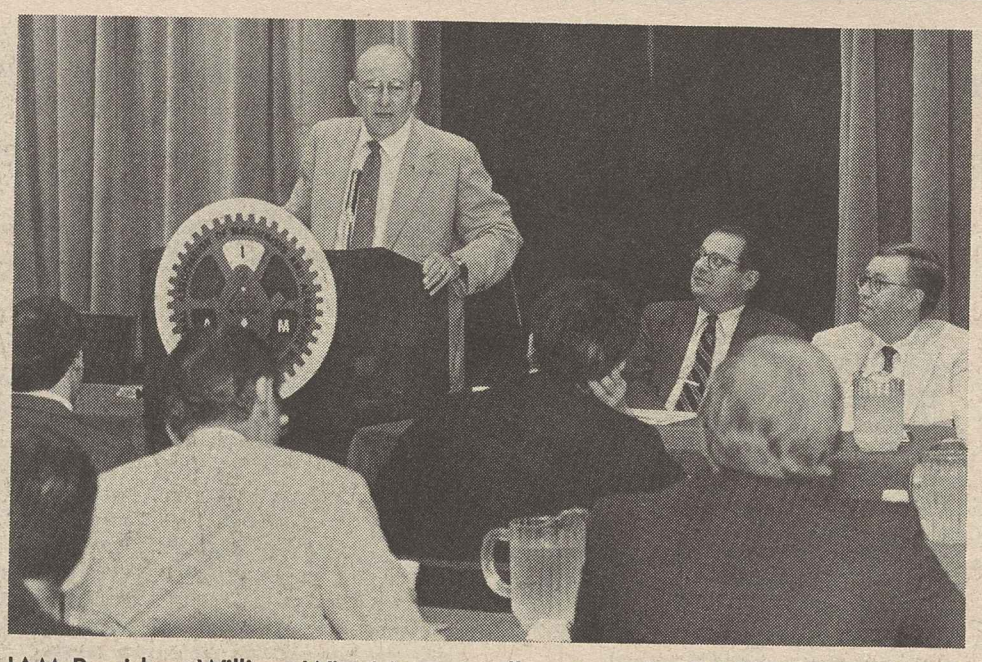
The coalition will press for action to overcome the effects of the Reagan Administration's harsh policies. Nearly a third of the nation's 680,000 family-sized farms are in serious financial trouble. More than 300,000 have been forced out of business in the last four years.

Mutual interests

At its May meeting in Washington, the AFL-CIO Executive Council expressed concern that thousands of farmers are "being driven off their land as banks foreclose on overdue loans." The council stressed that farmers and workers share a strong mutual interest in "an America where economic growth and social justice have higher priority than more tax loopholes and more benefits for the wealthy and for the big corporations."

The council urged the following actions to strengthen America's rural economy, raise the quality of life for farm families, protect consumers, and advance the welfare of the nation:

- A U.S. agricultural policy based on a principle of a fair return to family farmers for their labor. This means fair price, production and income policies.
- A moratorium on farm foreclosures, with the Federal Reserve Board granting low-interest loans to family farmers.
- Regulation of foreign buying of U.S. farmland and corporate agri-business, and curbs on commodities speculation.
- Creation of a National Grain Board to handle foreign sales of U.S. grain.



IAM President William Winpisinger spells out goals of OSHA network with IUD President Howard Samuel and Sierra Club's Michael McCloskey.

OSHA lobby calls for action on health-risk notification bill

By Arlee C. Green

A coalition of labor and environmental leaders urged Congress to pass key legislation aimed at alerting workers identified in federal studies as being at increased risk of occupational disease and to block attempts to undermine the Superfund bill.

The fourth annual convention of the OSHA/Environmental Network drew more than 125 representatives of organizations such as the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Public Citizen and unions.

A panel, chaired by IUD President Howard D. Samuel, who is co-coordinator of the network, covered recent actions of the coalition. Machinists President William W. Winpisinger recalled the Reagan Administration's early use of people like James Watt as Interior Secretary and Thorne B. Auchter as administrator of the Occupational Safety & Health Administration to wreck the programs they headed.

Messengers of misery

Winpisinger charged that they were part of the President's team that has worked to "redirect" the power of the Executive Branch of government against workers. He pointed to their promotion of a bill to limit liability claims against manufacturers, coordinated attacks on the right of access to the courts, and the "denying the right to life for hundreds of thousands of workers by opposition to the high-risk notification bill. Our job is clear. It is to defeat these faceless messengers of misery and disease."

Delegates from 25 states got an update from Sierra Club Chairman Mike McCloskey, co-coordinator of the network, on international environmental events before heading for Capitol Hill.

Rep. David E. Bonior (D-Mich.) told the convention that a spill at a toxic liquid waste incinerator in his district resulted in a local right-to-know law, followed by a statewide measure. "But we need to go farther," he said. "We need federal legislation so there will be no one in the land who cannot find out what chemicals he or she is working with, or what the company next door is spitting out its smokestacks."

President Joan Claybrook of Public Citizen detailed attacks by the insurance industry on liability laws and the pressure for limiting damages paid to victims. She stressed the need to educate Congress and the public about reforms to ease the industry out of its panicked state.

Ruth Weiner of the Sierra Club, who is a professor at Western Washington University and co-chair of the Washington State OSHA/Environmental Network, explained the need for the high-risk occupational disease notification and prevention act. She stressed that 11 million workers are known to have been exposed to carcinogens and that out of some 450,000 annual cancer deaths, nearly a quarter are due to occupational exposures.

Blake Early, Washington representative for the Sierra Club, told the convention of the conflict growing in the House over the Superfund legislation. As differences between the House and Senate versions are being hammered out in a joint committee, the House conferees "are giving away the store," Early charged. More than 120 House members have signed on to a letter protesting the weakening of the strong House bill by the conferees.

California suit seeks to boost minimum pay

Los Angeles—California's trade union movement, which has been pressing for a long overdue increase in the state minimum wage, welcomed a suit by the Farm Workers and public-interest law groups to compel the Industrial Welfare Commission to pass on the adequacy of the present $3.35-an-hour wage floor.

California law, which predates the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, requires the commission to set a state minimum wage adequate for a "proper living" and to review it every two years. The wage category covering most workers was set at $3.35 in 1981, but hasn't been raised since.

The cooperating organizations asked the California Supreme Court to take immediate jurisdiction in the case because of the statewide impact, a pattern of delays by the Commission, and the plight of workers at the minimum wage level.

State law requires the commission to set an adequate minimum wage but the IWC hasn't done so, the suit alleges. It also made the point that the hardship of an outdated minimum wage falls disproportionately on women, who make up 63 percent of those at the minimum level.

An attorney for the Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles, one of the parties to the suit, noted at a news conference that "a single parent supporting one child receives more money from welfare than from working full time at the minimum wage."

The State AFL-CIO earlier this year urged the Commission to shorten the procedure for setting a new rate. Instead, the IWC scheduled preliminary hearings for August on whether to establish a wage board of labor and management members to recommend a new minimum.

John F. Henning, executive secretary of the California AFL-CIO, said it is "outrageous that the minimum wage hasn't been raised since 1981."

Howard Collins dies, headed garment union

Bellevue, Ky.—Howard Collins, former president of the United Garment Workers, and his wife Joan died June 3 in an auto accident near Charleston, W. Va. Collins was 59 and his wife was 57.

Collins, 43-year member of the UGW, had been an international representative for four years when he was named to the UGW executive board in 1974 and appointed president in 1975.

Collins held that office, also serving as vice president of the AFL-CIO Union Label & Service Trades Dept., until December 1977 when he resumed his duties as an international representative.

ILO delegates focus on wide-ranging agenda

Continued from Page 1

the conference, the organization could take action if there is "sufficient pressure" from the floor. He noted that "many worker delegations" are expected to join the call for international cooperation on nuclear energy safety.

Although government, worker and employer delegates from 150 countries are expected to discuss such issues as heightened racial tensions in South Africa and the consequences of Israeli occupation of Arab territories, "we do not expect any major confrontations" during the three-week session, an ILO spokesman said.

Western delegates pointed out that the Soviet bloc has greatly toned down its rhetoric from a year ago, when it reacted bitterly to criticism of Communist violations of ILO conventions on freedom of association.

In its report to this year's conference, the ILO Committee on Application of Conventions and Standards referred only briefly to East bloc nations, avoiding the issue of the basic rights to form free unions and concentrating, instead, on the rights of people leaving a collective farm or other state enterprise.

Brown, who is the U.S. worker delegate to the conference, expressed disappointment that the report "is not as clear-cut as we have been accustomed to," and warned of a possible challenge to "any attempt to move away" from the historic concept of applying ILO conventions irrespective of economic and social systems. It is crucial, he said, that the Soviet Union and other East bloc countries be monitored in their application of universal standards "irrespective of who owns the means of production."

Delegates will focus their attention on these main points in Director General Francis Blanchard's annual report:

Social protection—More than 1 billion workers, three out of five people in the total global labor force, lack minimum standards of sickness, unemployment and old-age protection. Although 81 percent of the workforce in Western industrialized countries and 95 percent in Eastern nations enjoy such safeguards, 84 percent of the workers in Africa and 77 percent in Asia have no such protection.

Pay equity—More than 100 member countries have ratified the convention on equal remuneration without discrimination based on sex. But too often, Blanchard's report noted, there are no criteria for evaluating the worth of different jobs held by men and women. Discrimination "has by no means" been eliminated and much remains to be done to "promote equality of opportunity and treatment."

Young workers—Between now and the year 2025, the world's youth population will grow from 755 million to 1.2 billion, but there is scant evidence that employment opportunities will keep pace with that growth. To guard against abuse and exploitation, the director general told delegates, member countries must begin now to develop job training programs as part of "a rescue plan for the young in distress."

Asbestos safeguards—In initial discussion of the issue in 1985, the conference adopted a draft convention and recommendation on safety in the use of asbestos, a cancer-causing substance. A second and final discussion will be held this year, with the ILO expecting formal adoption of tough new standards.

Small enterprises—Developing countries must cultivate these businesses as an important source of employment. Nearly half the entire working population in the European community is employed in enterprises with fewer than 500 employees, Blanchard noted. In the United States, enterprises in this category employ 58 percent of total non-government, non-farm labor.

Blanchard's report was critical of the South African government's apartheid policies, insisting that the "reforms" announced by Pretoria last year have led to a worsening, rather than an improvement, of racial discrimination.

The reforms are "superficial, vaguely worded and lacking significance," the ILO official said, and violence will increase unless there is "full and representative black participation in the formulation of change."

The one bright note in the situation in South Africa, Blanchard told delegates, is the fact that despite police and military intervention, trade unionism continues to grow among black workers so that "black membership now equals the combined membership of whites, coloreds and Asians."

A 16-member team including AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and headed by Brown, is representing American workers' interests at the annual conference.

Other members are President John Joyce of the Bricklayers; President Gene Upshaw of the Professional Athletes; Vice President Leon Lynch of the Steelworkers; James Baker, the federation's deputy European representative; Larry Gold, AFL-CIO general counsel; Margaret Seminario, associate director of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security; Eugenia Kemble, director of the Free Trade Union Institute; Charles D. Gray, executive director, and Kenneth Hutchinson, field activities deputy, of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute; Patrick O'Farrell, executive director of the African-American Labor Center; William C. Doherty Jr., executive director, and Jesse Friedman, assistant director, of the American Institute for Free Labor Development; Joel Freedman, international affairs director of the Bricklayers, and Atty. Edward Hickey.

EDITORIALS

Economic Realities

WE HAVE TO SEE both the good times and the bad of our past, of our unions and of this nation.

In the good times of our industries, we helped America by helping its buying power, by protecting its people, because our unions are an energizing, efficient force in protecting the democratic way of life. Together, we built this nation into the most powerful industrial force in the history of the world.

We did it by insisting that a decent job at decent pay and a decent way of life for all were essential to national well-being. As trade unionists, we lifted ourselves by lifting America, and our unions were the driving force behind a great industrial engine.

Those were the good times, and we took great pride in exploring the new horizons of opportunity together. Today, we are not in such good times.

But once again, we hang together. We have been in the foxholes together, under more or less constant siege, for going on six years now—six years of an Administration dedicated mainly to comforting the already comfortable. Politically and economically, we have been on the defensive. And America has suffered.

AMERICA SUFFERS when the rich use their share of the 1981 tax break to speculate in the stock market or shelter it from taxes by building luxury condominiums.

America suffers when corporations use their share to buy other corporations and to close plants in America and ship jobs from Toledo to Taiwan and from Kenosha to Korea.

And America suffers when the financial hemorrhage of imports drains us of $150 billion a year.

The recent seven-nation economic summit promised little more than the prospect of another lengthy round of trade negotiations. And if past experience is any guide, our negotiators will come away satisfied with agreements on walnuts, tomato puree or insurance sales, while we as a nation fail to address the real problems of unfair trade.

In the meantime, we'll continue sending our trading partners raw leather—and they'll send back finished purses. We'll send them timber—and they'll send back finished cabinets. We'll send them coal—and they'll send back trucks and autos.

What they get to keep are the jobs—not just union jobs, but American jobs—jobs that built the American middle class and raised the American standard of living.

THE FAULT for this state of affairs lies not with foreign governments—they are only standing up for the jobs of their people. The fault is right here, with an Admininistration that refuses to do the same for American workers.

There are those who want to blame workers for our horrible trade deficits. They say our standard of living is too high—to compete, we'll just have to lower it.

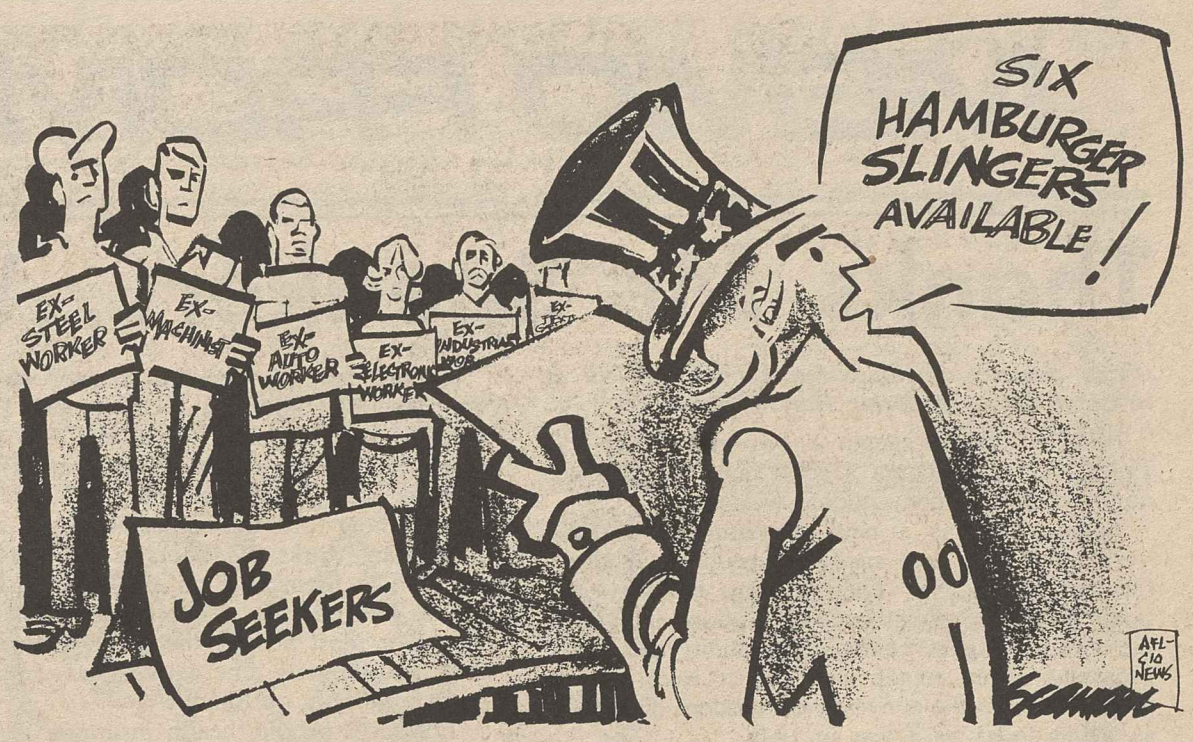
The reality is that in one industry after another, faltering for reasons that have nothing to do with productivity, we have seen our unions make necessary concessions on wages and work rules in full recognition of the need to compete and assure a fair profit for the company—to try to save the jobs that those who advocate only a "free market" don't give a damn about.

The truth is no one understands competitive realities better than the worker. That's because workers, and not managers or bankers or stockholders, are the ones who are the first to be laid off. So we've done everything we can to save our jobs, but we need to see more response to those initiatives from our employers. We need to see more partnerships, more care about workers and far more understanding and acceptance of our unions.

We are a trade union movement of the 1980s and 1990s eagerly adapting to change, but insisting that it not be the workers who take all the risks.

We'll explore all avenues of participation, workplace democracy, stock ownership, employee ownership and management directorships to all. But we'll always be conscious of the fact that we've thus far been invited in on more losers than winners. And we'll want everyone to understand that we can come to every table—bargaining or board room—to advance the interests of workers, not to enlarge their risks.

—From an address by AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue to the Auto Workers convention, June 3, 1986.



Washington Window

Long-term jobless tumble through ragged safety net

By Press Associates Inc.

Charles Crosby worked at the Westinghouse Corp. plant in east Pittsburgh for 15 years.

Crosby had made his way up to assistant foreman when the plant was hit with large-scale layoffs in 1982. Late that year, he began being bumped down the ladder of seniority. Finally, as the layoffs continued, he was bumped to a janitor's job. In October 1984, he was bumped onto the street and into an unemployment line.

Crosby, 49, is still looking for work in his shutdown-ravaged region of the country. His unemployment benefits ran out in April 1985. He's way behind in his mortgage payments and he's trying somehow to keep his house off the auction block. He has three children. His marriage, strained by his financial plight, ended in divorce last summer.

Crosby has learned to fix cars of friends and neighbors to scrape up a little money. He wanted to enroll in an 18-month vocational program to become a certified auto mechanic. But he couldn't afford to do it because he was told that he no longer would be eligible for food stamps if he were in school.

Benefits dry up

Crosby is only one of about 5.9 million jobless Americans who currently are receiving no unemployment insurance benefits. Like some 1.2 million other long-term unemployed—those out of work for 27 weeks of longer—his benefits have run out.

Like nearly all these long-term jobless, Crosby has been bumped from the unemployment line to the welfare office, relying on food stamps and emergency aid to maintain a precarious week-to-week existence.

The goals of the unemployment insurance program as proposed by President Roosevelt and enacted by Congress in 1935 were to provide financial relief to workers who lost their jobs through no fault of their own and to pump money into the economy during recessions.

Fifty years later, the UI system is in shambles. Today, about seven of every 10 of the nation's jobless are without any unemployment compensation. In the 1975 recession, three out of four of the jobless received UI benefits. Also, benefits have been providing less and less buying power in most states. In 1985, the average weekly benefit was $122, about 35 percent of the average weekly wage in UI covered employment.

The chief causes of this scandalous situation include the Reagan cutbacks enacted by Congress in 1981, systematic underfunding and increased restrictions at the state level, and continued high levels of unemployment which ensure that large numbers will exhaust their benefits before finding a job.

It's getting worse

Crosby came to Washington as part of a small delegation of Pittsburgh area unemployed to tell their story to the House employment subcommittee. As bad as things are there, "We haven't hit bottom yet. Plants are still closing. The mortgage foreclosure rate is 12 times what is was in 1980," Bob Anderson of the Homestead, Pa., Unemployed Center's Rainbow Kitchen told the subcommittee.

Anderson, who lost his steel mill job in 1981, said life preservers are being installed on the bridges in Pittsburgh to be thrown to the increasing number of long-term jobless who are jumping. He said very few these days ask the center for help in getting UI benefits because "the word is out that you can't get them anymore."

Subcommittee Chairman Barney Frank (D-Mass.) said he favored reforming the UI system by "nationalizing it." James Ellenberger of the AFL-CIO said both the AFL and the CIO favored a national system when UI was set up as part of social security. He said it was "a historical accident" that didn't happen.

While labor still believes a national system would be "more fair and efficient," Ellenberger said more realistic goals include federal minimum benefit standards, jobless aid for the long-term unemployed, the removal of harsh eligibility requirements, and broadening the employer tax base funding UI. Surely, the need for these modest steps is urgent and the time has come.

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MEMO FROM COPE

Thanks, Mr. Speaker...We Needed That

(From remarks of House Speaker Tip O'Neill at recent ceremony honoring Harry Truman.)

Harry S Truman taught us two great lessons in 1948: first, never count a good man out. Second, don't believe the conventional wisdom.

Today, there is a new conventional wisdom. Very often, you hear successful people talk about the "good old days." Their message is always the same: how good things were generations ago, when there was less government responsibility and fewer programs, when people were left to take care of themselves. But the conventional wisdom of 1986 is as wrong today as it was in 1948.

Let me tell you about a country very different from the one you and I call home. The land I describe is a desperate place. Half the people are living in poverty. A full 25 percent of the workforce is unemployed, and things are not much better for those fortunate enough to have a job. The policeman works 12 hours a day—84 hours a week. The fireman is on duty even longer—109 hours. The postman delivers mail even on Christmas. For most people, the work week is six days long, and the only time workers have to spend with their families is on Sunday.

For most people, health insurance is out of the question. For the elderly, life is filled with uncertainty, dependency and horror. Only the lucky few have pensions. There is no such thing as Social Security. There is no middle class as we know it; there is only the very rich at the top and millions of poor at the bottom—with a huge and terrible distance in between. Just a small elite, just three percent, go on to college.

This world I describe is the United States I knew when I entered public life in the 1930's. And when I look at the problems we have now, I never forget how far we have come in 50 years.

Today, 65 percent of our young men and women are able to go on to college. Virtually all of our workers have some form of health insurance. Social Security has made it possible for people to retire with a minimal, steady income, not to have to live in fear and dependency. Without such protection, half of these people would be living in poverty.

This massive improvement in American life did not come about by accident. It happened because the American people made a national decision to develop energy, housing, transportation and every other sector of the economy. Most of all, we invested in the most vital of all national resources, the individual human mind.

These achievements were not the work of one political party. It was Abraham Lincoln who created the land-grant colleges that have made American agriculture the wonder of the world. It was Franklin D. Roosevelt who signed the great G.I. Bill of Rights that gave so many Americans the chance to go to college. And it was Dwight D. Eisenhower who signed the National Education Act, establishing education as a vital element in the United States' strength and security.

Through the years, our society has accepted a strong role in caring for those who cannot take care of themselves: the sick, the handicapped, the elderly. We have provided a safety net for those who need protection, who cannot, for whatever reason, fend for themselves. But such achievements are rarely recognized today. There are those who speak to our young people and preach the gospel of gloom and doom. They tell how great things were way back when and how bad things are today. They go on to say how much better we would be without government.

For such persons, I have a very simple question: Who paid for your college education? Was it a state government that helped pay for a state university? Was it a community college or a city university? Was it the G.I. Bill that financed your education or a government-sponsored loan or grant?

I believe it is wrong for the people who have made it up the ladder to pull the ladder up behind them. If the success stories of this country needed a helping hand up the ladder, why should we not give the same help to those young people trying to get ahead today? If government could offer opportunities to young people back in the 1950's and 1960's, why should we deny that help today?

Like most simple ideas, the new conventional wisdom has a great deal of appeal. It promises a life that is less complicated, where there is less government, less red tape and hardly any taxes whatever. But, like most simple ideas, it ignores not only reality but our own national history.

I began my public life in 1936 on the slogan of "work and wages." I remain convinced that our greatest goal is to give the average family the opportunity to earn an income, to own a home, to educate their children and to have some security in their later years. That is still the American dream and it is still worth fighting for.

Today, there are those who argue that the way to achieve this dream is to go it alone. The new morality says that the young should forget about the old, the healthy should ignore the sick, the wealthy should forget the poor.

That is an alien philosophy. We Americans believe in hard work, in getting ahead, but we also believe in looking out for the other guy. This is a country that has insisted from its earliest beginning that the individual human being is of fundamental value, that the humblest, meekest person has the right to be treated with dignity and with respect.

It has not only been the President and the Congress but the American people themselves who have insisted on a fair deal these many years. And it is for this reason that I believe our nation will not only survive our current challenges but prevail and flourish.

One Vote Doesn't Count? Baloney!

There's one in every crowd. As a matter of fact, there are several—the ones who, when you try to register them, or to get them out to vote, tell you: "Why should I bother? My one vote won't count."

There's an answer for that: Baloney!

But if you want a longer answer, tell them about Democratic Rep. Frank McCloskey of Indiana's 8th congressional district. McCloskey is in the House now on the strength of—after six months of counts, recounts and re-recounts—only four votes out of more than 233,000 votes cast. (The loser in 1984, Richard McIntyre, is going for a rematch this year.)

You can also remind the doubters that John F. Kennedy won the Presidency over Richard Nixon in 1960 by fewer than 120,000 votes, less than one vote per precinct nationwide.

You might mention, too, that Lyndon Johnson won his first race in the U.S. Senate in Texas by about 80 votes out of more than two million cast. And look where he wound up.

In fact, some of the senators running for re-election this year had hairy contests six years ago. Steve Symms (R-Idaho) won by only 4,442, out of 433,144 votes cast, Bob Kasten (R-Wis.) by 32,770 votes out of 2,163,568, Mack Mattingly (R-Ga.) by 22,000 out of 1,555,500, Pat Leahy (D-Vt.) by 2,463 out of 203,907.

One vote doesn't count? Baloney!

Facing Post-Reagan Era

GOP Gropes to Hold 'Coalition'

Democrats, as usual, are floundering around in a quest of self-discovery.

Republicans have similar problems. They're trying to figure out how to hold together what they've got in the way of a coalition so they can still win elections without their single strongest vote-getter, Ronald Reagan.

Reagan, after all, is the star whose gravity keeps the GOP planetary system from flying apart. Remove the star and you get some grief. The GOP is making an effort to come to grips with the post-Reagan era.

In fact, a survey was conducted recently by GOP pollster Lance Tarrance. The objective: "To help the Republican Party gain a more thorough understanding of the Reagan voter and thereby give it a better chance of holding that coalition together in 1988."

It isolated two general types of Reagan Republican supporters—those whose *priority* is that a candidate share their economic viewpoint and those whose priority is the candidate's "lifestyle values and moral standards"—in other words, the candidate's views on social issues like abortion and school prayer.

Among Reagan voters, priority splits 60-30 percent respectively. Within each group, of course, there can be substantial concern for the secondary issue.

Within the two general types identified by Tarrance are four sub-groups that comprise what the pollster described as being a "Republican coalition."

1. The establishment conservatives, who make up 40 percent of all Reagan voters and who've been the "traditional conservative economic bedrock of the GOP vote in this century." With them, economic policy comes first.

2. The "new right" conservatives who've become such a power in the GOP in the past decade. For them, the social issues come first. They number about 25 percent of Reagan voters.

3. The neo-conservative and liberal Republicans—which includes the handful of moderate/progressive Republicans and Democrats who've jumped over. Tarrance says this group provided about 20 percent of Reagan votes. It's not hot on social issues but is on economic management.

4. Libertarians, about five percent of Reagan voters, big on lifestyle issues and for a stripped down government, way down.

Tarrance concludes that whatever matters separate these "four distinct attitudinal groups," the coalition they form "has a greater potential for being held together than its Democratic counterpart."

Short Shelf-Life

Like so many surveys, this one by Tarrance was only as good as the day or period it was taken. It might have a short shelf-life.

Since then, schisms—potentially deep ones—have opened in the GOP and demonstrate how fragile Tarrance's described coalition of Reagan voters really is.

The evangelical brigades of the "new right" GOP group have marched on the party and done a number on the more "establishment" crowd.

In the first real event of the 1988 GOP presidential process, TV preacher Pat Robertson embarrassed both Vice President Bush (primarily establishment) and Rep. Jack Kemp (establishment/new right) in recruiting precinct delegate candidates in Michigan. His operation got as many filing for delegate as Bush and more than Kemp.

Similarly, establishment Republicans got pole-axed by evangelicals in Indiana and Iowa, and are at risk in other states.

There's nothing like a few victories to whet the appetite, and the evangelicals seem ready and willing to ride roughshod over the regular Republicans wherever and whenever they can, to make their own issues *the* primary concerns of the GOP.

JEC study: Reagan policies gut worker safeguards

Basic federal laws protecting the rights of workers have been undermined in recent years by lax administration, budget cuts and inadequate legislative oversight, and new laws are needed to repair the "protective net for workers."

Those are the conslusions of a special study prepared for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress by economists Sar Levitan and Isaac Shapiro of the George Washington University Center for Social Policy Studies.

Because of the "dramatic erosion" of these laws under the Reagan Administration, the study asserts, "training opportunities for the unskilled and unemployed have diminished, working conditions have deteriorated, workers' rights have been undercut and the unemployed and the retired have less income security."

The analysis is based on a forthcoming book, "Protecting American Workers: An Assessment of Government Programs," to be published in July by the Bureau of National Affairs.

The JEC study faults the Reagan Administration on a number of fronts, including:

- A nearly 50-percent slash in federal funding of employment and training assistance, which plunged from $9.5 billion in fiscal 1981 to $5.6 billion in fiscal 1986.
- A sharp decline in the percentage of jobless receiving unemployment insurance to an all-time low of 34 percent in 1985, down from the 76-percent level a decade earlier.
- Almost total abdication of job safety and health regulation enforcement and the limited number of health protection standards issued—two during the Reagan Administration's first five years in office compared with nine during the Carter years.
- "Lax enforcement" of antidiscrimination laws by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission coupled with continued demands by top Administration officials to abandon affirmative action.
- The anti-union bias of the National Labor Relations Board that has "undermined union organizing efforts and basic

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Labor teleconference airs issues

Coast-to-coast hookup links meeting sites

By Gene Zack

Foreign trade, taxes and the budget, organizing, labor's new benefits program for its members and changing the climate for unions held center stage as the AFL-CIO heard from nearly 2,500 members from coast to coast in a wide-ranging "Union Meeting of the Air."

For seven hours via satellite television hookup, participants at 20 union halls and college campuses watched panel discussions and taped reports on the issues, caucused at their local sites, cast straw-poll ballots, blitzed federation officers with more than 1,000 questions and had them answered in a spontaneous two-way exchange of ideas.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told union members across the nation that use of the satellite network made it possible for "more of us to participate in this meeting than attend our biennial conventions."

Search for ideas

In the past five years, Kirkland, Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue and staff members criss-crossed the country for regional conferences in search of new ideas and information. The teleconference enabled seven union presidents and the officers of four other unions to join in this year's discussions.

The television linkup, Kirkland said, "is a sign of the changing times and of our determination to change with the times—to better serve our members, to expand our numbers and to become a more effective force in our communities at every level of American life."

Labor's "formula for success," he told his nationwide union audience, is to offer to working men and women "what the workers themselves really want from their unions."

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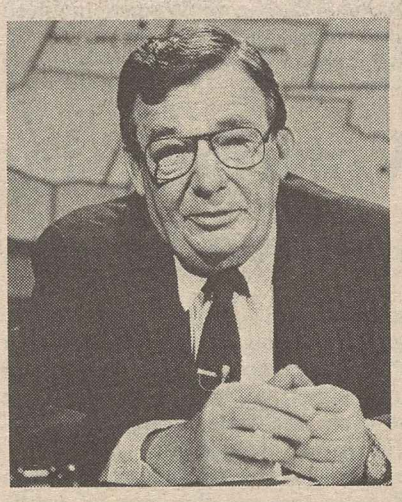
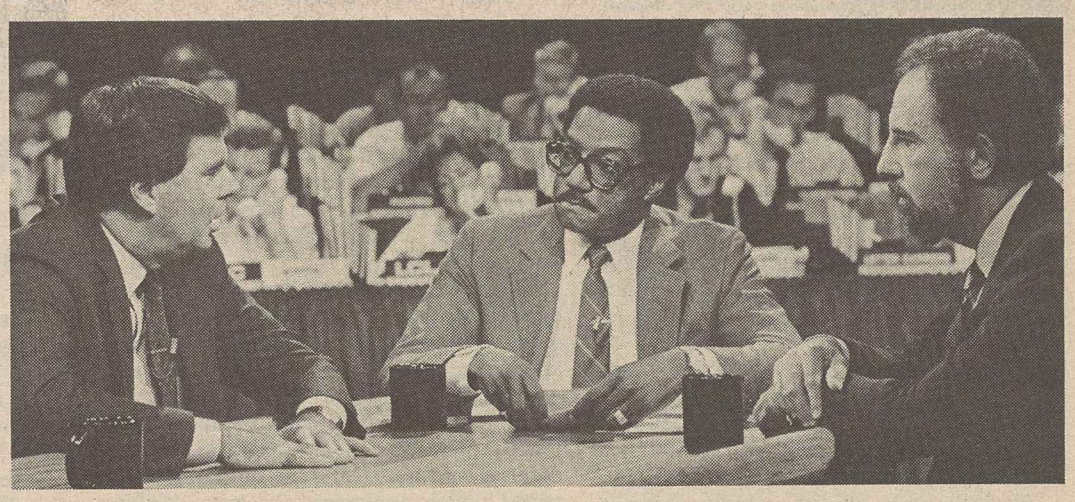
Federation officers, volunteers and technicians in teleconference studio.



Kirkland focuses on key legislative victories.



Fair taxes are urged by AFSCME President McEntee, AFL-CIO Legislative Director McGlotten and UFCW Vice President Foreman.

OSHA's asbestos rules fall short of needed curb

By Arlee C. Green

After a decade of delays, the Occupational Safety & Health Administration released new asbestos standards for general industry and construction—both of which fall short of tighter exposure limits long sought by unions.

Labor health and safety specialists said they were glad OSHA was finally able to wrest the health standards away from the White House Office of Management & Budget, but were dissatisfied with the shortcomings of the two rules.

The AFL-CIO said that after waiting more than 10 years, "asbestos-exposed workers deserve a stronger standard." The federation pointed out that even with the tenfold reduction in the permissible exposure limit, workers will still be at risk. According to OSHA, exposures at the new limit will result in seven excess cancer deaths for every 1,000 workers exposed over a lifetime.

OSHA reduced the permissible worker exposure limit from 2 million asbestos fibers per cubic meter of air to 200,000 fibers—a level that permits the average exposed worker to breathe about 1.5 million fibers in an eight-hour shift, based on a typical worker's respiration rate. Organized labor wanted a limit of 100,000 fibers.

The 200,000-fiber limit in the new standards is the lower of two levels OSHA was considering. Labor safety specialists speculated that OMB may have released the standards now with the lower exposure limits in an effort to thwart an asbestos ban proposed by the Environmental Protection Agency.

No short-term limit

OSHA failed to include in the new standards a short-term exposure limit to reduce peak exposures. "This means workers who are involved with asbestos removal and maintenance operations can be exposed to high levels of asbestos in jobs of short duration with no protection required," the AFL-CIO pointed out.

OSHA estimates that 1.3 million workers are exposed to asbestos above the 100,000-fiber level, mainly in manufacturing, service and construction industries,

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CWA heads off give-backs, wins job security fight

The Communications Workers spurned management's give-back demands and reached a tentative settlement that could end the nationwide AT&T strike that began June 1.

The three-year accord covering 155,000 members features an employment security package that CWA said provides a "quantum leap" toward the union's "goal of lifetime employment and security."

The strike will continue until agreement is reached at six AT&T unit bargaining tables, CWA President Morton Bahr said in detailing the accord at a June 17 press conference. He said the "tentative national agreement became possible when the company removed all of its concessionary demands."

Bahr said that if negotiations in the six units are completed by midnight June 21, the members can begin returning to work the next day. "We have set a deadline of June 28 to have the rank and file ratification process completed."

CWA struck the communications giant after rejecting a concession-filled final offer,

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98/12/9

8,000 strike timber firm as talks collapse

Portland, Ore.—Workers at the Weyerhaeuser Co., one of the nation's largest timber producers, rejected a company demand for wage concessions and changes in working conditions and walked off the job June 16.

Nearly 8,000 lumber workers—members of the Woodworkers and the Carpenters—closed down 32 Weyerhaeuser sawmills and logging operations throughout Oregon and Washington state in response to the company's "final offer" of pay and benefit cuts exceeding $4 an hour.

About 7,000 IWA members and 1,000 Carpenters, affiliated with the Western Council of Lumber Production & Industrial Workers, set up picket lines at Weyerhaeuser operations after federal mediation efforts collapsed.

The two unions, bargaining together through the U.S. Forest Products Joint Bargaining Board, had continued negotiations with Weyerhaeuser, Boise Cascade, Champion and other wood products producers after an agreement covering about 90,000 workers expired June 1.

Harsh give-backs

But talks with Weyerhaeuser broke down over the company's insistence on steep concessions and complete control over work schedules and overtime, said Mike Fishman, assistant to Carpenters' President Patrick J. Campbell.

Weyerhaeuser offered limited profit-sharing in exchange for wage and benefit reductions averaging $4.30 an hour, but the bonuses would be paid only when profits reached a certain level. Union negotiators offered an alternative profit-sharing plan, but the company refused to consider it.

Lumber product producers have argued that they need reduced labor costs to compete with imports from Canada and wood products from smaller mills in the Pacific Northwest and operations in the South, where wages and transportation costs are lower.

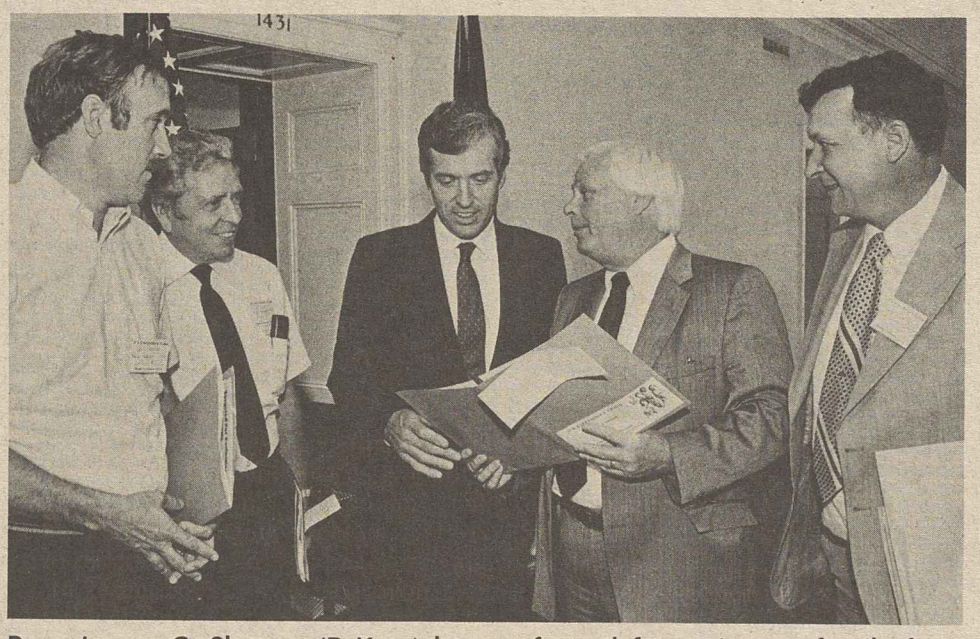
But the unions point to increasing demand for wood products and higher profits of the lumber producers, particularly Weyerhaeuser, to support their claims that concessions are not necessary.

More profits

Last year, Weyerhaeuser recorded a $200 million profit, with gains this year anticipated at even higher levels as demand for wood products accelerates. Company officials admitted the firm is profitable but still demanded wage concessions. Projections by the two unions indicate Weyerhaeuser's profits this year will be 40 percent higher than the 1985 level.

Weyerhaeuser officials said they would use supervisory and nonunion workers for maintenance in the mills, but did not plan to hire strikebreakers.

The unions are seeking national contracts with the major timber producers to prevent the industry from playing off low-paid Southern workers against those in the West who are better-paid. The producers, however, are resisting that strategy, with some attempting to bargain on a mill-by-mill basis.



Rep. James C. Slattery (D-Kan.) hears of need for action on family farm crisis from coalition panel, including Missouri AFL-CIO President Daniel J. McVey. At left, Fred Bentley and Ivan Wyatt, both of the Kansas Farmers Union and at right, Dick Hoffman of the National Farmers Organization.

Labor joins fight to rescue endangered family farmers

A coalition of farm, labor, consumer and church groups representing millions of Americans pressed Congress for substantive action to help save the nation's family farms from extinction. The devastation of rural America is "everyone's crisis" the coalition asserted, pointing out that more than 300,000 family farmers were forced out of business in the past four years.

Some 100 coalition representatives lobbied for improved commodity prices, establishment of a national agricultural policy, and restructuring of farmers' debts. In that group were seven AFL-CIO state presidents: Daniel J. McVey of Missouri, J. Bill Becker of Arkansas, Jack Dudley of South Dakota, John W. Schmitt of Wisconsin, James Freeman of Oklahoma, David Kemnitz of North Dakota and James Wengert of Iowa. A dozen Auto Workers' staffers joined in the effort.

Support pledged

The AFL-CIO "is committed to standing with you," Federation Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue told the group, stressing that organized labor knows that "an America with a rapidly shrinking number of family farms, an America heading toward a loss of food self-sufficiency, is an America at risk."

Donahue emphasized the need for government to honor its constitutional mandate to provide for the common defense and the general welfare. He noted that in a world of government-controlled economies, government-subsidized industries and government-protected products, "the U.S. government should quit being the only one in the world which apologizes for even thinking about looking out for its own people."

Auto Workers Legislative Director Dick Warden explained his union's deep concern for the crisis facing family farmers, pointing out that 65,000 jobs have been lost in the agricultural machinery industry over the past five years.

DeVon Woodland, president of the National Farmers Organization, said he was told at a recent meeting with three former Secretaries of Agriculture that there is too much emphasis being put on preventing "this mass exodus from the family farm." He noted that rural America is in transition and now is the time "for us to step forward and give that transition some direction with some guidelines so it serves the best interests of people."

Cy Carpenter, president of the National Farmers Union, praised labor's concern and told the delegates that "in every societal accomplishment that we benefit from today you'll find organized labor's thumbprint in the development and the hard work and fighting that caused it to come into being."

Also addressing the coalition were President Jack Blum of the National Consumers League, Executive Sec. William R. Hutton of the National Council of Senior Citizens, Executive Director Stephen Brobeck of the Consumer Federation of America, President Naioma Benson of Women Involved in Farm Economics and Dr. Arie R. Brouwer, general secretary of the National Council of Churches.

Steelworkers ratify contract at Bethlehem

Pittsburgh—Steelworkers at eight Bethlehem Steel Corp. plants approved a new contract giving them a profit-sharing plan and company stock in exchange for wage and benefit reductions.

The agreement, which covers 24,800 USWA members, includes improvements in health and pension benefits, restrictions on contracting-out work and company assurances that it will maintain its heavy steelmaking operations. The new pact will expire in July 1989.

In exchange, the USWA agreed to swap 99 cents per hour in wages and suspend its cost-of-living increases for either a profit-sharing plan or company stock. The accord calls for reductions in vacation and overtime pay and scales down the number of holidays from 10 to seven.

Under the settlement, labor and management representatives at each plant will set up a cost-reduction committee to review expenditures and improve productivity, with workers to receive additional bonuses for increased shipments, quality improvements and reduced manhours.

Vote of approval

The Bethlehem pact was ratified by a vote of 11,600 to 8,368. It is the third settlement reached by the USWA in contract negotiations with the nation's six largest steel producers for agreements expiring June 30. Earlier, USWA members at LTV Steel Corp. and National Steel Corp. approved contracts that guarantee repayment of wage and benefit reductions through company profit-sharing and stock.

Negotiations are continuing with Inland Steel Co., which employs 16,675 USWA members, and with the Armco Steel Co., employing about 8,000 USWA members.

Meanwhile, talks with the nation's largest steelmaker, U.S. Steel Corp., have just gotten underway, with the three-year contract covering 45,000 USWA members set to expire July 31.

U.S. Steel is said to be seeking steep wage and benefit concessions and had refused to meet earlier with the USWA.

'Workfare' lacks ingredients to move needy to paying jobs

Three-fourths of the states require public assistance recipients to "work off their grants" as a condition of continued aid but offer no support to help them break the welfare cycle, the State, County & Municipal Employees charged.

The failure of the "workfare" plans in the 38 states that use this form of public assistance was detailed in a study that criticized their failure to meet training, child care, transportation or other needs—key ingredients for moving people from welfare rolls to payrolls.

The AFSCME report pointed out that 28 states require persons receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children to participate in public works projects, work experience programs or employment-related activities offered through the Work Incentive program, a federal jobs plan administered by the states. Food stamp recipients in eight states and "employable" recipients of general assistance in 19 states must participate in workfare to receive benefits.

McEntee pointed to several successful job training programs in four states—Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Maryland—that provide education, job placement and support services as an alternative to workfare. "These programs reject workfare and they work," McEntee stated.

Rejecting the "quick fix" approach to improving the welfare system, McEntee called for a "genuine commitment at the federal, state and local level to invest in the worth of our dependent people by developing and qualifying them for decent jobs."

Worker rights ignored

Tax giveaway to Toyota rapped

Branding it an "outrageous giveaway," the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. called for removing from the Senate tax bill a $100-million tax break for a Toyota auto plant under construction near Georgetown, Ky.

BCTD President Robert A. Georgine said leaders of the 15 unions affiliated with the department voted unanimously to oppose favored tax treatment because the Japanese company hired by Toyota to manage the construction refused to sign a labor standards agreement guaranteeing uniform wages and benefits for all 2,000 workers building the plant.

Instead, the construction firm, Ohbayshi, presented labor with a "take-it-or-leave-it" proposal barring strikes or slowdowns during construction of the $800-million plant and preventing unions from fighting any attempts by management to get a court injunction in the event of a labor dispute.

The plan also calls for 10-hour-day schedules at a contractor's discretion, says overtime will be paid only if state and federal laws insist, and permits Toyota employees to install equipment.

Sign away rights

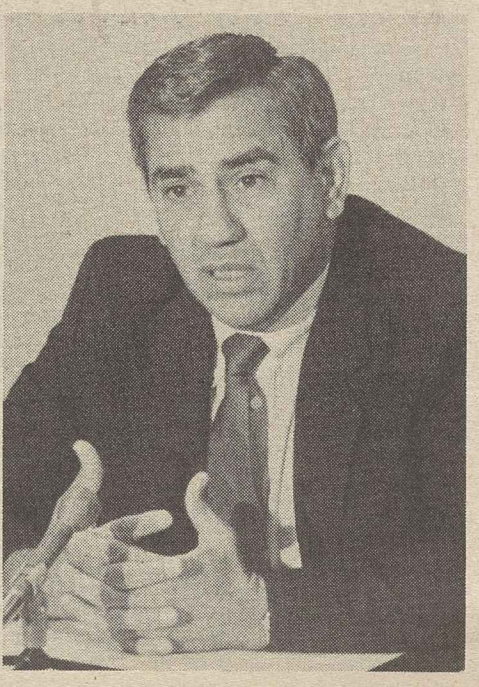
Toyota isn't entitled to special tax consideration, Georgine said, because it's "requiring American workers to sign away their rights guaranteed under American labor laws as a condition of employment."

The proposed agreement is "totally one-sided and makes demands on workers but gives nothing in return," Georgine said, pledging that the 4-million-member department "will fight this windfall and we will continue to fight Toyota until the company agrees to deal fairly and honorably with American workers."

The Senate plan would suspend tough provisions in the new tax bill and let the auto manufacturer claim huge depreciation allowances and investment tax credits.

Kentucky is already giving $200 million worth of tax incentives to Toyota, the BCTD president pointed out, and the Senate "is throwing in another $100 million or so. All this money will go to a company which will take its profits back to Japan, and on top of this Toyota wants to undermine wages and working conditions of American workers."

The Japanese car maker, Georgine declared, "must not be permitted to profit from its lack of respect for our laws and our traditions."



Robert A. Georgine

Rader to resign

Panel rebuffs Reagan on OSHRC nominee

President Reagan was handed another setback as the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee rejected his nomination of Robert E. Rader Jr., to the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission.

The AFL-CIO hailed the committee's action, declaring that "the safety and health of American workers demands" that the three-member commission be composed of "impartial and objective" members. Rader, the federation said, "is anything but impartial."

In another development, Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten urged the Senate not to approve Daniel Manion, Reagan's nominee for a seat on the 7th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, declaring that Manion's lack of experience made him "inadequate" for the federal bench.

The rejection of Rader for the OSHRC post was a major victory in labor's battle against Administration attempts to saddle key agencies with anti-union appointees. The AFL-CIO registered its "strongest possible" opposition to the appointment, charging that Rader "relentlessly" opposed "any government role in the safety and health of this nation's workers."

Open hostility

The Administration's first two appointees to the review commission were "individuals with no experience or training in occupational safety and health," the federation said during Rader's confirmation hearings. Putting Rader on the commission, it told the Senate committee, would mean installing a man whose "personal agenda" shows open hostility to workers' rights to a safe workplace.

Reagan was rebuffed on the Rader nomination by an 8-8 vote, as Sen. Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R-Conn.) joined the committee's seven Democrats in refusing to recommend confirmation of the 41-year-old Texas attorney who advised employers on how to block inspections by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration.

Leading the opposition were Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), who warned that Rader "could completely destroy OSHA," and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), who accused the Texas lawyer of being an "overzealous defender" of corporate clients seeking to undermine workplace safety.

'Compromise' rejected

After turning the controversial nominee down on a tie vote, the committee rejected by a similar 8-8 vote against a plea by Chairman Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) to send the nomination to the Senate floor without any recommendation. That action came after Kennedy urged that Rader, who has been sitting on the commission under a recess appointment since August, be "voted out of government."

Following the setback in the Senate committee, Rader said he will probably resign from the review commission.

In opposing Manion's appointment to the federal bench, the AFL-CIO cited his "demonstrated lack of understanding" of American law and his "long record of extreme positions on the meaning" of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

McGlotten conceded that Reagan wasn't going to select judges who share labor's social and economic views. "We have not opposed judicial nominees on those philosophical or ideological grounds," he pointed out.

However, he said, Manion's nomination should be thrown out because "he fails to meet minimum standards of experience, competence and demonstrated understanding of and commitment to fundamental principles of constitutional law."

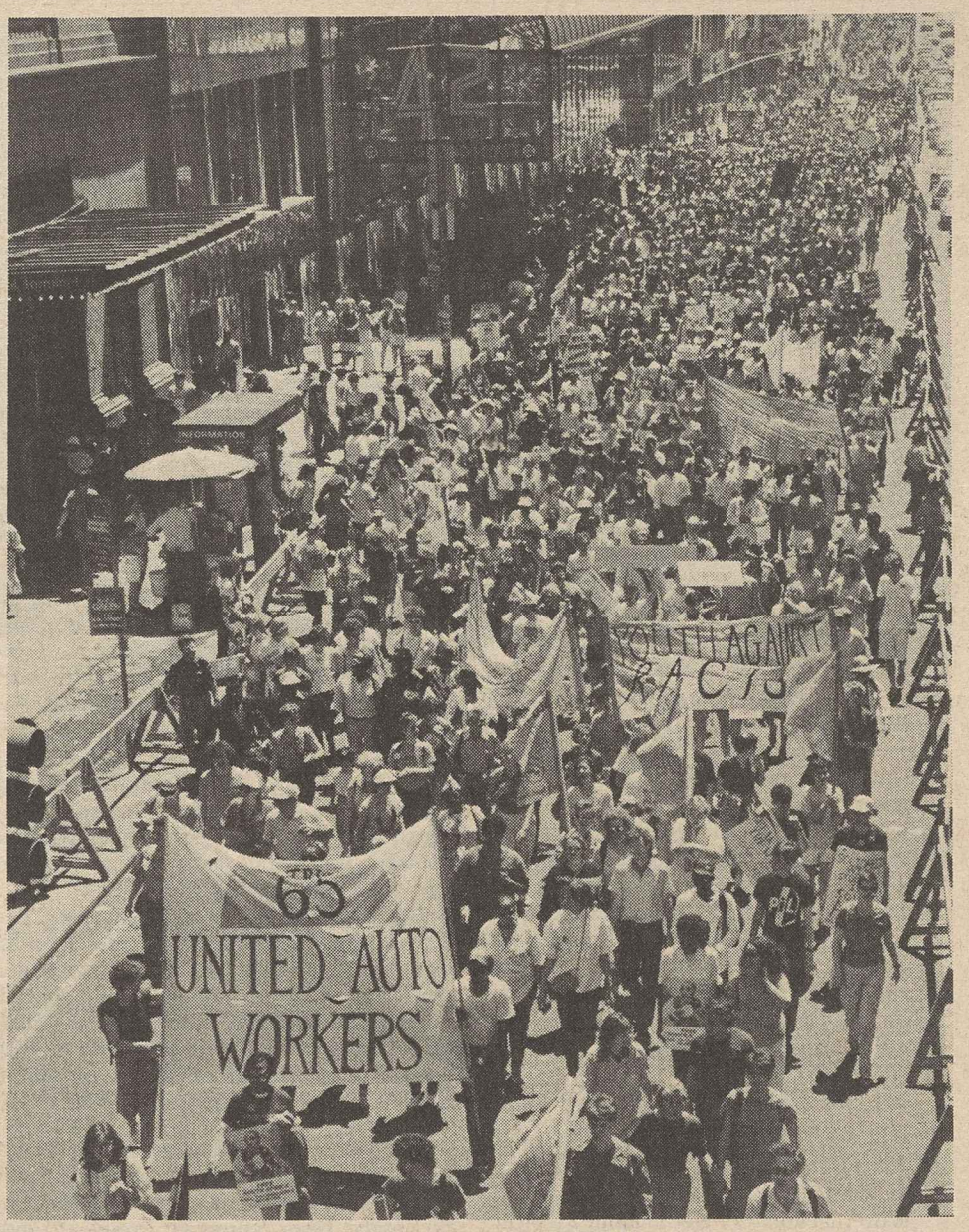
No recommendations

The Senate Judiciary Committee rejected Manion's nomination by a 9-9 vote but then bowed to the urging of Chairman Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) to send his name to the floor of the Republican-dominated Senate without recommendation.

Elsewhere in Congress:

- A House Post Office & Civil Service subcommittee opened hearings on a bill establishing a mechanism for rehiring 1,000 of the more than 11,700 air traffic controllers fired by President Reagan in 1981. The General Accounting Office charged that the Federal Aviation Administration is far behind schedule in meeting its hiring goals.
- A Senate Armed Services subcommittee adopted a labor-opposed provision raising the threshold for Davis-Bacon Act coverage on military construction projects from $2,000 to $1 million. The Administration-backed scheme to dilute the effectiveness of the prevailing wage law was put forward by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) who engineered a similar amendment a year ago, only to have it removed in the House-Senate conference.
- A House Labor & Education subcommittee approved a bill giving both male and female working parents up to 18 weeks' unpaid leave to care for children and guaranteeing them their own or an equivalent job back. The labor-backed bill was approved after the subcommittee defeated a Republican effort to scale back the leave time to eight weeks.
- The AFL-CIO threw its support behind an amendment by Rep. Nick J. Rahall (D-W.Va.) prohibiting the Export-Import Bank from participating in projects that would further aggravate the nation's foreign trade crisis. The federation cited the action by delegates to the 1985 AFL-CIO convention who agreed that the Export-Import Bank not involve itself in programs that would contribute to increased U.S. unemployment.
- With unemployment stuck at recessionary levels largely as the result of imports, the federation urged support for a Senate Joint Resolution requiring the President to report on the status and implementation of recommendations from his Commission on Industrial Competitiveness.

The resolution, McGlotten wrote to Senators, would require the Administration to focus attention on the import problem pending adoption of trade legislation similar to that recently passed by the House.



Down with apartheid

Union members by the thousands lead a march through Manhattan streets in a labor-sponsored demonstration protesting apartheid in South Africa. Nearly 90,000 people converged on the city's Central Park, where they heard rally organizers call for South Africa to abandon its racist policies. Speakers included President Tom Van Arsdale of the New York City AFL-CIO, elected officials, entertainers and athletes.

Kirkland denounces jailing of South African unionists

The AFL-CIO condemned the South African government's jailing of trade union officials and human rights leaders under a so-called state of emergency imposed to stop public demonstrations against discrimination and oppression in that country.

In a cable to P.W. Botha, president of the South African regime, Federation President Lane Kirkland expressed the labor movement's outrage over the government's "declaration of the state of emergency, the arrest of trade union leaders and others, and the continuing loss of life in your country."

Kirkland criticized the Botha regime's declaration as a "reckless move," one that deliberately deprives black citizens of their leaders at a time of crisis and drives the country "into turmoil and chaos." More than 45 blacks have been killed since the state of emergency was imposed June 12.

Meanwhile, the House in a voice vote adopted labor-backed economic sanctions against South Africa. **(Story on Page 8)**

Kirkland added the AFL-CIO's endorsement to the call of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for an immediate end to the state of emergency and prodded the South African government to end the ban imposed to stifle observances marking the 10-year anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

The June 16 observances marked the killing of black students by South African police during a protest march ten years ago. The slaughter sparked a 10-month period of rioting and demonstrations in Soweto against the cruel apartheid system that left 600 persons dead.

To commemorate the events of a decade ago, millions of black workers stayed off the job in the country's major cities.

Sit-down strikes

In Johannesburg, thousands of black workers held sit-down strikes and work stoppages at some of the country's largest department and chain stores to protest the arrests of union leaders.

About 280 members of the Commercial, Catering & Allied Workers shutdown six branches of a major retail chain, while packers, warehouse workers and drivers closed another 50 stores operated by six major chains during two days of strikes.

News reports of the anniversary events and continuing demonstrations are sketchy because of press restrictions imposed by the Botha government. Reporters are denied admission to the black homelands and are prohibited from reporting on police or military activity without government authorization.

Kirkland pressed for the immediate release of trade union leaders, including Phiroshaw Camay, general-secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa and an executive board member of the ICFTU; James Mndaweni, president of CUSA; Noel Williams, vice chair of the Council of South African Trade Unions and other jailed trade unionists.

Nana Mahomo of the African-American Labor Center said more than 40 trade unionists are known to be in prison, but that many more may have been arrested.

Korea, Japan slapped for oil rig dumping

Import-battered unions welcomed a unanimous decision of the International Trade Commission that Korea and Japan engaged in the unlawful dumping of offshore oil drilling platforms in violation of U.S. trade laws.

As a result of the ITC decision, substantial duties will be levied on future imports of drilling platforms used in West Coast oil exploration and extraction.

AFL-CIO economist Mark Anderson called the ruling "an important step toward releasing the stranglehold which foreign firms have gained on an industry that is vital to our national security."

The ITC's action, Anderson asserted, underscores the need for Congressional action to deal with the "corrosive effects" resulting from "the pattern of unfair trade practices in this crucial industry." The House recently rejected an amendment to the Budget Reconciliation Act that would have imposed a "buy-American" provision on the industry, he noted.

Anderson pointed out that of the 14 offshore oil platform contracts awarded on the West Coast since 1979, only one has gone to a U.S. bidder, and none since 1982.

The ruling came in response to charges filed in April 1985 by the Boilermakers and Kaiser Steel Corp. The federation and its Building & Construction Trades Dept. joined in calling on the ITC to bring an end to the unfair competition resulting from the dumping.

Pacific coast hit

Foreign competition has centered along the Pacific Coast because both the Japanese and Koreans are able to tow the giant drilling rigs across the ocean. The platforms are too large to transit the Panama Canal and therefore have not proven a threat to Gulf or Atlantic Coast operations.

In addition to finding both countries guilty of dumping practices, the ITC voted 4-1 that Korea also violated America's trade law by providing unlawful subsidies to bidders on U.S. offshore platform projects. The Boilermakers and the industry said this added up to a "pervasive practice" to drive American-made products from their own marketplace.

The decision means that Japanese manufacturers of drilling rigs will pay an additional duty of nearly 9 percent on top of the present 6.2-percent levy required by U.S. trade law. For Korean manufacturers, it will mean an added duty of more than 17.3 percent based both on the dumping and that country's subsidy.

The ITC decision deals with the tubular frames and the pilings that are affixed to the ocean floor to support structures for the production of crude petroleum and natural gas.

The Boilermakers represent 85 percent of the West Coast workers engaged in fabricating and assembling these platform components.

Panelists target key issues for labor

Before the debates and caucuses at the conference sites that marked the June 14 "Union Meeting of the Air," separate panels in the Washington studio reviewed the issues and then fielded questions that poured in from delegates. They included:

Taxes and budget—Working people have won victories on tax reform legislation, but a struggle still lies ahead to iron out differences between House and Senate versions, President Gerald McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees, Executive Vice President Jay Foreman of the Food & Commercial Workers and Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten agreed.

Minimum taxes on wealthy individuals and corporations and the removal of millions of low-income families from the tax rolls are positive gains made possible, McEntee said, because unionists deluged Congress with petitions containing millions of signatures demanding a fair-share tax program.

Foreman said labor's other victories included beating back Administration efforts to tax such safety net features as health insurance, black lung and disability benefits, and the continued deductibility of state and local income taxes. But the Senate took away the deductibility for union dues and tools, an action Foreman called "discrimination against working people."

McEntee called the Gramm-Rudman budget-balancing law "baloney," and warned that the cuts it mandates will deprive state and local governments of $4 billion a year in federal revenue, leading either to drastic cuts in social programs or sharply increased taxes at those levels.

The federal budget, Foreman said, should be "a tool, not a straitjacket," and that Reagan's proposed balanced-budget amendment would lead to unemployment, lost productivity and a deeper recession. He derided Reagan's call for such a constitutional amendment, noting that in five years the Administration "has never proposed a balanced budget" on its own.

Summarizing the panel discussion and the questions and comments that came in on the issue, Kirkland accused the Administration of using budget cuts as a way to "repeal" laws on education, housing, health and safety "by starving them to death," and charged that Reagan "deliberately engineered" the massive national debt as a way of killing social programs he didn't like.

Trade—Ladies' Garment Workers President Sol C. Chaikin, Steelworkers President Lynn R. Williams and McGlotten agreed that the outlook is good for passing trade legislation in the Republican-controlled Senate despite Reagan's continued opposition, but labor still faces an uphill battle to overcome an almost certain veto.

American industry is "mortally endangered" by the glut of foreign-made goods, Chaikin pointed out, with 11.5 million American jobs lost to imports between 1979 and 1984. The textile and apparel industry "which employed 2.5 million workers a decade ago hardly provides jobs for 1.7 million people today."

Williams said unrestrained imports since the Reagan Administration took office have wiped out 200,000 steel industry jobs, forced 15 steel companies out of business and caused the permanent shutdown of 30 plants.

The panelists took issue with Reagan's claim that the pending trade legislation would erase import-related jobs in the United States. "We lose ten jobs in the manufacturing sector for every job that imports create in the service sector," the ILGWU president declared.

The pending trade bill won't restore all the jobs lost to foreign competition, Williams said in answer to a question from one of the conference sites. But it will stem further losses and could mark the beginning of an American industrial resurgence.

The essence of the problem, and the reason why corrective legislation is necessary, Kirkland said in his review of the panel discussion, is that "capital is mobile" and American companies that have "no patriotism, no loyalty and no roots and seek only maximum gain" are running away to cheap labor markets abroad. "Workers can't run away," he said. "The community is our base and that's why we demand legislation that's fair to workers and their communities."

He reiterated labor's opposition to "dictatorships of the left or right" that suppress trade union and human rights, and hailed the inclusion in the House-passed trade bill making the denial of these rights an unfair trade practice subject to sanctions to keep goods produced under those conditions from entering the American market.

Benefits program—The newly launched program of benefits for union members is another giant step forward in serving the people labor represents, President Linda Puchala of the Flight Attendants, Vice President Earl Bosher of the Railway & Airline Clerks and Union Privilege Corp. President Ray Denison said.

The panel discussion chaired by Karen Ignagni, an assistant director of Occupational Health, Safety & Social Security, focused on the first part of this package—a low-cost credit card that Denison said gives unionists "new bargaining power on Main Street and in the shopping mall."

Puchala said that, in addition to providing members with credit at interest lower than the going rate, the card would "reenforce labor's identity" by showing sales personnel that the bearer is a union member and making "management aware of the percentage of its business that comes from union members."

One of the key features of the credit card, Bosher pointed out, is that it provides for skipping payments for a stated period, without accruing additional interest, in case of authorized strikes, furlough or layoffs.

Denison reported that the first mailings of applications for credit cards will go to members of the Service Employees in July and that by the end of the year, almost 5 million members of affiliated unions will have the opportunity to sign up. Other benefits being considered include life insurance, legal assistance, travel, prescription drugs, health coverage for jobless or striking members and financial guidance.

In his summary of the panel discussion, Donahue said the benefits program is a way of moving labor's power "from the workplace to the marketplace." The plan grew out of discussions at previous regional conferences which showed that members have "immense faith in labor's ability to negotiate for consumer benefits," he said.

Organizing—Labor scored significant successes in organizing, Ignagni reported in opening this phase of the program. In the first 10 months of 1985, the number of people organized by AFL-CIO unions equalled the total in each of the previous two years and polls show "high union interest" in the rapidly growing service sector, particularly among women and part-time workers.

President William H. Bywater of the Electronic Workers focused on his union's organizing drive for 11,000 ticket agents and skycaps at Eastern Airlines, and praised the support given by state and local central bodies and affiliated unions.

The future of the trade union movement is linked to its success in reaching out to women and minorities, Service Employees President John Sweeney declared as he reported on the efforts of nine major affiliates involved in a coordinated organizing drive among the 35,000 workers at Blue Cross/Blue Shield operations nationwide.

Associate General Counsel David Silberman said that it's important to let prospective members know of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act and the role of the union in helping to enforce those rights, even though the present NLRB is hostile to workers' rights.

Labor's future—In a wide-ranging discussion, Donahue was joined by Vice President Joyce Miller of the Clothing & Textile Workers, Sec.-Treas. Doug Allen of the Professional Athletes, President Norman Hill of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute and Sweeney in examining the challenges facing the trade union movement.

How does labor change "public perceptions and attitudes which work against us when we organize and negotiate?" Donahue asked. "How do we inform a new generation of workers that what they take for granted today other trade unions had to fight for yesterday? How do we enlarge the degree of community support for the things we think important?"

Miller, who is president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, said labor should be "proud but not complacent" about the advances it has made in bringing more women into union leadership and professional staff positions and its gains in such areas as pay equity, quality child care, affirmative action and sexual harassment. "Union women," she said, "earn 30 to 35 percent more than nonunion women."

The labor movement, Hill said, is "a coalition of male and female, young and old, black, Hispanic and white, Protestant, Catholic, Jew and Moslem," and that it must intensify its efforts with support groups within the community to make sure they know where labor stands on issues of concern to them and to enlist their support on worker-related issues.

Allen said that labor must devise new ways of communicating with its members, pointing out that the membership meeting is "not necessarily the best measure of participation" because there are so many distractions that keep people from attending. At the same time, he urged an outreach program to high school and college students "before they get into the workforce," so they will understand labor's positive contributions.

Labor can wrest control of the Senate from the Republicans, Sweeney said, if it continues to mount an aggressive registration and get-out-the-vote drive, and impresses on members and their families the importance of their votes in restoring programs of concern to workers.

Panelists agreed that the Executive Council's action to stimulate greater participation in state and local central bodies is vital to carrying out labor's mission, because so much of the political burden has shifted to the state legislatures in recent years.

'Meeting of the Air' links 2,500 unionists at 20 sites

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Donahue stressed the same theme, pointing out that the purpose of the conference was "to arm ourselves with the facts and the free exchanges of ideas from which our strength has always been derived."

From the receiving sites, the unionists responded with questions and comments and registered their opinions in straw polls that showed:

- Overwhelming support for a minimum tax on the wealthy and corporations and a tax system based on ability to pay.
- Nearly unanimous backing for the use of any new federal revenues to maintain education, training, health care and public works programs.
- Agreement that U.S. trade laws must be improved to deal effectively with unfair trade practices that flood the American market while denying U.S.-made goods access to consumers in other countries.
- Determination to bombard the Senate with letters and telegrams supporting a tough trade bill similar to the House-passed measure.
- Almost total agreement that Reagan's opposition to trade legislation has the support neither of workers nor communities devastated by the import crunch.
- Widespread demand for expanding the Union Privileges Program to include health coverage for jobless or striking members.
- Condemnation of the anti-union policies of the Reagan Administration and its management-oriented National Labor Relations Board.
- Agreement that political action is the most important step workers can take to change federal and state labor laws.
- Significant agreement that public perceptions about unions present a major obstacle to organizing efforts.

Out across the country, unionists watched the proceedings on giant television screens. They were linked to the Washington studios via telephone, passing their questions and comments to a battery of union volunteers who sent them, in turn, to the proper panel for response.

With 155,000 Communications Workers on strike against AT&T, Kirkland offered to cancel the televised proceedings as a gesture of solidarity. But CWA President Morton Bahr, who joined the teleconference via videotape, urged that it go on as scheduled.

The conference began at 11 a.m. eastern time, as Kirkland gavelled the nationwide meeting to order. Then delegates joined in the Pledge of Allegiance to honor Flag Day. Seven hours later delegates raised their voices in a stirring chorus of "Solidarity Forever" to end the proceedings.

In addition to the 20 cities from coast-to-coast, unionists from the District of Columbia area gathered at the State, County & Municipal Employees building to observe the proceedings, and a part of the program was picked up at the meeting of the International Labor Communications Association in Birmingham, Ala.

The program was organized by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs and was moderated by Gwenn Kelly of LIPA.

Behind the scenes

It took the participation of thousands of union members and officers to make it a success—but the nuts-and-bolts work of staging the day-long AFL-CIO "Union Meeting of the Air" required the work of a small "army" of some 160 volunteers and technicians.

At the Washington studio from which the teleconference originated, 45 rank-and-file members from affiliated unions staffed a bank of telephones to record the questions and straw-poll results that flowed in throughout the day from the 20 conference sites.

Handling the task of televising and transmitting the proceedings were 25 camera operators, floor directors and producers from station WETA, the public broadcasting outlet whose facilities were used for the project, plus 20 writers, technicians, specialists and crew members from the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

And out at the 20 union halls and college campuses where the thousands of union members gathered, there were another 60 local site coordinators, AFL-CIO staff members and television technicians who provided the all-important linkup with their brothers and sisters across the nation.

Study finds Reagan policies slash safeguards

Continued from Page 1

worker rights," as well as the board's dilatory tactics that have caused a marked rise in the number of unresolved complaints.

Some of the remedies for these failures, Levitan and Shapiro said, can be achieved through administrative actions that will not raise federal costs.

Other improvements can be accomplished if Congress pursues its oversight role with increased vigor.

But legislative changes are needed, too, the JEC study points out.

These should include raising the minimum wage, which has been stuck at its present level since 1979, establishment of a government mechanism to "assist the working poor without adding to the federal deficit," and increased federal funding for training to help workers whose jobs have been shot out from under them by foreign trade or technological change.

"The protective net for workers exists," the study concludes. "The President and Congress should take action to see that it is appropriately repaired."

Economy sluggish

First-quarter growth marked down to 2.9%

In a sharp downward revision of its figures, the Commerce Dept. reported that the gross national product grew at an anemic 2.9-percent annual rate during the first quarter instead of the 3.7-percent pace the Reagan Administration trumpeted a month ago.

The nation's output of goods and services—the broadest measure of the economy's health—grew only $26.1 billion in the first three months of this year, not the $32.7 billion announced in May.

The adjustment was made necessary because the net exports of goods and services increased only $2.7 billion in the first quarter. It was a far cry from the $10.5-billion hike projected in the earlier report.

The smaller-than-anticipated GNP gain will force revisions in budget projections which are already close to the deficit limits set by the Gramm-Rudman budget balancing act.

The downward adjustment of the GNP data came amid other signs of continued sluggishness throughout the economy.

• A dramatic turnaround in energy and food prices kicked up the producer price index by six-tenths of 1 percent in May, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported. The upturn was the first increase in wholesale prices this year, and its ripple effects will show up shortly in consumer prices.

Most analysts predicted that the decline in energy prices, fueled by the collapse of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, has now run its course and that these prices will continue their upward trend, resulting in an inflation rate of 4 percent later this year.

• The operating rate of the nation's factories, mines and utilities slumped to its lowest level since December 1983, the Federal Reserve Board reported. Utilization of productive capacity dropped to 78.6 percent in May, down six-tenths of 1 percent from the previous month.

The biggest drop—5.4 percent—came in the import-battered automobile manufacturing, where plants were running at only 75 percent of capacity last month. Utilization in the electrical and nonelectrical machinery industries, also under seige from abroad, fell below the 70-percent level, about 9 percent below the average for the 1967-1975 period. The operating rate in the mining industry has fallen 6 percent since January because of the oil glut and cutbacks in coal industry output.

• The slump in the energy-producing sector was evident in surging unemployment levels in key oil-producing states. Louisiana's April unemployment rate of 13.2 percent, highest in the nation, was 1.7 percent above the year-ago level. Joblessness in Texas was 8.2 percent, an increase of 1.9 percent in the past year, while Oklahoma had 8.1 percent unemployment, up 1 percent from April 1985. Thirteen other states had unemployment levels higher than those recorded a year earlier.

Oil slump continues

Still more oil-related unemployment lies ahead. Chevron Corp. announced plans to cut another 4,500 from the payroll, reducing its workforce to 52,000, 15 percent below last December's 61,000 level.

• As further evidence of the weakness of the manufacturing and mining sector, the government reported industrial production dropped six-tenths of 1 percent in May. Output has fallen in three of the first five months of this year. Once again, the tide of imports and the decline in oil prices were blamed.

• In still another sign of economic weakness, the Commerce Dept. said U.S. businesses plan to reduce outlays for plant and equipment 1.3 percent this year—the first drop since the 1.2-percent decline in 1983, when the nation was mired in the depths of the Reagan Recession. Capital spending rose 7.6 percent last year.

• Retail sales fell one-tenth of 1 percent last month, as consumers remained cautious about spending. The decline followed on the heels of a four-tenths of 1 percent increase in April.

• The pace of home building slowed somewhat in May after four months of sustained growth resulting from skidding interest rates. Housing starts declined 7.4 percent last month, but were still running at a vigorous annual rate of nearly 1.9 million units. Meanwhile building permits declined 5.3 percent from the April level.

Legislator scores Coors 'deceit' in publicity booklet

Sacramento—Willie L. Brown Jr., speaker of the California Assembly, blasted the Adolph Coors Co. for fraudulently using his photo to promote Coors beer, terming the company's publicity campaign "blatant and cynical."

Brown, who had been photographed during a festival in Baltimore last year, discovered his photo on the cover of a Coors promotional magazine.

In a letter to the anti-union beer maker, Brown condemned the company's tactics of "manipulation and deceit" and warned Coors that "the many thousands of Americans who continue to actively oppose the labor policies of Adolph Coors Co. can be successfully deceived by a campaign to use the faces of your opposition in an effort to promote Coors' exploitation of working people."

Brown made clear his longtime support of the AFL-CIO Coors boycott that began in 1977. "I have seen nothing since indicating that Coors is willing to change its policies or even discuss them in good faith with labor representatives," Brown stressed.

CWA President Morton Bahr details tentative accord with AT&T at a Washington press conference. At left is CWA Executive Vice President John C. Carroll, chairman of the union's bargaining committee.

CWA wins job security fight, spurns give-back demands

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but continued bargaining with the assistance of Kay McMurray, director of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, who was credited with aiding significantly in reaching the settlement.

The agreement retains the cost-of-living adjustment language, Bahr said, but the CWA opted for an 8-percent wage increase in lieu of COLA payments. Pay raises will be 2 percent the first year and 3 percent in each of the following two years.

A major item in the employment security package, Bahr said, is the right of workers to cross company lines from one division to another for the first time. This will be coupled with special incentives to encourage pension-eligible workers to retire.

The company demand for a new lower-paid position of technicians assistant was met by setting up "cushioning" severance payments for workers who "opt to become technicians assistants." Bahr said those with less than 15 years' service would receive an assistant's pay rate plus up to 27 weeks of severance pay at the system technicians' scale. Those with more than 15 years' service will get a year of systems technician's pay, followed by two years of lesser rates until they reach the assistant's pay level in the fourth year. The assistant's scale starts at $240 a week.

Jobs reclassified

A new classification of senior systems technician will be added on May 31, 1988, with those workers receiving 5 percent above the top systems technician rate.

There will be a 30-day period during which systems technicians can opt to retire with an additional pension benefit of $5 a month for each year of service, along with a cash payment of $7,500. Added to this will be 4-percent benefit increases in October 1986 and October 1988. Pensions will increase 4.5-percent on Jan. 1, 1988 for those who retired before 1985. The increase will be prorated for those retiring after that date.

A jointly owned nonprofit corporation, called the Alliance for Employee Growth & Development, will be set up to provide worker training and retraining. Funded by an annual $7 million company contribution, it will be open to all CWA members at AT&T.

Hiring rights

Additionally, AT&T will tell CWA members of job openings to which they can transfer and an Employment Opportunities Review System gives union members the right of first hire before any "off-the-street" hires can be made by the company, Bahr said.

Those CWA members whose jobs were downgraded without a loss of pay as a result of divestiture will continue with the same pay rate until Aug. 10. Then for the next two years, their pay will slowly drop to the scale for the job they are doing.

The company agreed not to subcontract out work where layoffs are pending or where workers are laid off and on recall. AT&T also agreed to remain neutral in CWA organizing campaigns, recognizing the union on card checks alone if no other union is involved in organizing in areas already represented by CWA, Bahr said.

The 30,000 Electrical Workers members at AT&T manufacturing operations overwhelmingly ratified a similar contract with the company. The vote was 12,104 to 3,605. The 10,000 IBEW members in telephone operations are voting by mail on their contract, with the tally to be announced July 5. Because of a provision in the IBEW contracts, those members will receive the same benefits won by CWA.

Poll taps views of teleconference participants

Union opinion polls played a key role during the nationwide teleconference. Here are the national results, based on a tabulation of the responses furnished by the local sites:

Budget and Taxes

1. When you think of federal tax reform which of the following is most important?

- A tax system which is based on ability to pay—42%
- Removing the millions of poor from the tax rolls—5%
- Taxing investment income at the same rate as wages and salaries—2%
- Establishing a minimum tax to ensure that the wealthy and corporations pay a share of the tax burden—51%

2. After the Congress completes work on tax reform, do you believe that any new federal revenue should be used to:

- Reduce the budget deficit—17%
- Maintain programs such as education, training, health care and the nation's infrastructure—83%

Trade

1. Which of the following do you believe is the most important step that Congress can take to end the current trade crisis?

- Force countries with unfair surpluses to reduce their surpluses—1%
- Prevent products made through exploitative labor conditions from freely entering the U.S. market—28%
- Improve U.S. trade law to effectively deal with unfair trade practices by our trading partners—71%

2. Which of the following do you believe is the most important step that a union member can take to help end the trade crisis?

- Contact senators and urge them to support a tough trade bill, similar to the one passed by the House—56%
- Urge family and friends to buy American and union-made products—34%
- Support stronger state and federal "Buy American" laws—10%

3. When the President vetoed the Textile & Apparel Trade bill and threatens to veto other trade legislation, do you think he has the support of:

- Your fellow workers—0.3%
- Your community—10.0%
- Neither—89.7%

Organizing

1. From your experience, which of the following actions would lead to the greatest gains in membership for the labor movement?

- Bypassing the NLRB—4%
- Coordinated multi-union campaigns—21%
- Political action to win changes in federal labor law, a fair NLRB and improved state labor laws—54%
- Using rank-and-file members as volunteer organizers—13%
- Increased use of sophisticated pressure tactics against unfair employers—8%

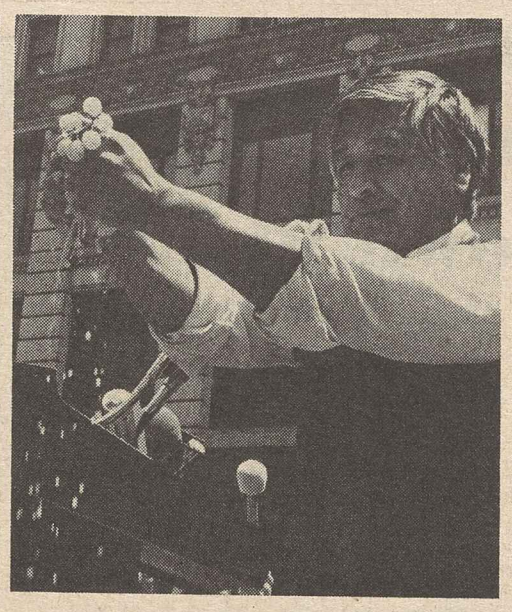
2. In your opinion, which of these problems is the biggest obstacle to organizing for the labor movement as a whole?

- Increased management hostility—6%
- The Reagan Administration and the NLRB—43%
- Public perceptions about unions—37%
- Labor's slowness in adapting to change—9%
- The economy—5%

Benefits

1. The AFL-CIO is considering consumer benefit programs in life insurance, legal assistance, retirement, travel, prescriptions, car rental and books. What other low-cost programs do you suggest we explore?

- Health coverage for jobless or striking workers—47%
- Dental protection—6%
- Tax preparation—2%
- Financial guidance—5%
- Disability—13%
- Auto/homeowners casualty insurance—15%
- Nursing home insurance—12%



Wrath of grapes

Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez spread the UFW's "Wrath of Grapes" boycott to the East Coast with a noon rally in New York's Herald Square. Chavez urged the crowd of supporters to not buy non-union California table grapes until the Environmental Protection Agency bans five pesticides that cause injuries, birth defects and deaths to field workers. The UFW also wants growers to bargain agreements covering some 20,000 pickers who have voted for union representation, but don't have contracts. Local and international union leaders joined the rally and signed a huge pledge card supporting the boycott.

SEIU levels bias charges in court suit

Los Angeles—The Service Employees accused the county board of supervisors of sex and race discrimination in a lawsuit seeking back pay and relief for some 30,000 women and minority workers denied promotions and fair wages.

Three SEIU locals filed the class action suit in Los Angeles County superior court, charging violations of California's Fair Employment & Housing Act. SEIU had brought a discrimination complaint before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, but the county ignored "repeated requests" to end its discriminatory practices, the union said.

The SEIU documented the county's discriminatory practices in a report released a week earlier.

The study found that women and minority workers are concentrated in lower-paying jobs and are denied "an equal opportunity to transfer or be promoted into higher-paying jobs." The union is seeking revisions in the county's pay and promotion policies to allow women and minority workers opportunity for promotion into higher-paying jobs.

Nearly half of the county's black workers are in "black-dominated jobs"—primarily service jobs—while two-thirds of the white male workers are in predominantly white jobs. The white males consistently earn higher salaries, even though "entry educational and experience requirements for many of these jobs are virtually the same," the report noted.

Sex-segregated jobs

The survey also found that 80 percent of the county jobs are sex-segregated, with nearly half of the county's 2,300 classifications employing "no women at all." Such job-segregation has a "direct impact" on wages in predominantly female positions, the union stressed, pointing out that minority and women workers earned between $6,000 and $10,000 a year less than white men. Half of all white male employees earned over $25,000 a year, compared to just 15 percent of the women workers, the SEIU said.

Even in setting the "pay for jobs which the employer has determined require the same amount of education and/or experience," women and minority workers earn less than white males, the union charged.

Floyd Hyde gets top executive post at Housing Trust

Floyd H. Hyde has been named chief executive officer of the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust. He has served as chairman of the board of HIT since 1982.

A former under-secretary of the Dept. of Housing & Urban Development, Hyde also served as president of the National Housing Conference and on the board of directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association. Prior to joining HUD, he was the mayor of Fresno, Calif.

Hyde replaces the late John Evans, who had been HIT's chief executive officer until his death in January.

The HIT was established by the AFL-CIO in 1982 as a vehicle for investing union-negotiated pension funds in union-built, government-insured construction projects and housing mortgages.

The trust has assets of over $143 million, with investments primarily in construction loans and mortgages on single- and multi-family homes, retirement facilities, nursing homes and other health care facilities.

Floyd H. Hyde

New OSHA asbestos rules fall short on exposure curb

Continued from Page 1

with the heaviest exposures occurring in general building renovation.

The AFL-CIO pressed the legal challenge to the general industry rule for asbestos, while its Building & Construction Trades Dept. mounted the petition for court review of the construction industry standard. Both filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. The Asbestos Information Association filed similar petitions with the 5th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

James Lapping, safety specialist for BCTD, said the department is pleased that Labor Sec. William E. Brock "kept his promise to us to put out a construction standard, even though it has been delayed. Unfortunately, the standard is incomplete." Lapping also expressed concern about OSHA's ability to adequately enforce the standard at construction sites.

Carpenters industrial hygienist Scott Schneider echoed those sentiments. "We're glad its finally out," he said. "It's certainly an improvement over the old rule, but it's far short of what we'd like to see."

Wrong trigger

Schneider said the construction unions are especially concerned that a number of the provisions are triggered at the permissible exposure limit of 200,000 fibers, "rather than at the action level, which is half that amount." Establishment of a regulated area and the provision of protective clothing are required when exposures reach 200,000 fibers, while the action level will trigger a requirement for medical examinations and training.

Sheldon Samuels, safety director for the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., also expressed gratification that Brock had helped move the standard out of OMB. On the other hand, he said, "we grieve for the thousands of workers who died between the time the Ford Administration proposed the change and now."

Samuels decried OSHA's exclusion of a short-term exposure limit, stressing that the peak exposures that will be permitted can overwhelm the body's natural defense mechanisms, placing workers at extreme risk.

An attempt to lower the exposure limit by setting an emergency standard was held invalid by the 5th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in 1984. The AFL-CIO noted then that a 500,000-fiber limit proposed by OSHA was five times larger than the limit recommended in a study jointly done by the agency and the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health in 1980. OSHA had withheld that study from the public for 18 months.

Weaker standard

Both standards require the application of engineering and work practice controls to bring exposures below the permissible level, but the general industry standard allows the use of respirators in some sanding and grinding operations if engineering controls fail to reduce worker exposure below 200,000 fibers.

In other action, OSHA announced that it has revised its enforcement guidelines on the hazard communication rule to ensure consistency nationwide. The revisions include citing a serious violation whenever a "deficiency" in a safety data sheet, container label or other requirement could result in potentially serious harm or death; citing each violation separately, and acknowledging alternative labeling systems as acceptable provided they meet minimal requirements of the rule.

William Borwegan, safety director for the Service Employees, said the standards "obviously are necessary," and it's "unfortunately too late for many workers." He said he was glad that some action was taken by OSHA's new administrator, John Pendergrass. " I wish this was a trend, but it's probably more of a public relations effort and a way to kill EPA's planned asbestos ban."

Occupational health group appoints Donald Elisburg

Donald Elisburg, a former Assistant Secretary of Labor, has been named administrator of the union-backed Occupational Health Legal Rights Foundation.

Elisburg, a Washington-based lawyer, had been in charge of the Employment Standards Administration from 1977 to 1981. Prior to that, he was on the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee staff. The foundation assists workers in pressing workers' compensation claims, pursuing court action when necessary.

Metal Trades reach accord at Navy yard

Portsmouth, Va.—Union negotiators, bargaining through the Tidewater Metal Trades Council, reached a tentative agreement with the Naval Shipyard here covering more than 8,000 workers from 13 unions.

The agreement would replace a contract that expired in 1979, although its provisions are still in effect. The accord rejects management efforts to institute a staggered work plan, maintaining the standard workweek for the shipyard workers. It also includes important protections for trade and job classifications and preserves current working conditions, said Glen Latham, vice chairman of the council.

Wages, holidays and other benefits affecting shipyard employees are not covered by contract negotiations but are set by federal government and civil service regulations, Latham pointed out.

The three-year agreement is subject to ratification by the membership at a special council meeting, with results expected in shortly, Latham said. The pact also must be approved by Navy Sec. John F. Lehman.

Unions participating in coordinated bargaining for the Norfolk yard include the Asbestos Workers, Boilermakers, Carpenters, Electrical Workers, Fire Fighters, Iron Workers, Laborers, Machinists, Operating Engineers, Painters, Plumbers & Pipe Fitters, Professional & Technical Engineers, and Sheet Metal Workers.

Older and wiser

Nearly 50 members of the AFL-CIO Committee on Union Retirees, many of them retired union activists, met in Washington to discuss ways to better involve seniors in the political process and to focus attention on retired workers' concerns. From left, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue chats with Wes Reedy, a former assistant; William Perry of the Electronic Workers, and Machinists President William Winpisinger, committee chairman.

EDITORIALS

What the Workers Want

FOR THE PAST SIX YEARS we have been under seige, fighting a defensive battle against enormous odds to hold on to what we had achieved in the past half century.

Our perennial critics exulted in the prospect that we faced an irreversible decline into irrelevance, and even some of our fashion-smitten friends wondered whether they might, after all, be right.

But now we see evidence that the political climate is changing. The Reagan era is entering its twilight, intellectually depleted and in disarray. Its supply of economic snake oil is running low. The pendulum is swinging back, as it always does in our self-corrective democracy, and we are on the move again.

In recent months we have won a series of major victories in Washington.

In the Senate, we soundly defeated an outrageous anti-union amendment to the Hobbs Act that was a direct attack on our right to picket. We beat back a proposed constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget that would have destroyed what remains of the shredded safety net for the poor, the jobless and the handicapped. In the House, we won key rounds in the battle against double-breasted contracting and against lie detector tests as a condition of employment.

WE ARE CLOSER today than we have been in many, many years to achieving real tax reform. So far, both houses have adopted provisions that we have long sought. We defeated the attempt to tax workers' life-support benefits. We saved the deductibility of state and local income taxes and both the Senate and House bills contain an effective minimum tax on corporations and the wealthy. Both bills give the largest tax cuts to the poor and lower-income Americans and the Senate bill would tax investment income at the same rate as earned income.

These are not the signs of a collapsing labor movement eclipsed by a permanent revolution of the right. These are the lifesigns of a resurgent labor movement that remains this country's most effective force for social and economic justice.

Perhaps the most welcome news of all is on the trade front. For years we have watched American jobs and American industrial power being auctioned off to the lowest bidders. In one sick industry after another, working people and their unions have been forced to make concessions on wages and work rules so that their employers can stay at home and survive.

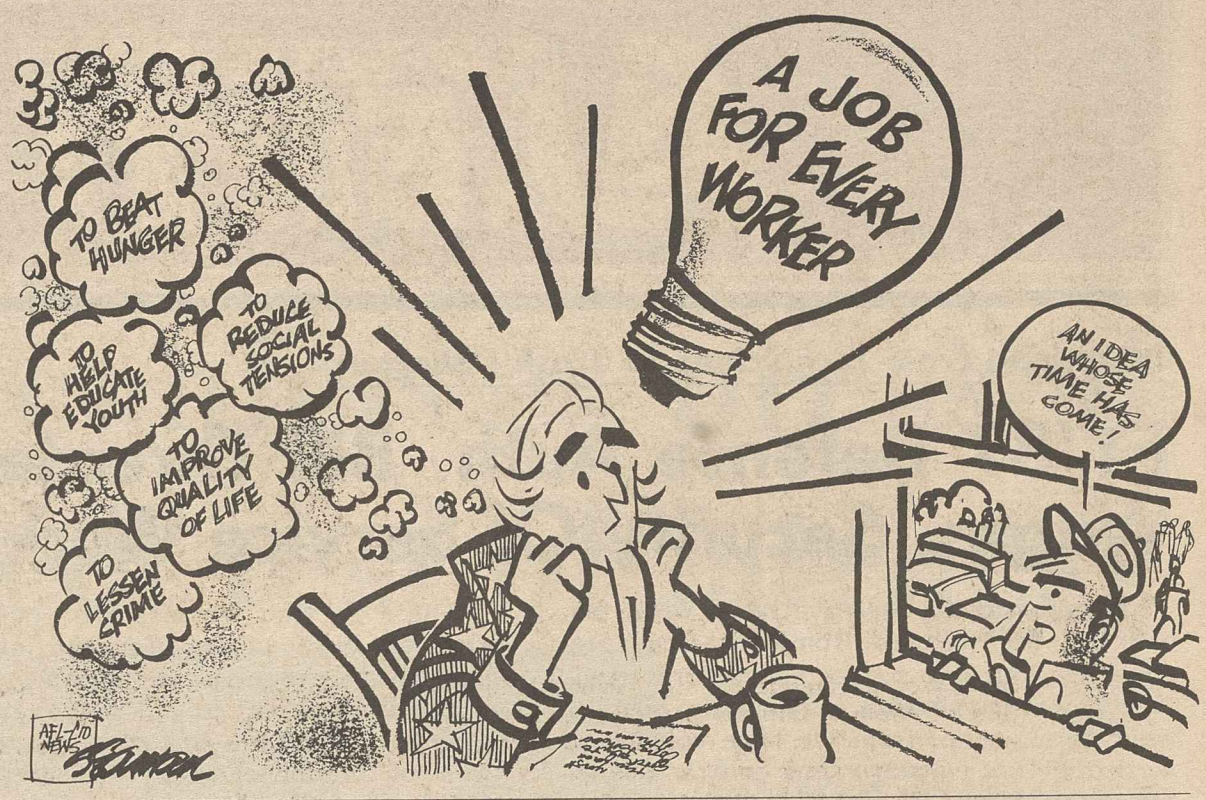
For six years, we have suffered through the callous and delusive free-trade rhetoric of the Reaganites. Now, at long last, the House has passed a comprehensive trade bill. Senate enactment of similar legislation will give our country a real chance to compete in the world marketplace. We also have a good shot at overriding President Reagan's veto of the textile trade bill when it comes before the Congress on Aug. 6.

BUT OUR SIGHTS are set beyond near-term victories. We are built for the long haul and, if we are to make the most of the opportunities that the future holds for us, we have to get on with the strengthening of our movement at every level. Our initiatives have only one purpose—to strengthen, modernize and renew this movement, this changing, adapting instrument for social progress bequeathed to us by generations of working people.

Each of those generations confronted the challenge of change. Some were more successful than others, but the movement endured, propelled by hard-won victories and riding out the losses.

The most successful of our forebears were those who offered to the working men and women of America, not what the Administration in power wanted, not what the politicians wanted, not what their bosses wanted, not even what some of their labor leaders may have thought they ought to want, but what they, the workers themselves, really wanted from their unions. That will be the formula for our success and for the growth and vitality of our movement far, far into the future.

—From AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's remarks opening the televised "Union Meeting of the Air," June 14, 1986.



Washington Window

Conservatives nag bishops on plea for economic justice

By Press Associates Inc.

These are tough times for the corporate fat cats and the politicians who support each other through thick and thin. Liberal academicians are always needling them about the mythology of free enterprise and religious leaders are always asking what they've done lately for and to people.

This is the age of the marketplace, Harvard Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith told the National Press Club recently. The current political rhetoric tells relentlessly of its rediscovery and of the need that nothing intrude on its divine rule.

"In the colleges and universities, there has been a renaissance of market theory—the new classicism, as it is called, the pure rule of rational expectations," Galbraith declared. "The voices of Prof. Milton Friedman, the Hoover and American Enterprise Institutes are strong in the land."

But what is the reality? Galbraith asked. Never before in our history has the retreat from the market been so massive and tumultuous, he said. Corporate concentration leading to market domination by one or a few firms fills the financial pages.

Pastoral letter

The Roman Catholic bishops now have a third draft of their pastoral letter on the national economy. Even the title, Economic Justice for All, should be enough to shake up churchgoing executives or political leaders.

Some 300 bishops will debate the 45,000-word document in November. Since it is the result of extensive field hearings and research, it will likely be adopted then.

The document's fundamental questions remain: What does the economy do *for* people? What does it do *to* people? And how do people *participate* in it?

When the first draft posed these questions, it was as if Orson Welles was broadcasting the landing of Martians in New Jersey. Ultra-conservative William Simon, a former Secretary of the Treasury, raised $300,000 from Wall Street types to subvert the bishops' document. Letters were sent to some 19,000 parishes to counter the bishops' recommendations. Conservative columnists like Michael Novak, William Buckley Jr. and James Kilpatrick flailed away at the bishops' proposals.

What were these dangerous ideas which stirred the establishment?

- On employment. "We recommend that the nation make a major new commitment to achieve full employment," the bishops said. Over the past decade, economists, policymakers and the public have tolerated unemployment levels of 6 to 7 percent and more, levels, the bishops said, that are neither inevitable nor acceptable.

The bishops called for federal spending, tax and interest rate policies to be coordinated toward the goal of jobs for all. They urged targeted employment programs, with direct job creation for the long-term unemployed, and new strategies such as greater use of job sharing, flex-time and a reduced workweek.

- On poverty, the bishops noted that more than 33 million Americans are poor by the government's official definition and another 20 to 30 million are termed needy. They pointed out that poverty rose by one-third in the past decade to the highest rate in 20 years.

The principle of participation, the bishops said, calls for changes that "enable people to take control of their own lives." That means jobs and a range of other changes and policies.

The statement called for an end to stigmatizing the poor. The poor have the same desire to work as the rest of the population, it said.

- On labor, the bishops supported the right of workers to organize. "We firmly oppose organized efforts, such as those regrettably now seen in this country, to break existing unions and prevent workers from organizing." Migrant farm workers particularly need unions. Labor law reform is needed.

Throughout the document, the bishops call for actions and studies leading to the strengthening of family life.

AFL-CIO news

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

Everything From Technicians To Trash Collectors

FY'87 Defense Auth. Bill Threatens Wages, Security Of Service Workers

Congressional conservatives, with the help of the Reagan Administration, are once again trying to destroy federal laws that protect American workers who sustain their employment from the huge volume of work the U.S. Government contracts out. The Department of Defense authorization bill, due soon on the Senate floor, is expected to contain language eliminating wage rate guarantees for millions of service workers as well as for thousands of construction workers.

Virtually every type of service employee imaginable from custodians, food handlers and laundry employees, to trash collectors and mechanics will be affected. Most are already underpaid, and a majority are female, black or another minority.

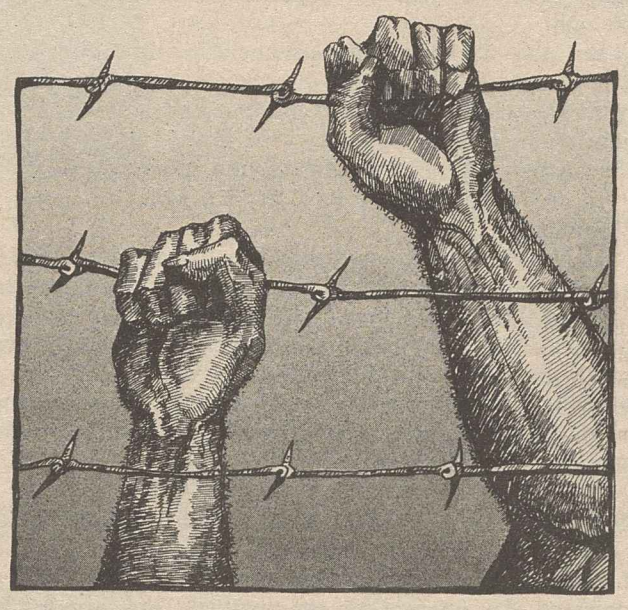
For the last several years, conservatives have been trying to undermine the related Davis-Bacon Act --a law that provides similar prevailing wage protections to construction workers.

This year the Department of Defense Authorization bill as reported for full Senate action will contain not only the anti Davis-Bacon provisions we fought last year, but, for the first time, conservatives are also going after workers currently protected by the lesser-known Service Contract Act.

These service workers are people who prior to 1965 worked for the minimum wage, never received a pension, had no vacation leave, had no sick leave, and were never covered by a health plan. Perhaps worst of all, the constant turnover of service contractors meant the workers never achieved job security and could be fired at a moment's notice or could have their wages slashed to the bone every time a new contractor came in. This bill would set them back to square one.

The Service Contract Act of 1965 was enacted to protect the wages and benefits of service employees hired by private contractors to supply services to the federal government. The act requires that employees working under service contracts valued at over $2,500 be paid the prevailing wage for similar workers in their area, as determined by the Secretary of Labor. The law also extends minimum wage, health and sanitary provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act to these workers.

In its present form the Defense Authorization bill would raise the $2,500 threshold to $1 million for service workers and establish a similar one for construction workers as well. This would effectively exempt all but the very largest contractors from the present law.



Full Trade Embargo

House Passes Stiff Economic Sanctions Against S. Africa

Apparently in response to the severe and repressive crackdown that is currently being undertaken by the South African government, the U.S. House, in a surprise development, passed on June 18 legislation imposing a full trade embargo against South Africa and requiring the approximately 280 American companies doing business there to shut operations within 180 days of the bill being signed into law.

Conditions in South Africa have desperately deteriorated in the days approaching and since the June 16 anniversary of the Soweto riots of 1976. Major trade union leaders, as well as thousands oppose who the government's apartheid policies, have been arrested and held without justification and with total denial of any legal rights. The South African government has blatantly disdained international pleas for justice and peaceful negotiations.

The AFL-CIO had supported H.R. 4868, a more modest bill imposing economic sanctions, expected to pass the House. The House's more radical action surprised both supporters and opponents of H.R. 4868.

While the bill which pased the House is a clear and undeniable statement of the frustration and anger felt in the U.S. in response to recent South African government actions, it casts great uncertainty on the fate of sanctions in the Senate where the Administration and many conservative Senators had been opposing even the less far-reaching provisions of S. 2498, the companion bill to H.R. 4868.

Plan To Strike Manufacturing Clause Would Damage U.S. Printing Industry

After a decade of record trade deficits, where millions of U.S. jobs have been lost overseas in the textile, telecommunications, steel, and shoe industries to name just a few, the Labor Department is proposing we expose one of the remaining healthy industries --printing and publishing -- to the same treatment.

The so-called "manufacturing clause" contained in U.S. copyright laws, is one of the few on the books today that successfully protects a vital industry. Its repeal would mean the loss of hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs in printing and publishing.

First passed in 1891, the law requires that material which is predominantly of a non-dramatic literary nature and is written in English by an American author or by an author domiciled in the U.S. must be printed in the U.S. or Canada in order to be fully protected by the U.S. copyright law. On February 26 of this year Secretary of Labor Brock submitted to the U.S. Senate a study that focused entirely on termination of the clause.

July 1 is the termination date for existing protections, and legislation is needed in a hurry if they are to be renewed. Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA) has introduced legislation in the House (H.R. 4696) that would extend the clause permanently and Senators Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) and Strom Thurmond (R-SC) have a Senate version (S.1822) that would do the same.

The two bills now before Congress would not only make the important clause permanent, but would also recognize and reward fair trading countries. Included in the bills is language allowing the U.S. Special Trade Representative and the Secretary of Labor to exempt countries from the manufacturing clause by certifying to Congress that the country: 1) extends full copyright protection to foreign nationals 2) is a fair trading partner in printed goods, and 3) protects the basic rights of its workers as defined by the Trade Act of 1974.

The legislation has a good chance of passing both houses of Congress in the next few weeks, and workers should contact both their representative and their two Senators, urging their support for H.R. 4696 and S. 1822.

House Approves Important Housing Bill

The Housing Authorization bill, which contains important funding for federal housing programs was passed by the full House June 12. Incorporated into the bill is funding for the HUD and Farmer's Home Administration housing programs -- money that is vital to maintaining production of new low and moderate-income housing units.

Also included was specific initiatives for the homeless, the Nehemiah Housing Opportunity Grant Program which enables low-income families to purchase homes, extensions for the FHA mortgage insurance authority, the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act and other important urban development provisions.

An amendment was offered by Rep. Bruce Morrison (D-CT) to preserve Davis-Bacon wage protections, collective bargaining agreements, and public employee jobs under a new provision allowing tenant council management of public housing projects.

A weakening amendment, sponsored by Rep. Robert Garcia (D-NY) however passed. The so-called "enterprise zones" initiative will likely be counterproductive in the long run, generating wasteful competition between businesses in depressed areas while not creating jobs.

The bill is now before the Senate where action could come as early as this week and similar difficulties are expected.

AFL-CIO news

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Extended aid for long-term jobless sought

The Reagan Administration opposed a labor-urged program of extended unemployment benefits for America's long-term jobless, contending that it would lessen the pressure for industrial workers whose jobs have been eliminated to move into service occupations.

Its testimony, before a House Ways & Means subcommittee, closely paralleled the objections raised by witnesses from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers.

The case for reviving the virtually dormant program of extended benefits was made by AFL-CIO Legislative Rep. Calvin P. Johnson.

Johnson termed the extended benefits bill introduced by Rep. Donald J. Pease (D-Ohio) a move in the right direction although short of what the AFL-CIO has proposed. It would tie the duration of jobless benefits to the severity of unemployment through various trigger devices. The maximum of 30 weeks in addition to state benefits would be allowed in states with a jobless rate of 13 percent or higher.

'Paper' benefits

Two-thirds of Americans out of work and seeking jobs aren't receiving unemployment compensation, Johnson reminded the subcommittee.

An extended benefits program of 13 weeks exists largely on paper, Johnson noted, because its trigger mechanism is so unrealistic that 99 percent of those out of work 27 weeks or longer fail to qualify.

Continued high unemployment in the aftermath of recession has left families and communities devastated, he charged.

"The time to act is now and not when the economy is in the midst of the next recession," Johnson urged.

The Pease bill would divide the costs of the extended benefits between the states and the federal government, with the federal share rising from 50 to 90 percent during peak levels of unemployment.

Johnson urged also that the legislation include a rise in the wage base on which employers are taxed for the unemployment insurance program. And he welcomed a provision in the bill for an experimental test of triggering extended benefits in a section of a state that is experiencing severe unemployment.

The prepared testimony by Assistant Sec. of Labor Roger D. Semerad contended that unemployment insurance should provide only "short-term income support to workers while they make the job changes inherent in a dynamic economy.

False hope?

While "workers will continue to be dislocated from older industries," Semerad said, "there will be increasing job opportunities in new industries and occupations."

Continuing unemployment compensation for the long-term unemployed, he said, would "encourage false hope" for workers that they might get their jobs back and discourage them from taking "suitable new jobs" in other fields.

In a similar vein, the Chamber of Commerce claimed that extending the duration of benefits would merely lengthen "the human tragedy of unemployment." The National Association of Manufacturers also echoed the Administration argument that additional weeks of compensation would be a "disincentive" for the unemployed.

Tax conferees pressed to meet test of fairness

USWA President Lynn Williams speaks during nationwide two-hour teleconference, the highlight of a campaign to increase public awareness of the plight of American manufacturing industries.

Kirkland ties labor support to equity issue

By David L. Perlman

The AFL-CIO urged a congressional conference committee to combine the tax reform bills passed by the House and Senate into a final version that will meet the test of fairness—for workers and for all Americans.

A 97-3 Senate vote virtually assured that tax reform legislation will be enacted this year, and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland welcomed the prospect. He called on House and Senate conferees to shape the best portions of both bills into a measure that more equitably distributes the tax burden.

Both the Senate bill and the version the House passed last December would remove millions of low-income Americans from the tax rolls and close some of the loopholes that have allowed profitable corporations and wealthy individuals to escape taxes. However, the House bill would shift more of the tax load from individuals to corporations.

Kirkland wrote House and Senate members expected to be named to the conference committee that the AFL-CIO supports the more progressive tax rate structure of the House bill as compared with the flatter, two-tier plan adopted by the Senate. But he welcomed the Senate-passed elimination of the existing tax preference for capital gains income, which discriminates against "people who work for their money" and favors "those whose money works for them."

Benefits protected

Neither bill would tax health insurance and other employer-provided "life support benefits." Earlier Administration proposals would have done so, but labor's grassroots campaign won commitments from a majority of both the House and Senate to oppose such efforts to hit workers with a new tax.

The House bill would put the top tax rate for the wealthiest individuals at 38 percent, down from 50 percent under present law. But the Senate's two-step rate

Continued on Page 6

Steelworkers spotlight deepening import crisis

By Arlee C. Green

A nationwide, two-hour teleconference on June 21 highlighted Save American Industry & Jobs Day—the Steelworkers' event that culminated a three-month campaign to show Congress and the public the depths of the "crisis in steel" and its impact on other industries.

The two-hour program, featuring union leaders, industry representatives, members of Congress, celebrities, governors, and community officials, originated from Capitol Hill, from an abandoned steel mill in Aliquippa, Pa., from a textile plant in Hagerstown, Md., and from the steps of Minnesota's capitol in St. Paul. It was beamed via satellite to 55 locations.

But from all sites, the message was the same—workers and their communities are being devastated by the imported goods that have flooded America's marketplace. The Reagan Administration's "free trade" policies don't work and now it's "time to take the gloves off."

This unprecedented "town meeting" heard AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland detail the costs of the nation's $150-billion trade deficit—in jobs lost in industry after industry, in revenues lost for governments at all levels and in human misery. Kirkland stressed, however, that this event and other endeavors aimed at forcing a new national policy on trade and jobs "are both an expression of concern and a reason for hope."

USWA President Lynn R. Williams said that the trade problem "demands the full attention of every segment of our society." He said American workers are counting on legislators to take "an aggressive stand," and it is absolutely necessary that "you let them know of your needs and views. We're expressing a consensus across the

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'Meeting of the Air' gets top rating

By Gene Zack

It was a picnic, a rally and a family reunion all rolled into one as 2,500 delegates gathered at 20 sites across the nation for the AFL-CIO's "Union Meeting of the Air."

Neither bad weather in some locations nor the lure of a sunny Saturday in others kept people away, nor could technical difficulties with the microwave relay in one city dim the enthusiasm of rank-and-file members or state and local union officials.

Here's a sampling of how the 1986 televised version of the AFL-CIO's regional conferences looked from the local vantage point:

Albuquerque, N.M.—Electrical Workers Local 611 hall acted as a magnet for delegates from neighboring states, including some who made the 450-mile drive from Phoenix, Ariz. But the award for traveling the longest distance went to a member of the Theatrical Stage Employees, who came from Huntington Beach, Calif., some 800 miles away.

Atlanta—Organizing efforts, particularly among public employees in a South still regarded as hostile to trade unions, and the changing situation in the workplace occupied most of the attention at IBEW Local 613 hall. Retirees' continued interest in what's going on in the labor movement was exemplified by the presence of retired field representative George Kiser, the father of South Carolina AFL-CIO President Randy Kiser.

Boston—Delegates resisted the fact that the Red Sox, comfortably ensconced in first place in the American League East, were playing at home. They turned out at IBEW Local 103 hall to register support for legislation to curb job-destroying imports. Members of the Clothing & Textile Workers and the Ladies' Garment Workers targeted the Aug. 6 vote to override President Reagan's veto of the Textile & Apparel Trade bill and Graphic Communications Union members urged extension of the copyright protections for materials published in North America.

Chicago—The first delegation to arrive drove all the way from Peru, Ill. "We didn't even stop for breakfast," said Eleanor Ryan, president of the Northern LaSalle, Bureau & Putnam County Labor Council. While the conference was going on in Operating Engineers Local 150 hall, the local's president, Tom Rodd, and members of the union were off in one corner painting picket signs for a strike against Northern Illinois contractors.

Cleveland—Trade unionists who gathered at Pipefitters Local 120 hall gave the videoconference high marks, particularly

Continued on Page 3

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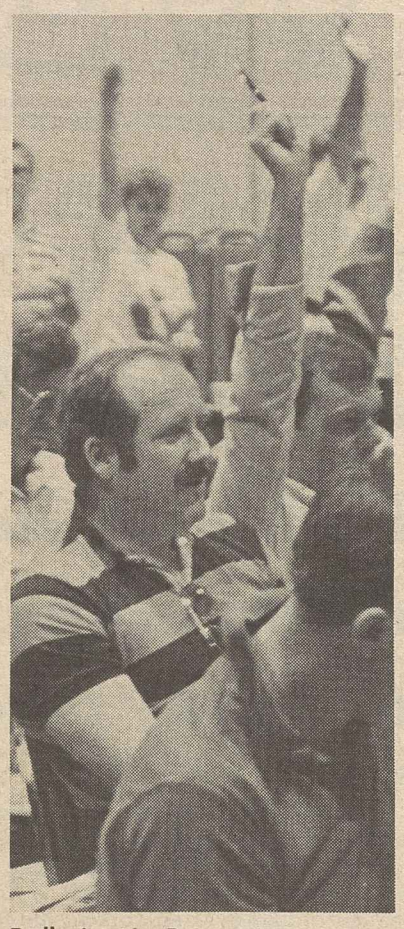
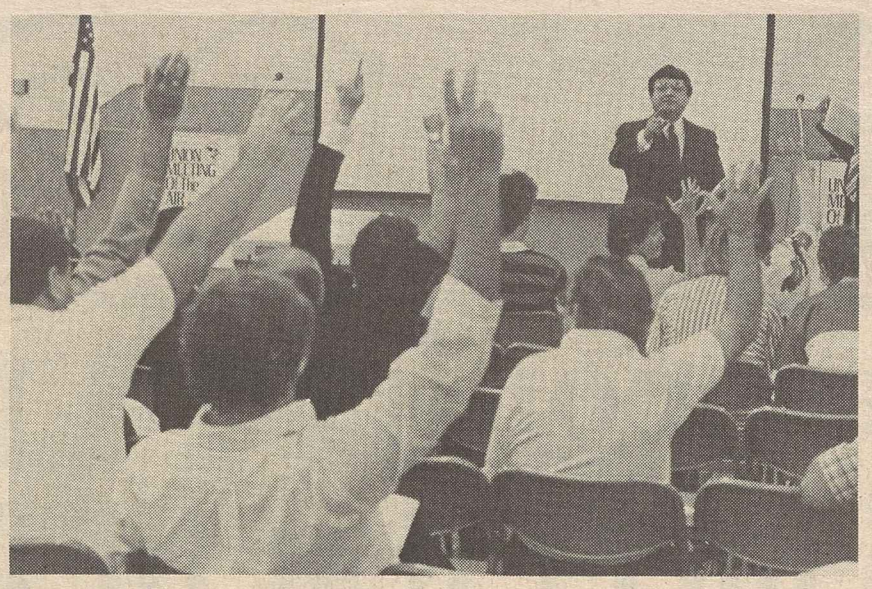
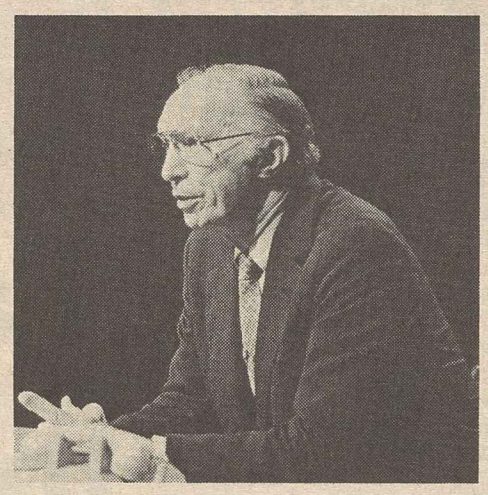


Balloting in Boston.



Counting the responses in Dallas.



Sec.-Treas. Donahue in Washington.

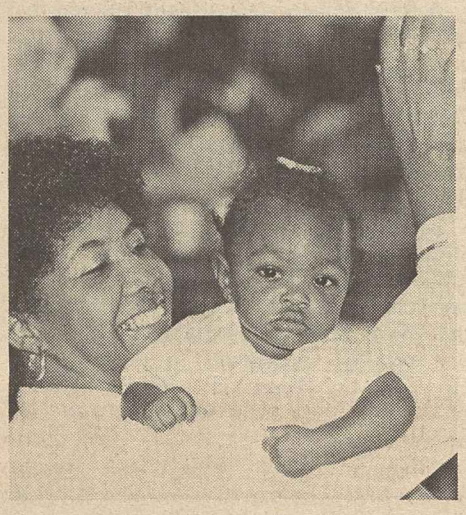
Airing the issues coast to coast

In union halls and on college campuses from coast to coast, trade unionists joined enthusiastically in the AFL-CIO's televised "Union Meeting of the Air"—the 1986 version of the federation's regional conferences.

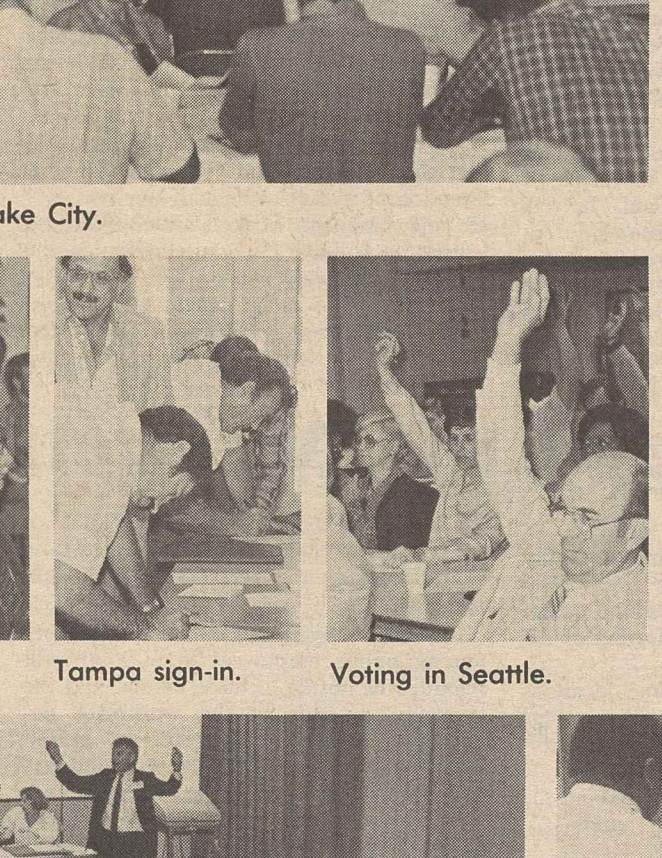
For seven hours, they watched on big screen television receivers as union officials and staff in Washington outlined the legislative, organizing and social challenges facing unions.

Then they engaged in extensive discussions of the issues and made their voices heard through the questions they telephoned to Washington—questions that were answered on screen.

They spoke out in another way—through a series of ballots that helped federation leaders take the pulse of workers and their families on the future course of the labor movement.

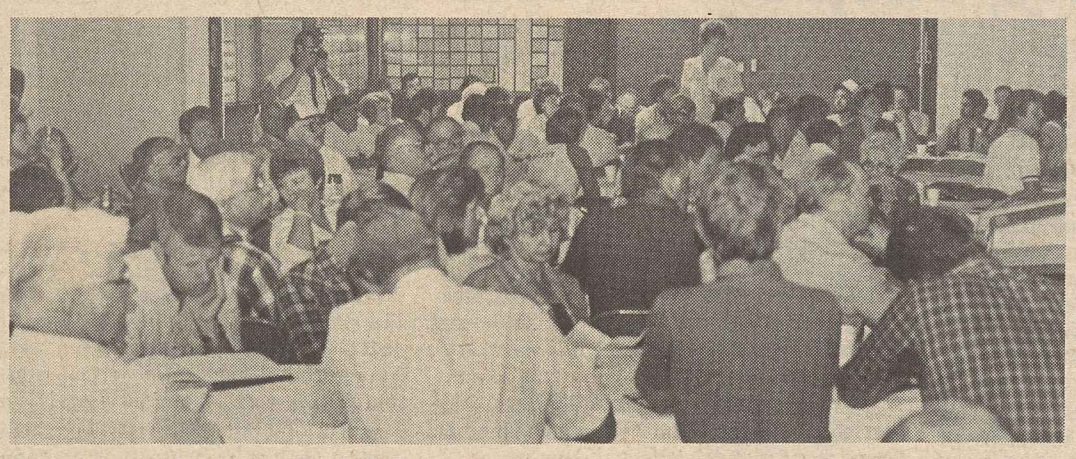


Never too young to begin.

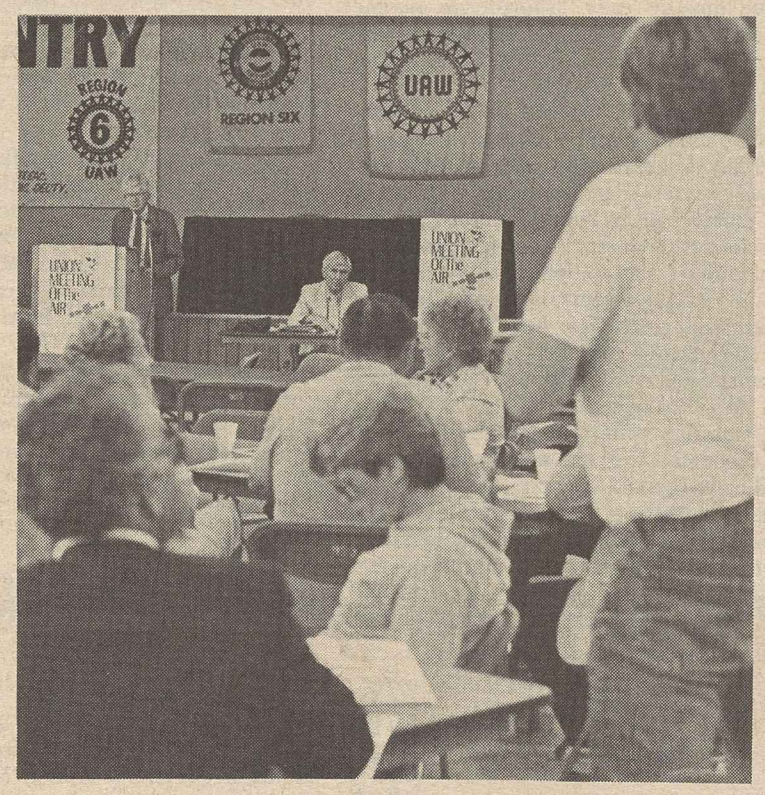


President Kirkland opens televised gathering.

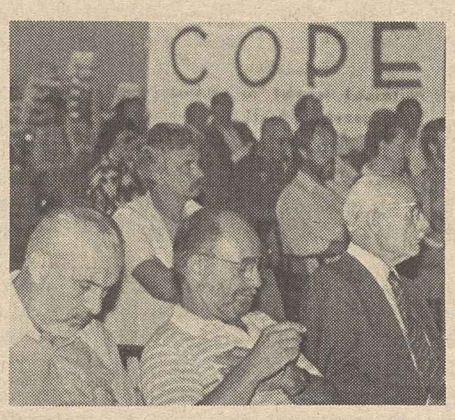
Service Employees President Sweeney, Karen Ignagni of the federation staff and Electronic Workers President Bywater discuss the organizing challenge.



Enthusiastic delegates in Salt Lake City.



Speaking out in Los Angeles.



Listening in Denver.

Tampa sign-in.

Voting in Seattle.

Taking the floor in Birmingham.

Making a point in Atlanta.

Participants give teleconference a high rating

Continued from Page 1

the procedure that allowed them to pose questions for panelists in the Washington studio and to take part in straw polls on the issues. Box lunches left over after the conference were donated to local feeding programs for the homeless and to Communications Workers picketing the local AT&T facility.

Dallas—The response of union members who gathered at IBEW Local 59 hall was uniformly enthusiastic. Delegates welcomed grassroots involvement and agreed that the federation had opened important new lines of communication. Several locals promised an even larger turnout for any future teleconference.

Denver—When a "glitch" in the microwave relay interfered with the audio and video feed to Pipefitters Local 120 hall, delegates cheerfully improvised their own program. It included an update on the CWA strike and reports on labor activities in Colorado and neighboring Nebraska. Although they could see and hear only a small portion of the nationwide telecast, members took part enthusiastically in the polling and sent their issues-oriented questions via telephone to Washington.

Knoxville, Tenn.—Rank-and-file union members who participated in the teleconference got on local TV, too. All three network affiliates sent camera crews and reporters to record the event, featuring it on local evening newscasts. Labor's historic ties to free public education were underscored by the fact that the Central Labor Temple was originally the city's first public school. The CLC has occupied the 112-year-old structure since 1930.

Los Angeles—It was family day at Auto Workers Local 509 hall, where Givend Johnson, a member of CWA District 9, made it a three-generation event by arriving with her 13-year-old daughter and six-month-old granddaughter. Retirees were much in evidence, too, including former Region VI Director William Gilbert, 71, and his wife who distributed literature, collected ballots and provided other assistance to conference coordinators.

New Orleans—One delegate was so concerned about the import crisis that he went out into the parking lot of Plumbers Local 70 hall to see the kind of cars his fellow unionists were driving. His report: of the approximately 100 cars in the lot, all but one were American-made. At day's end, Grace Gage, who's about to retire as secretary at the central labor council, gathered up left-over doughnuts and box lunches and took them to the feeding center operated by the Salvation Army to share with the homeless.

Salt Lake City—The mood at the Union Labor Center building was decidedly upbeat. Delegates engaged in lively debate before casting their issues-oriented ballots. Only one motion was passed unanimously—to donate leftover box lunches to the Salt Lake program to feed the hungry. E. W. "Hank" Inskeep, former State AFL-CIO president, drew a warm round of applause for coming to the conference despite a serious illness that required him to have a nurse in attendance.

Cruikshank dies, led long struggle to pass Medicare

Philadelphia—Nelson H. Cruikshank, former director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Social Security, Counselor to the President on Aging in the Carter White House and founder of the 4.5-million-member National Council of Senior Citizens, died June 19 of congestive heart failure. He was 83.

A native of Bradner, Ohio, he graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1925 and earned his master's degree in divinity from Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1929.

Cruikshank, a member of the Seafarers, held a variety of government posts in the Roosevelt Administration and served on the War Manpower Commission during World War II before joining the AFL as director of Social Insurance Activities in 1944. From 1950 to 1952 he was director of the European Labor Division of the Economic Cooperation Administration in Paris. He became head of the Dept. of Social Security at the time of merger, holding that post until his retirement in 1967.

An adviser to six Secretaries of Labor on employment security, Cruikshank also served on three Social Security Advisory Councils, was a member of the U.S. delegation to the first General Assembly of UNESCO and a delegate to the first General Assembly of the World Health Organization.

He served in his White House post and as chairman of the Federal Council on Aging from 1977 until declining health forced him to retire in 1980. But he continued to be active as president-emeritus of the NCSC and served with a number of coalitions of labor, civil rights and social welfare groups to preserve and improve the nation's social security program.

President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue praised Cruikshank as "an unflagging trade unionist" whose "passionate devotion to the great social issues of our times made an enduring contribution to the well-being of his fellow Americans."

In a letter of condolence to his daughter, Mrs. Alice Hoffman, the federation officials said that one contribution in Cruikshank's life "stands head and shoulders above all the rest"—his role in winning passage of Medicare in 1965. "Millions of Americans will never know it," Kirkland and Donahue said, "but they owe their Medicare to his determined and selfless labors."

Nelson H. Cruikshank

Trade-wise students

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue meets with winners of a high school essay contest sponsored by the Future Business Leaders of America. The theme of the winning project of the group from Aurora, Mo., was "Buy American—It's Your Job." Donahue congratulated the students on their awareness of the U.S. foreign trade problem. The dozen students also heard from representatives of several federation affiliates, who urged them to press their award-winning program and support trade legislation in Congress.

Office Employees approve dues hike, new associate membership category

Montreal—Organizing, political action and new technologies were the focus of some 300 delegates to the Office & Professional Employees convention who bolstered the union's effectiveness by creating an associate membership category and raising dues and per capita.

An organizing statement called for organizing drives to be undertaken "primarily when there is a realistic chance" for winning and gaining a first-time contract. The statement urged the use of more corporate campaigns and the attempt to bargain for employer neutrality in organizing campaigns.

A key campaign in which OPEIU is currently involved is the drive to organize some 28,000 Blue Cross/Blue Shield workers across the nation. Nine AFL-CIO affiliates are jointly cooperating in the drive.

OPEIU President John Kelly was unanimously re-elected to a third three-year term, and Gilles Beauregard of OPEIU Local 468 in London, Ont., was elected to his first term as secretary-treasurer, succeeding Romeo Corbeil who retired from the post following 30 years' service to the union.

The convention also elected Michel Rousseau as the Canadian director to replace Fred Trotter who decided not to run for another term. Eleven vice presidents were re-elected and four executive board vacancies were filled by Ann Harvey of British Columbia, Janice Best of Ontario, Carolyn Combs of Chicago and Michael Walker of Milwaukee.

Kelly told convention delegates that OPEIU is one of the few unions that has shown an increase in membership during the Reagan Administration. He said that the mood in the nation shifted in the early '80s as corporations, and even governments—Canada under Brian Mulroney, England under Margaret Thatcher and the United States under Ronald Reagan—became more flagrant in their drive to take away workers' benefits.

Kelly cited examples such as the lengthy British mine workers' strike and the adverse decisions of the U.S. and Canadian labor boards.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue praised OPEIU's participation in that campaign. He stressed that the union is "on the cutting edge of this trade union movement's thrust against those who would seek to deter our progress by arguing that trade unions can't play an important role for white-collar or office employees." He noted that a poll done for the Committee on the Evolution of Work showed 41 percent of union members work in professional or white-collar occupations.

Key office issues

Donahue cited the issues facing office workers in the 1980s and 1990s—pay equity and comparable worth, office automation and robotization of jobs, and the constant need to acquire new skills.

Vice President Joyce Miller of the Clothing & Textile Workers warned delegates that exporting of American jobs—which has so heavily impacted on her union—is now aimed at office jobs. She noted that American Airlines now ships 2 million tickets a week from its Tulsa, Okla., office to Barbados for data processing with the results transmitted back by satellite. "This job transfer isn't because American workers aren't available in Tulsa. It's because workers in Barbados get $1.75 an hour," she stressed, adding that office jobs are no longer immune to "imports."

Miller asked the OPEIU delegates to help garment industry workers in pressing for an Aug. 6 congressional override of President Reagan's veto of legislation aimed at salvaging the remaining jobs in the textile, apparel and shoe industries.

AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept. President Paul Burnsky urged the delegates to become more politically involved, citing the need over the past decade for unionists to act to prevent the legislative removal of the gains workers have won thus far in this century. Burnsky also criticized Reagan policies that have allowed the nation's steel industry to become critically ill.

Delegates voted to require local unions to increase dues by $1 each Oct. 1 for the next three years. Per capita payments were also raised in steps over the three-year period, going to $5.82 monthly for each of the first 500 members in a local and to $3.17 for members above that level. Additionally, member payments to the union's strike fund will increase by a nickel to 65 cents this Oct. l, and then by a dime in October 1987 and October 1988.

In a resolution on video display terminals, the delegates urged local unions to seek contract language and legislation that will provide health and safety protections. Another resolution suggested an "outright" ban on the use of so-called lie detectors in the workplace.

Other resolutions urged establishment of drug and alcohol abuse treatment programs, opposed the increased use of part-time workers, supported pay equity and comparable worth through contract negotiations and joint union-employer studies, sought legislative reduction of the workweek to 32 hours with protections against mandatory overtime, and called for dismantling of South Africa's system of apartheid.

Phone strikers push talks to wrap up pact

The four-week strike by 155,000 Communications Workers members against AT&T moved closer to settlement as bargainers for the two sides met in Somerset, N.J., to resolve the remaining issues at the last corporate division without an agreement—AT&T Information Systems.

CWA reached a tentative agreement with AT&T on a nationwide three-year contract on June 17. At that time, CWA President Morton Bahr explained that bargaining over local issues within AT&T's six corporate divisions would continue, as would the strike, until all units settle. The strike began June 1 following expiration of the previous contract.

BULLETIN

The Communications Workers announced settlement of all unit bargaining contracts with AT&T as the AFL-CIO News went to press. The strike ended at midnight June 26 with workers returning to their jobs at their next regularly scheduled shift.

The union's deadline of June 21 for reaching settlement on the unit issues slid past despite marathon bargaining sessions. Accord was reached only in the units for Bell Laboratories, and Technology Systems' Sales, Installations and Manufacturing.

CWA announced on June 25 that it reached an agreement covering the 76,000 members in the AT&T Communications Systems division, but didn't release details. The communications division covers long-distance, international and business telecommunications services.

The national agreement provides for an 8-percent wage increase over three years, along with substantial job security provisions, including the establishment of a jointly-trusteed corporation to handle job training, retraining and counseling. That effort will be funded by an annual $7 million contribution from the company.

Ratification of the national accord and the six unit contracts will likely be completed by early August, if the strike is settled shortly, according to the union.

AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert McGlotten and Flight Attendants President Linda Puchala testify for merger protection for airline employees.

Worker protections pressed as airline mergers spread

The AFL-CIO and affiliates representing airline workers testified in strong support of legislation that would require fair treatment of affected workers as a condition for government approval of an airline merger.

Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten told a House Subcommittee on Aviation that the need for legislation is "acute" because the airline industry is going through a wave of mergers in the aftermath of deregulation.

Before deregulation, the since-abolished Civil Aeronautics Board had routinely required labor protective provisions, known as LPPs, as a part of every airline merger. They generally provided displacement allowances, severance pay, continued insurance coverage, moving allowances and seniority protection. But the Dept. of Transportation abandoned that policy. Its position is that the government should not get involved in worker protections unless there is the threat of a substantial disruption to air transportation.

McGlotten testified as chairman of the AFL-CIO's Airline Labor Coordinating Committee as well as in his role as the federation's legislative director. The committee includes the Machinists, Pilots, Flight Attendants, Transport Workers, Flight Engineers and Railway & Airline Clerks.

He stressed labor's strong support for a bill introduced by Subcommittee Chairman Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif.) that would require the Transportation Dept. to impose labor protective conditions in all pending airline merger cases. Mineta said at the start of the hearings that he introduced the bill because Congress had intended to continue to require labor protections in mergers but the department had not done so.

Agreement scrapped

The Transportation Dept. has argued that collective bargaining can be relied on to assure fair treatment of employees, but McGlotten and Flight Attendants President Linda Puchala cited the difficulty in trying to assure that the union's members at Republic Airlines will be protected in a proposed merger with Northwest Airlines.

Puchala said members had made wage concessions in return for contract language intended to protect flight attendants in the event of a merger. But the airline has refused to make these conditions part of the merger agreement with Northwest.

McGlotten said the Mineta bill is preferable to a measure introduced by Rep. John P. Hammerschmidt (R-Ark.) that would apply only to pending airline merger applications filed before Feb. 1. This would affect only the Republic-Northwest merger proceeding and there is "no justification" for such an exclusion, McGlotten stressed.

Machinists Attorney William Mahoney, who also testified, stressed that airlines will be much more interested in negotiating employee protections as part of a merger agreement if they are aware that the alternative will be conditions imposed by the Transportation Dept.

The Reagan Administration, through Assistant Transportation Sec. Matthew V. Scozza, joined industry officials in opposing the legislation.

AFSCME marks 50th year with call for renewed growth

Chicago—Some 3,000 delegates of the State, County & Municipal Employees—here to celebrate their union's 50th anniversary—were urged to take AFSCME into its second 50 years "stronger and more secure" for the members of the future.

When AFSCME began in 1936, President Gerald W. McEntee told the delegates, "the hardy band of pioneers that launched our union asked: 'Are we going to build a union with a dream or just a union?'

"They chose the dream," McEntee said. "They chose to build a union that produces not only bread and butter and security for our people, but has become part of the social pulse of this society."

McEntee drew sharp parallels between AFSCME's founding convention and this year's meeting. He called on the delegates to continue the fight against privatization of government work and the fight against union-busters and far-right politicians now locked in embrace to destroy us."

Membership push

He also urged them to help build AFSCME's membership in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Missouri, Indiana, Idaho, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana.

He called on the delegates, further, to "provide leadership, spark, and vitality to lead the resurgence within the House of Labor, within the AFL-CIO." Specifically, he called for efforts to "turn state feds into active, militant mechanisms for all workers, turn central feds into progressive institutions for workers in the cities and counties."

Early in the convention, AFSCME members had their attention called to the coming political campaigns. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), who declared himself a candidate for chairman of the Senate Labor Committeee, charged the delegates to contribute their strength and spirit to reducing the number of Republicans in the Senate in 1986 and to putting a Democrat in the White House in 1988. "With your help, we will turn this nation once again toward its best hopes and highest purposes," he said.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue called on the delegates to "agitate, legislate, litigate, negotiate" to take their rightful place in the drive to rebuild America in the post-Reagan era. Donahue blasted the Reagan Administration for abandoning the ideals of social justice and social pro gress that marked the 1960s and 1970s.

"The resource of our opponents is money—oceans of money—poured into radio, television, and direct mail," Donahue observed. "We cannot match those resources. Our strength is people. It is in our members and our families."

Donahue lauded AFSCME for its key role as an innovator in the resurgence of the AFL-CIO and as the conscience and guarantor of progress in civil rights. He singled out McEntee as the prime mover in creating the federation's "new and successful mechanism to end wasteful competition among unions in organizing new members."

Among other early speakers at the week-long AFSCME convention were Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, who was praised for his help in giving his city's workers full rights, and Illinois AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Harl Ray, who greeted the delegates.

Also speaking were Gordon Chapman and Joseph Ames, both former secretary-treasurers of the union.

Real earnings decline in May as prices rise

American workers took an economic step backward in May, as real earnings declined one-tenth of 1 percent as the result of rising consumer prices and a drop in average weekly hours.

That bad news came as the government reported that the soaring trade deficit propelled the United States to the top of the list of debtor nations last year, with foreign interests owning $107.4 billion more in this country than Americans own overseas.

When the Reagan Administration took office, the United States was the world's largest creditor nation. In four years it has leap-frogged over economically battered Brazil and Mexico for the dubious distinction of being the world's largest debtor.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics said a two-tenths of 1 percent rise in the consumer price index and a three-tenths of 1 percent drop in hours worked were partially offset by an increase of three-tenths of 1 percent in average hourly earnings. But the net result was the dip in real earnings over the month.

Workers and their families are a scant seven-tenths of 1 percent better off than they were a year ago, BLS said. But the gain was not uniform.

Winners and losers

There were big losers—workers in the mining and oil industry were 1.9 percent behind the level of May 1985, those in retailing were lagging by 1.5 percent and construction workers' real earnings were off seven-tenths of 1 percent.

The biggest gains were chalked up in the finance, insurance and real estate industry, where real earnings advanced 4.1 percent from last year, and in services, where earnings were up 2.4 percent. Factory workers showed a 1.9-percent improvement while transportation and utility workers were 1.2 percent better off.

The rise in the CPI, after three consecutive months of decline, was fueled by a sharp 2.6-percent jump in gasoline prices as the downturn in the world oil market appeared to have bottomed out. Food prices went up four-tenths of 1 percent and new car prices rose nine-tenths of 1 percent, reflecting the influence of higher import prices.

Medical costs soar

Medical care costs continued their relentless upward spiral, increasing six-tenths of 1 percent to a level 7.4 percent above May 1985.

Meanwhile, personal income declined $3.7 billion in May, held back by weak growth in wages and salaries. The drop of one-tenth of 1 percent was the first in a year. At the same time, consumer spending rose nine-tenths of 1 percent, the best advance in five months. But analysts expressed concern that the buying spree won't last.

"If we don't get some improvement in the job market and in wage growth, I don't see how much longer the consumer can keep carrying the economy," said Sandra Shaber of Chase Econometrics.

Emergency limit on cadmium asked

The Chemical Workers and a public health group petitioned the Occupational Safety & Health Administration to issue an emergency standard limiting worker exposure to the cancer-causing chemical cadmium, terming OSHA's inaction "unconscionable."

The ICWU and the Public Citizen Health Research Group, in a letter to OSHA Administrator John A. Pendergrass, said the agency's current standard "imperils hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers. This Administration's so-called war on cancer, which aims to reduce cancer deaths by 50 percent of today's level by the year 2000, is obviously nothing more than empty rhetoric."

In 1983, OSHA placed cadmium on its list of 116 chemicals on which it was considering no further regulatory action. The chemical has not been listed on any of the agency's subsequent regulatory agendas, even though the Environmental Protection Agency recommended four years ago that the exposure limit be lowered to 4 micrograms to prevent kidney damage in workers.

The union and the health research group asked OSHA to lower its exposure limit to 1 microgram of cadmium per cubic meter of air, stressing that the chemical and its compounds have been shown to cause cancer as well as kidney and lung damage in workers exposed below the current limit of 100 micrograms for fumes and 200 micrograms for dust.

In 1985, EPA estimated that there would be 51 excess lung cancer deaths for each 1,000 workers exposed to the 200-microgram level over their working lifetime.

The petition pointed out that the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health estimates some 1.5 million workers are potentially exposed to the substance on the job. Cadmium and its compounds are used in the manufacture of battery electrodes, in electroplating of steel, as a component of metal alloys and as a pigment and stabilizer in plastics.

Fourfold fund boost

HERE delegates vote broader political role

Chicago—Hotel & Restaurant Workers' convention delegates meeting here committed their union to increased support of member services and expanded organizing and approved a fourfold boost in funds for political education.

In his keynote address, HERE President Edward T. Hanley said a drastically changing ownership climate in the hospitality industry demands new methods. "We must adapt or disappear," he said.

Steps taken by the union to meet the increasing internationalization of hotel and restaurant ownership and the restrictive economic and political climate were reviewed by Hanley. These included completion of HERE's local union merger program, streamlining of international staff and facilities, including moving the union's headquarters to Washington in 1984 and an effective political action campaign in Congress. The union's efforts, Hanley said, helped preserve tax deductions for business-related meals and entertainment, a major factor in member jobs.

Stressing the need for "quality service" to members, Hanley cited the program of training seminars in grievance arbitration being conducted for HERE business agents, "the cornerstone of our union." A program is being developed "tailored to the unique servicing, bargaining and organizing needs of small locals," he said.

Victories noted

Among the union's significant victories in the last half decade, Hanley told the delegates, were the successful organizing drive among clerical and technical employees at Yale University and the major strike against the Las Vegas hotel/casinos in 1984. A major organizing project was launched in four cities about a year ago with notable success, Hanley said.

Hanley was unanimously re-elected to a new five-year term. Also re-elected by acclamation were Sec.-Treas. Herman Leavitt, General Vice President John Kenneally, Director of Organization Vincent J. Sirabella, and the entire slate of incumbent district and at-large vice presidents.

A union constitutional requirement that local and international officers be citizens of the United States or Canada was deleted, and a resolution urging negotiation of a checkoff for political action funds in local contracts was adopted.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R., Donahue told the delegates that "there are some signs that times are changing. We even won some major victories recently," he said, referring to the death in Congress of proposed amendments to the Hobbs Act and the constitutional amendment to mandate a balanced federal budget as well as Senate rejection of several anti-labor presidential nominees. He cited passage of anti-polygraph legislation in the House with prospects for victory in the Senate.

Donahue noted that "working people have been closing ranks." He told delegates that the concept of solidarity was strongly demonstrated during HERE's Las Vegas strike and in other recent confrontations with management. "New ideas are important," he said, "but are only a means to an end, and that end is better service to workers."

Current issues

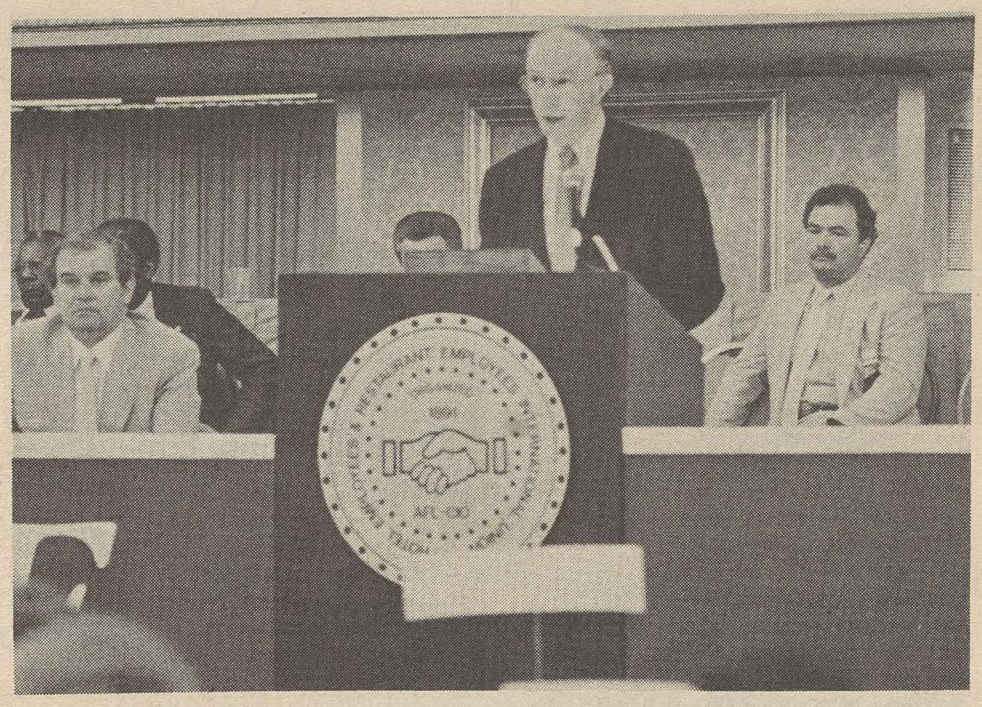
In another address to the delegates Robert Harbrant, president of the AFL-CIO to Food & Allied Service Trades Dept. focused on recent challenges to all workers in food service and related fields, including increased hiring of part-time and temporary workers, equal pay for equal work and other issues specifically related to women at work, stress, career mobility, and workplace hazards.

Robert Georgine, president of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept., told delegates that the closeness of the trades is being recognized increasingly. He said the labor movement has a choice: let working Americans' opponents deprive them of effective labor laws, pensions, education and other benefits or "reach out to a better day, and win recognition of working people's rights to bargain, to enjoy good health, to work and to retire in dignity."

Dan Gallin, general secretary of the International Union of Food & Allied Workers, spoke about the internationalization of the hospitality trades. The transnationals, he said, "control the world economy, and we need to strengthen our alliance at the level of the transnational corporations." He described the international boycott programs that were initiated around the globe in support of the HERE strikers in Las Vegas in 1984.

A variety of new member services being developed by the AFL-CIO, including the union member credit card, were explained by Ray Denison, president of the recently established Union Privilege Program. "Outside of the workplace," Denison said, "there is a need for protection of the purchasing power of the pay envelope on Main Street."

Among other speakers were President Vincent R. Sombrotto of the Letter Carriers, President Robert Gibson of the Illinois AFL-CIO, Vice President Arthur Loevy of the Clothing & Textile Workers and Vice President Thomas Hanahan of the Carpenters.



AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Donahue addresses HERE convention delegates.

High court rebuffs challenge to social security coverage

The Supreme Court rejected a challenge to social security coverage for state and local employees, branded sexual harassment by supervisors a violation of the Civil Rights Act and let stand a ruling affirming the right of a union to have its own industrial hygienist measure the noise levels in a workplace.

The high court's social security decision unanimously upheld a 1983 amendment affecting state and local governments that choose to bring their employees under the system.

Once a public agency chooses to bring its employees under social security, the challenged legislation specified, it can't pull out of the program. Previously, a public employer could cancel social security coverage after giving a two-year notice. Cities and states squeezed for revenues sometimes cancelled social security coverage to avoid paying the employer share of the payroll tax.

The state of California challenged the constitutionality of the ban on withdrawal and won a first-round victory in a federal district court. But Justice Lewis F. Powell, writing the 9-0 Supreme Court decision, said the law banning withdrawals was a valid exercise of the power of Congress "to provide for the general welfare."

Harassment case

In the sex discrimination case, the court was unanimous that workplace sexual harassment is illegal.

Union attorneys who filed briefs in the case welcomed the Supreme Court's affirmation that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act guarantees employees "the right to work in an environment free from discriminatory intimidation, ridicule and insult." That goes beyond the narrow boundaries of limiting the law's protection to cases in which sexual demands are made as a condition for a raise or other tangible job benefits.

The court split over the issue of employer liability for the actions of a supervisor in the absence of evidence that the employer condoned or was aware of the harassment.

Justice William H. Rehnquist, in a majority opinion, held that employers are not automatically liable for sexual harassment by supervisors. But nevertheless, he said, they can't avoid responsibility merely by pointing to a company policy against discrimination and a worker's failure to make use of a grievance procedure to protest sexual harassment.

A brief filed by the AFL-CIO, jointly with the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the National Education Association and the Coal Employment Project, urged a stronger management responsibility definition if the Supreme Court chose to decide the case.

Responsibility cited

Management must bear responsibility, the brief urged, because a supervisor's coercive ability to impose unwelcome sexual conduct on subordinates is primarily because "the supervisor is understood to be clothed with the employer's authority" to reward or punish. It noted that companies may not evade responsibility for unfair labor practices by supervisory employees on the argument that the illegal conduct of a supervisor was against company policy or that management was unaware of it.

A separate opinion by Justice Thurgood Marshall endorsed such a concept of employer responsibility and specifically backed guidelines adopted in 1980 by the pre-Reagan Equal Employment Opportunity Commission that made employers absolutely liable for sexual harassment in the workplace.

The Reagan Administration and the current EEOC repudiated those guidelines in a brief to the court contending that an employer should be held liable only if the company "knew or had reason to know" of sexual harassment.

Justices William J. Brennan Jr. and Harry A. Blackmun joined in his opinion. Justice John Paul Stevens expressed agreement with both the Marshall and Rehnquist views, saying he didn't see any inconsistency.

The case itself involved a dispute over facts as well as law and was sent back for a new trial on the merits.

In unrelated cases involving union activities, the Supreme Court refused to review and thereby made final appellate court decisions involving job safety and the government's ban on rehiring fired air traffic controllers.

The 1st Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals had upheld a union's right of access to the workplace to conduct its own testing of noise levels, affirming a National Labor Relations Board ruling but not getting into the merits of an NLRB policy change that the AFL-CIO had challenged. The Holyoke, Mass., Water Power Co. had sought to deny Electrical Workers Local 455 the right to have an industrial hygienist measure noise levels in a room where the company had provided ear muffs for workers.

The Supreme Court refused to hear a challenge to the permanent ban on rehiring air traffic controllers fired for participation in a 1981 strike. The federal Office of Personnel Management had originally said they could not be rehired for three years but subsequently adopted President Reagan's order for a permanent ban.

Ford payment settles pregnancy job suits

Detroit—The Ford Motor Co. agreed to pay $195,750 to 145 Auto Workers' members to settle a class-action lawsuit against the company on work assignments for pregnant employees.

The suit had charged that Ford failed to provide the 145 workers with alternative work assignments during their pregnancies. Similar class-action suits are pending against General Motors Corp. and Chrysler Corp.

Under the settlement, approved by the Wayne County Circuit Court, Ford admitted no liability, but agreed to pay each worker $1,350.

The lawsuit, filed under a state statute, covered the period from November 1970 to March 1977. The state law was a precursor to the federal Pregnancy Disability Act passed in 1978.

Senate panel votes ban on polygraph use

An 11-5 bipartisan majority of the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee has approved a strong ban on the use of polygraph tests by private employers.

The measure, strongly supported by the trade union movement, is co-sponsored by both the chairman and ranking minority members of the committee—Senators Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) and Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

It was adopted without amendments, and exempts from the lie detector ban only firms directly involved in national security or drug control operations. In that respect, it is an improvement over a bill the House passed last March after amending it to exclude various groups of workers, including employees of utilities, day-care centers and nursing homes.

Both bills would bar covered employers from requiring, requesting or suggesting that an employee or job applicant take a lie detector test or penalizing anyone who refuses.

In other congressional actions:

- The House Labor Committee approved a parental and medical leave bill that is supported by the AFL-CIO, but opposed by the Administration and employer groups.

As adopted by a 22-10 vote, the legislation would require employers of 15 or more workers to grant employees who request it up to 18 weeks of unpaid leave over a two-year period on the birth, adoption or serious illness of a child.

The bill would also entitle workers to up to 26 weeks of unpaid leave over one year in the event of their own serious illness. Health care benefits would be continued during the leave period and workers would be guaranteed a return to an equivalent job with no loss of pay or benefits. Nothing in the legislation would reduce any paid sick leave or other benefits provided to workers under a union contract or a company's health plan.

- Congress approved, clearing for the President's signature, a supplemental appropriations bill that includes a section barring the Labor Dept. from going ahead with its announced plan to close six Job Corps training centers by Nov. 30. It forbids closing of any job centers before July 1, 1987.
- President Reagan took the lead in an Administration effort to win Senate ratification of his controversial nomination of Indiana attorney Daniel Manion, a right-wing ideologue with minimal legal experience, to the U.S. Court of Appeals. Deans from most of the nation's leading law schools joined in a letter urging the Senate to reject the nomination because of Manion's lack of qualifications.

BRAC on track

Railway & Airline Clerks, who pulled into the nation's capital for the union's annual legislative and political education conference, get a fiscal overview from House Budget Committee Chairman William H. Gray (D-Pa.). More than 400 union leaders attended workshop sessions on tax reform, transportation, congressional elections and the budget during the two-day conference. They spent afternoons meeting with their congressional representatives and senators. BRAC President Richard Kilroy, seated left, told the delegates that to achieve the union's goals, "today we must bargain not only with railroads, airlines and other employers but also with the 435 members of the House and 100 members of the Senate."

Labor Dept. to explore bars to union-industry cooperation

The Labor Dept. has launched a major study to determine whether federal laws are obstructing labor-management cooperation and to seek a consensus on removing unnecessary barriers.

Deputy Under Sec. Stephen I. Schlossberg told reporters that he will seek the views of labor relations professionals from unions, management, government and academics on changes that may be needed to encourage innovative forms of workplace cooperation.

A preliminary analysis of the problem, prepared by Schlossberg and his executive assistant, Steven M. Fetter, noted an increasing number of companies have concluded that involving employees in decision-making at the workplace is "sound management policy."

It cited examples in the auto industry, such as the Fiero plant in Pontiac, Mich., where the local union president operates as a key adviser to the plant manager, at a Ford plant in Edison, N.J., where quality control soared and grievances dropped after every worker on the assembly line was given access to a button to shut down the line when he was having a problem, and the General Motors-Toyota joint venture in Fremont, Calif., with its reliance on team efforts.

The report noted changes in other industries where, under pressure from imports and from technological changes, many employers and unions are working together "to increase productivity and quality for the company and improve the quality of work life for the employees."

Yet many of the steps to reduce labor-management confrontation are subject to challenge under rigid legal interpretations, the report added.

Saturn pact cited

It cited the attempt by the National Right to Work Committee to scuttle the UAW-General Motors agreement covering the new Saturn plant in Tennessee. And it warned of the damaging effects of the Supreme Court's 1980 decision in the Yeshiva University case that denied collective bargaining rights to faculty members because the court ruled their role in the governance of the university is a "management" function.

In the Saturn case, the report suggested that "the mere possibility" of prosecution on unfair labor charges "has the potential to deter parties from attempting dramatic and innovative cooperative efforts in the future."

Schlossberg said the study process might take two years and will include a scrutiny of both state and federal law, including the Railway Labor Act and the National Labor Relations Act.

Over the years, the report noted, labor relations in the United States has been marked by "a remarkable ability to adapt to the changing needs of an evolving, but flourishing, industrial economy."

Now, it added, "we must wait to see whether the creative steps taken by labor and management to deal with a declining industrial manufacturing base can pass muster with the agencies and courts charged with interpreting our labor laws. If they cannot, then the two sides must work together to formulate the legislative strategy necessary to modify our laws to permit such innovation."

It quoted approvingly comments by former Sec. of Labor John T. Dunlop that "redesign" of federal labor law must come from labor and management "principals, not lawyers." But it stressed also the need to guard against using the guise of labor law reform to remove legitimate and needed protections.

The study's premise, Schlossberg stressed, is that "cooperation and problem solving offer more promise for productive labor-management relations than combat."

He said copies of the report are being sent to labor relations professionals across the country with the hope of stimulating a widespread discussion.

Boards approve merger of IUE, furniture union

The executive boards of the Electronic Workers and the Furniture Workers have approved a merger agreement that would create a Furniture Workers division of the IUE. Each union's September convention will vote on the action, which could lead to a merged union next Jan. 1.

The UFW board voted approval June 5 and the IUE board backed the merger action June 19. The combined union of nearly 200,000 members would be called the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine & Furniture Workers. The IUE has 175,000 members and UFW has 21,000.

The merger agreement provides for establishing a Furniture Workers division of IUE, headquartered in Nashville, Tenn. UFW will get six IUE executive board seats, later to be dropped to five. Dues for UFW members will be 70 percent of the IUE dues initially, rising to full dues by July 1, 1989. IUE representatives will service the UFW locals, full strike benefits will be provided and all UFW staff will be retained, according to the unions.

The UFW convention will meet in Miami Beach beginning Sept. 23, and IUE's convention opens there just two days later. After that, merger approval will be subject to membership referendums before the end of the year.

Key tax votes in Senate

Before passing the tax reform bill, the Senate tabled and thus killed two labor-supported amendments that would have improved the legislation. In terms of the AFL-CIO position, R is a right vote, W is wrong, and A is absent.

***Vote No. 1,** on June 17, is the 57-42 rejection of an amendment by Sen. Paul S. Trible Jr. (R-Va.) to continue the present tax law governing contributory retirement plans, which are most common in the public sector. Since workers have already paid taxes on retirement deductions withheld from their paychecks, present law does not tax their pension benefits until the amount received exceeds their contributions. The new legislation will mean higher taxes in the first few years after retirement.*

***Vote No. 2,** on June 18, is the 71-29 defeat of an amendment by Sen. George J. Mitchell (D-Me.) that would have made the tax structure fairer by lowering the rate for middle-income taxpayers and adding a top tax bracket of 35 percent.*

	1	2
ALABAMA		
Denton (R)	R	W
Heflin (D)	R	W
ALASKA		
Murkowski (R)	W	W
Stevens (R)	R	W
ARIZONA		
Goldwater (R)	W	W
DeConcini (D)	R	W
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers (D)	R	R
Pryor (D)	W	W
CALIFORNIA		
Wilson (R)	R	W
Cranston (D)	W	R
COLORADO		
Armstrong (R)	W	W
Hart (D)	W	W
CONNECTICUT		
Weicker (R)	R	W
Dodd (D)	W	W
DELAWARE		
Roth (R)	W	W
Biden (D)	W	R
FLORIDA		
Hawkins (R)	R	W
Chiles (D)	R	W
GEORGIA		
Mattingly (R)	W	W
Nunn (D)	W	R
HAWAII		
Inouye (D)	R	R
Matsunaga (D)	W	W
IDAHO		
McClure (R)	W	W
Symms (R)	W	W
ILLINOIS		
Dixon (D)	R	W
Simon (D)	R	R
INDIANA		
Lugar (R)	W	W
Quayle (R)	W	W
IOWA		
Grassley (R)	W	W
Harkin (D)	R	R
KANSAS		
Dole (R)	W	W
Kassebaum (R)	W	W
KENTUCKY		
McConnell (R)	W	W
Ford (D)	R	W
LOUISIANA		
Johnston (D)	R	W
Long (D)	W	W
MAINE		
Cohen (R)	W	W
Mitchell (D)	R	R
MARYLAND		
Mathias (R)	R	R
Sarbanes (D)	R	R
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy (D)	A	W
Kerry (D)	W	R
MICHIGAN		
Levin (D)	W	R
Riegle (D)	W	R
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz (R)	W	W
Durenberger (R)	W	W
MISSISSIPPI		
Cochran (R)	W	W
Stennis (D)	R	R
MISSOURI		
Danforth (R)	W	W
Eagleton (D)	R	R
MONTANA		
Baucus (D)	W	W
Melcher (D)	R	R
NEBRASKA		
Exon (D)	W	W
Zorinsky (D)	W	W
NEVADA		
Hecht (R)	W	W
Laxalt (R)	W	W
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Humphrey (R)	W	W
Rudman (R)	W	W
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley (D)	W	W
Lautenberg (D)	R	R
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici (R)	R	W
Bingaman (D)	R	R
NEW YORK		
D'Amato (R)	R	W
Moynihan (D)	W	W
NORTH CAROLINA		
East (R)	W	W
Helms (R)	W	W
NORTH DAKOTA		
Andrews (R)	R	R
Burdick (D)	R	R
OHIO		
Glenn (D)	R	W
Metzenbaum (D)	W	R
OKLAHOMA		
Nickles (R)	W	W
Boren (D)	W	W
OREGON		
Hatfield (R)	R	W
Packwood (R)	W	W
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz (R)	W	W
Specter (R)	R	R
RHODE ISLAND		
Chafee (R)	R	W
Pell (D)	R	W
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Thurmond (R)	W	W
Hollings (D)	R	R
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Abdnor (R)	R	W
Pressler (R)	R	W
TENNESSEE		
Gore (D)	R	R
Sasser (D)	R	R
TEXAS		
Gramm (R)	W	W
Bentsen (D)	W	W
UTAH		
Garn (R)	R	W
Hatch (R)	R	W
VIRGINIA		
Trible (R)	R	W
Warner (R)	R	W
VERMONT		
Stafford (R)	W	W
Leahy (D)	W	R
WASHINGTON		
Evans (R)	W	W
Gorton (R)	W	R
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd (D)	R	R
Rockefeller (D)	W	R
WISCONSIN		
Kasten (R)	W	W
Proxmire (D)	W	W
WYOMING		
Simpson (R)	W	W
Wallop (R)	W	W

Tax fairness goals pressed

Continued from Page 1

structure would drop the top rate to 27 percent. On the corporate tax, the present 46 percent top rate would drop to 36 percent in the House version and 33 percent in the Senate bill. But because of loopholes and tax shelters, relatively few persons or corporations actually pay the top rate under present law.

To hold the top tax rate to a politically attractive 27 percent, the Senate went beyond loophole closing to eliminate a range of deductions that are important to millions of workers and middle-income households. Both bodies also took a swipe at workers covered by contributory pension plans, primarily in the public sector.

The House bill limits, but the Senate bill would eliminate, the deduction that workers who itemize their taxes now can take for union dues and other job-related expenses such as safety clothing and small tools. These are comparable to business expenses that are allowed for corporations and that will be one of labor's concerns in the House-Senate conference.

Another labor concern has been that elimination of individual tax deductions for taxes paid to state and local governments would squeeze public services in many communities. The House bill preserves these deductions intact; the Senate version eliminates most sales tax deductions.

Kirkland urged the conferees to address these concerns and to assure that the final bill achieves a fairer balance between individual and corporate taxes. The House version, he said, comes closer to requiring profitable businesses to pay their fair share of taxes.

The Senate Finance Committee bill survived all attempts to amend it with the argument that any changes would threaten the delicate revenue balance and that proposed modifications should be dealt with by the House and Senate conferees.

One of the closest votes came on a labor-supported amendment that would have preserved the present system of taxing pension benefits received by retirees who have already paid taxes on their payroll contributions to the plan. Both the Senate and House bills would require workers to pay taxes on most of their pension from the start. Present law does not tax pensions until after the recipient has got back an amount equal to his own contributions.

The amendment to retain present law on pension taxation was sidetracked by a 57-42 vote. Another labor-supported amendment, to add a third tax rate of 35 percent, lost on a 71-29 vote.

EDITORIALS

A Living Force

THE CONSTITUTION of the United States is a living force in our daily lives, and not merely an heirloom to be kept behind glass and given an occasional coat of varnish.

It was written to define and regulate a form and system of government that had never been tried before—a system of self-government by and for those governed. It defines the rights of citizens and the duties of their elected officials.

After two centuries, it remains the touchstone against which we test all the laws—federal, state and local—that reach into everybody's daily life.

But this country does not run on any automatic pilot. Constitutional rights have to be defended and exercised. Constitutional duties have to be reiterated and exacted whenever officials fail to live up to them.

IN THIS anniversary month of the Constitution of the United States, we are scheduling about 60,000 meetings of members of local unions, central labor councils and state federations. Each will be an exercise of the democratic process and of the rights of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of association.

In addition, around the world this month, representatives of the American labor movement are conducting seminars and training sessions to foster the principles of democracy and human dignity among working men and women in dozens of countries throughout Asia and Africa, Central and South America, and the Caribbean.

In other words, we're doing this month what we do every month of every year.

THROUGH LEGISLATIVE and political action, we're continuing to defend the Constitution itself.

It isn't what it was when it left the hands of the Founding Fathers. A number of changes have been made, mostly for the better. But changes for the worse are always knocking at the gate and sometimes they get through, at least for a time.

We are convinced that changes are all to the good when they have moved the Constitution toward broader, more inclusive values.

It's when respect for the rights of others is overcome by the passion to exclude—to impose limitations and restrictions on human freedom—that things go wrong.

We have no doubt that the Founding Fathers—if they had lived long enough to see American society begin to grow up—would have approved of the changes that ended human slavery and that ended the exclusion of women and blacks from the nation's political life. We believe that they would approve of admitting women to equal participation in the nation's economic life through the Equal Rights Amendment.

What we know for sure is that they avoided blunders of the kind that this nation made once, in the Prohibition Amendment that brought problems that continued to plague us long after it was repealed.

THAT KIND of blunder—the blunder of using the Constitution as a weapon to try to compel all Americans to march to the tune of one narrow faction or another—must not be repeated.

In spite of all temporary aberrations, the Constitution has served for 200 years to liberate the human spirit and widen participation in American political life.

For our part, the labor movement has tried to work continually, within the general framework the Constitution provides and with whatever statutory assistance or hindrance is at hand, to advance the ideals of that Constitution and to forward the thrust of this nation toward economic democracy.

We have every confidence that the Constitution can be the framework of an economic democracy, yet to be fully achieved, to match the political democracy that is envied around the globe.

Our rededication to that goal will be our principal contribution to the observance of the 200th anniversary. We intend for this nation to achieve it and share it throughout the world.

—From remarks of AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue to the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, June 20, 1986.

The Knock on the Door

Washington Window

Noise bombardment causes widespread health damage

By Press Associates Inc.

Most workers know that exposure to high noise levels over a work day can cause hearing loss. What is less well known is that noise can contribute to other serious health problems.

At a symposium sponsored by the Urban Environment Conference, a coalition of union and environmental groups, Alice Suter, a specialist on noise-related hazards, explained that researchers believe noise is a stressor that elicits the so-called "fight or flight syndrome."

"Fight or flight" is a group of reflexive biological responses, including rising blood pressure and increased heart rate, muscle tension and adrenalin flow. These responses served a protective function in early man by enabling him to act quickly when threatened with danger.

Suter, formerly with the Occupational Safety & Health Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency, said "fight or flight" responses are elicited all day long from "danger" warnings like loud noises.

"People know they don't have to run away or fight," Suter said, "but they just have to put up with it. . . . They think they have adapted, but the body doesn't adapt. . . . These physiological changes keep going on, and eventually they become chronic."

Widespread damage

Suter said studies in the United States, Germany and Poland have tentatively linked exposure to moderate and high noise levels (above 85 decibels) with elevated blood pressure, a significant increase in cardiovascular ailments, higher levels of stress hormones, ulcers, digestive upsets, respiratory problems, and allergenic and neurological disorders.

Although other countries, notably Sweden and Germany, continue to fund research on noise-related health problems, Suter said the United States has a poor record on the issue.

When OSHA developed the hearing conservation amendment to the noise standard in 1977, she noted, more than $3 million was allocated for hearing loss research, and only $179,000 to study the effects on other health aspects.

Since the Reagan Administration has been in office, Suter said, funding for projects studying the health effects of noise has "dried up," and the EPA has closed its noise control office. She said it is "sad, tragic" that the United States has chosen to ignore the non-auditory effects of noise because they are "potentially a very great problem."

Millions affected

An estimated 5.5 million workers are exposed to noise levels of 85dB, averaged over eight hours, while some 2.5 million are exposed to 90 dB or higher.

The outlook for any long-term, strong assault on noise appears dismal. OSHA's noise rule limits exposure at 90 dB or higher, while its hearing conservation rule requires extra protection, hearing tests and noise monitoring at exposure levels of 85 dB or higher.

Scott Schneider, an industrial hygienist with the Carpenters, said there is evidence of some enforcement by OSHA. In fiscal 1985, OSHA issued 1,239 citations for violations of the hearing conservation amendment, 212 of which were judged serious. Some 168 citations were issued for noise exposure limit violations, 154 of which were deemed serious.

Schneider said the Carpenters and other building trades unions have been trying for years to get the hearing conservation rule to apply to construction, which was left out of the rulemaking. But, right now, OSHA's "plate is so full" with other health standards, he said, that noise is considered a low priority. Similarly, action at EPA, which was supposed to issue standards for construction equipment noise, is at a standstill.

What is clearly needed is funding for more research on worker exposures and the health effects of noise. Without that research, it will be difficult to convince anti-regulation bureaucrats that noise is not only a hearing hazard, but threatens workers' lives as well.

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...ame of the top-...g union leaders arrested were known ...trade unions.

Continued on Page 2

Lunch-hour stroll

Informational picket line at Washington headquarters of Shell Oil Co. presses labor's call for a boycott of Shell products because of the company's support for South Africa's system of apartheid. Shown are members of AFL-CIO staff, led by Kenneth Young and Susan Dunlop, assistants to President Lane Kirkland. Other union staff groups are rotating the weekly lunch-hour picketing.

Rallies spark drive to win cement workers' contracts

More than 4,000 union members and their families rallied at 17 sites nationwide on June 14 as part of the Boilermakers' Solidarity & Unity program to mark the beginning of the third year without contracts for many of the union's 14,000 cement workers.

The largest rally, held in Victorville, Calif., featured Boilermakers President Charles Jones, Sec.-Treas. Donald G. Whan, and Vice Presidents Richard A. Northrip and Jack Sloan, along with Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez. Jones told the 1,500 participants, "Over the last two years, our members have steadfastly resisted the cement industry's efforts and fought back with the demands of equity in our contracts and dignity on the job."

Pattern set

The union's program of in-plant and community action is using a variety of activities to draw public attention to the stance of these major companies. A pattern-setting three-year contract with the largest cement employer was signed in mid-1984 with Lone Star Industries. Workers there received annual pay increases of 2.5 percent and improvement in pension and supplemental unemployment benefits contributions, while agreeing to changes in the health plan, vacations and holidays.

The Cement, Lime Gypsum & Allied Workers, now a division of the Boilermakers, began bargaining for new contracts for its members shortly after it merged with the Boilermakers in 1984. After the contracts expired on May l, 1984, many of the employers imposed their final offers on their workers.

In one such case, Lehigh Portland Cement Co., owned by Heidelberger Zement of Germany, was ordered by a National Labor Relations Board administrative law judge in February 1986 to resume bargaining with the union and to reimburse its 1,000 employees for lost wages and benefits. The company has appealed that ruling.

Lehigh, headquartered in Allentown, Pa., was struck for a month following the end of the last contract. The workers returned to their jobs when bargaining was to resume. The company instead imposed a two-tier wage system, paying new hires $3 an hour less. It also reduced benefits and gutted work rules and premium pay provisions. For its efforts, Lehigh was put on the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.'s "Dishonor Roll" last fall.

Allentown was one of the 17 rally sites, and several hundred union members and their supporters gathered at the American Cement Museum to hear speakers, including Cement Division Director Henry W. Bechtholdt and Rep. Bob Edgar (D-Pa.). There are nearly a dozen cement manufacturers with headquarters in the Lehigh Valley of Pennsylvania.

A solidarity parade and picnic were held in Fairborn, Ohio, and 500 unionists marched to the gates of Southwestern Portland Cement Co., where the firm's security force was decked out in riot gear.

The other sites where marches, rallies or picnics were held included Hagerstown, Lime Kiln and Union Bridge in Maryland; Mitchell, Ind., Independence, Mo., Leeds, Ala., Odessa, Tex., Ada, Okla., Okay, Ark., Superior, Neb., Albuquerque, N.M., Trident, Mont., and Tucson and Clarkdale, Ariz.

3 Pittsburgh DALUs join Electronic Workers

Pittsburgh—Three AFL-CIO directly affiliated local unions representing 400 workers at three breweries here voted by wide margins to affiliate with the Electronic Workers.

The locals represent bottlers, brewers and drivers at Pittsburgh Brewing Co., whose labels include Iron City beer; Latrobe Brewing Co., makers of Rolling Rock, and Jones Brewing Co., producer of Stoney's.

55-city linkup

Steel teleconference focuses on job crisis

Continued from Page 1

country. There is a mandate to rebuild and the message for our legislators—to save American industry and jobs—is imperative."

In a 15-minute segment from Aliquippa, Rep. Bob Edgar (D-Pa.) stood before the abandoned 10-story-high LTV Steel Co. blast furnace and said, "This is the heartland of industrial America. We want to see our aging bridges and our crumbling roads rebuilt. We know that jobs and the economy are the issue we face in 1986."

Aliquippa Mayor Daniel Britza informed the nationwide audience that tax revenues from wages in his town have dropped from $1 million to just $250,000. The community is deteriorating, he said, but there's no money to fix it. He urged that legislators go to the small mill towns like Aliquippa, instead of visiting China and the Philippines, and find out that while Americans are willing to work, their jobs are being stolen by unfair imports.

Also broadcast from Aliquippa were a few songs from country-western singers, Larry Gatlin and the Gatlin Brothers.

In St. Paul, Gov. Rudy Perpich, surrounded by workers in the rotunda of the capitol, said, "We have to take the gloves off and get very, very tough with our congressional delegations, because there are a lot of people working today who will not be working tomorrow" if Congress doesn't act to protect the nation's basic industries.

Former NBC news commentator Peter Hackes served as moderator for the program, which included three panel discussions. On one panel, AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. President Howard Samuel was joined by Communications Workers President Morton Bahr, Amory Houghton, chief executive officer of the Corning Glass Co., and George Ferris, president of Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel.

A service-oriented economy "can't sustain our economy," Samuel told the viewers. He noted that only a small portion of the 8.5 million jobs created over the past five years have been in the manufacturing sector. Further, nearly a third of the jobs that have been created are part-time positions, he pointed out.

Staggering job loss

Bahr noted that since 1982, 10,000 communications manufacturing jobs have been lost, and with divestiture of AT&T in 1984, foreign producers increased their access to the the U.S. telecommunications market.

Corning Glass President Houghton described just how closed foreign markets are to products made in America. He said that his company can sell fiber-optic cables for 50 cents per meter, compared to Japan's $2 cost. But "we haven't sold a single strand of cable in Japan," because that government prevents it.

In Hagerstown, Md., at the C.M. Offray & Sons textile factory, company Vice President Phillip Portner stood on the factory floor amid "state of the art" equipment and said the jobs of some 700 workers there are threatened by imports, despite the firm's having invested millions of dollars in high-speed weaving technology.

Clothing & Textile Workers Executive Vice President Charles Sallee related that production of U.S. textile products has plummeted 25 percent in the past three years. He urged the audience to help pressure Congress to override President Reagan's veto of the Textile & Apparel Trade Enforcement Act when it votes Aug. 6.

The four-member congressional panel included Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.), Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.) and Rep John Murtha (D-Pa.), chairman of the Steel Caucus.

Murtha declared that foreign countries are taking advantage of the world's largest marketplace and are exporting their unemployment to the United States. Dingell, however, noted that while legislation that addresses the imbalance of trade has passed the House, violations of existing trade laws continue.

3-month effort

Interspersed between the panel discussions were pre-recorded video spots that included messages of support from singer Johnny Cash and actors Cathy Lee Crosby and Michael Keaton.

The teleconference was the centerpiece of a three-month-long effort to heighten the awareness of the public to the problems caused by imports. The USWA and five steel companies—Bethlehem Steel Corp., LTV Steel Co., National Steel Corp., Inland Steel Co., and Armco Inc.—sponsored the "Communities in Distress" campaign.

As part of the campaign, busloads of citizens—shopkeepers, bankers, city council members, ministers, police and firemen, and unemployed steelworkers—from 19 cities were brought to Washington beginning Apr. 8 to meet with congressional representatives. Additionally, some 420 billboards in 30 cities proclaimed that "Losing American Jobs Hurts All of Us." The billboards featured the face of the Statue of Liberty with a tear in her eye.

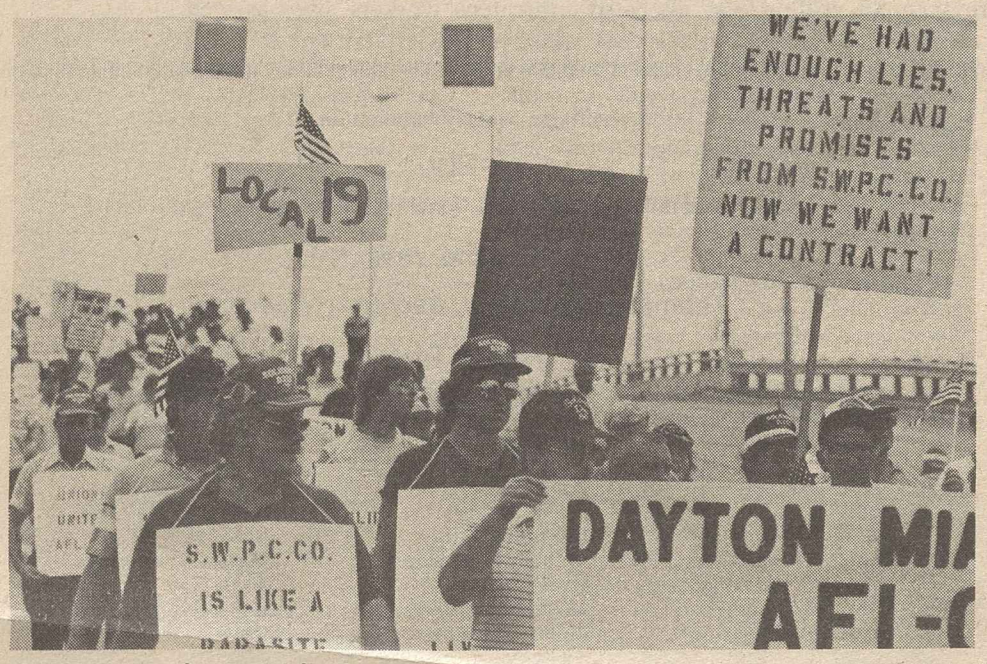
Baker sees leverage 'enhanced' by trade bill

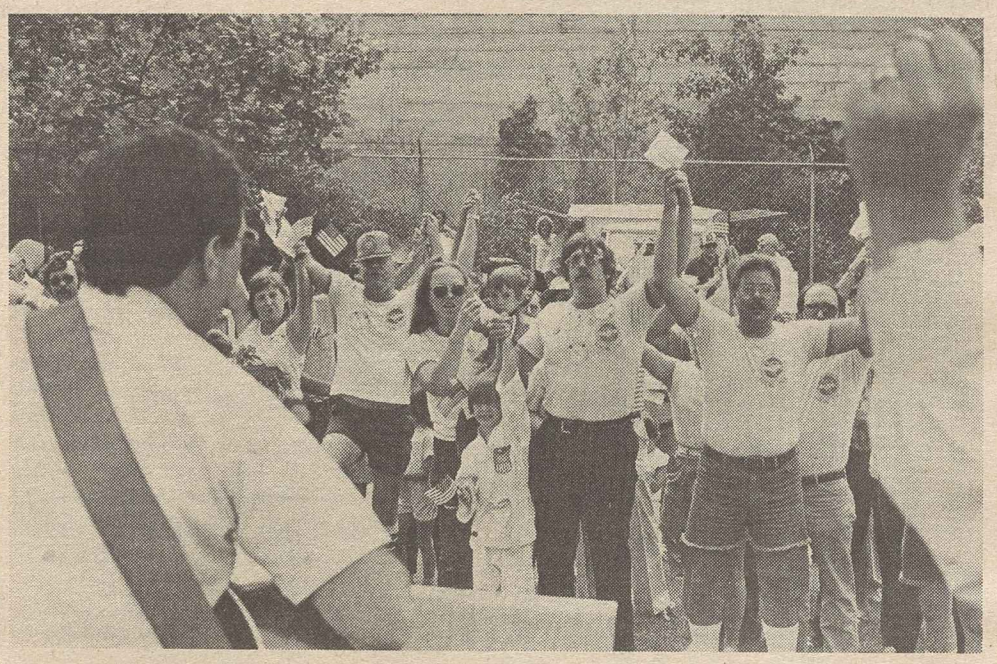
While President Reagan pursues a veto strategy to block trade legislation, his chief economic adviser, Treasury Sec. James A. Baker, conceded the bill could actually "enhance" efforts to drive down the nation's trade deficit with Japan.

In an interview with conservative editor-commentator William F. Buckley on the PBS program "Firing Line," Baker admitted the United States could not "continue to run the kind of deficit we run with Japan," and said negotiations are under way to get the Japanese to open their markets to U.S.-made goods.

Asked whether a congressional override of the anticipated Reagan veto would "undermine your leverage" in reaching agreement on a compact with Japan, Baker replied:

"It might enhance it because it would make it all the more important that there be . . . improved cooperation. If the United States should go 'protectionist' I think you'd get a lot of people's attention in a hurry."





Cement workers, without a contract for two years, marched in 17 cities to draw attention to a nearly industrywide union-busting effort.

New benefit program launched

AFL-CIO news

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SATURDAY
JULY 5, 1986

Credit card, legal service plan offered

By Gene Zack

The AFL-CIO, in a move aimed at extending economic protection to workers from the workplace to the marketplace, formally launched two key portions of its Union Privilege Benefit Programs—a low-cost credit card and legal services.

With the credit card, Federation Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue declared, "millions of workers will save millions of dollars" by escaping near-usurious interest rates that now prevail.

And through the legal services, he added, "millions of workers can avoid legal problems by getting answers to their legal questions before they become problems."

The wide-ranging program to serve the needs of union members in their roles as consumers, Donahue said, grows out of recommendations contained in the Executive Council's 1985 report, The Changing Situation of Workers & Their Unions. That study called for "direct services and benefits to workers outside of a collective bargaining structure."

Through the benefits program, he explained, affiliated unions will be "better able to serve their current members, retain their ties with former members and attract new members."

In bringing benefits to workers outside the collective bargaining area, Donahue said, "we are fulfilling the requirement of each generation of workers' movements to grow and make the changes necessary to that growth."

Ray Denison, president of the non-profit corporation created by the AFL-CIO, told a Washington press conference that other programs to be added shortly will include life insurance, health protection, retirement-investment counselling "and other major needs where individuals have been unprotected in the marketplace."

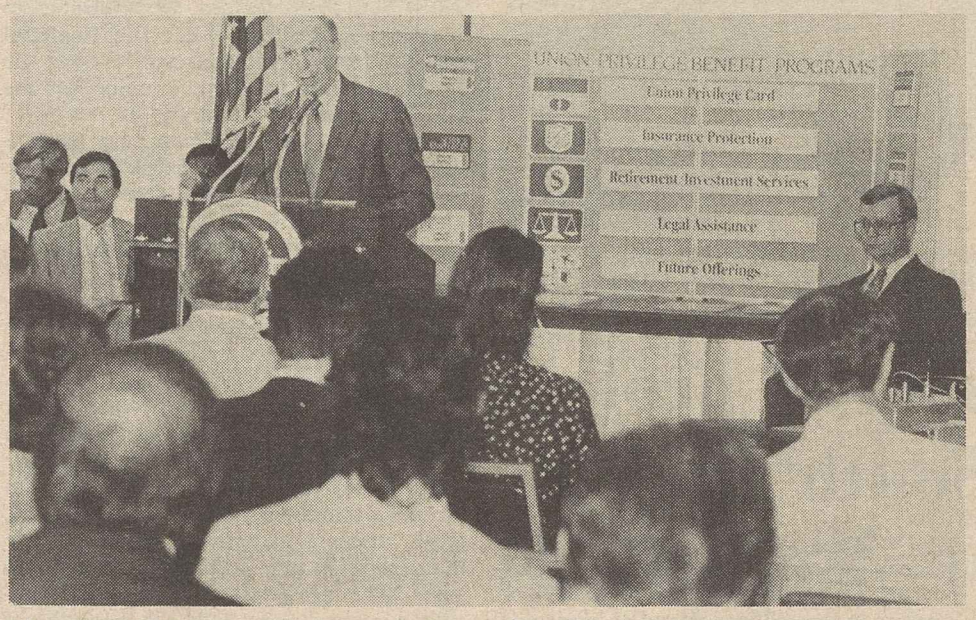
Beyond workplace

Workers have come to rely on the collective bargaining agreement for protection on the job, Denison observed. "But outside of the workplace, there is a need for protection of purchasing power in the shopping malls and on Main Street. Through this program, the individual worker will no longer be at the mercy of the bank, the insurance company, the fast-talking salesman or the slick advertisement."

The union-member credit card will provide the first "true competition" in the lending field, Denison said. "While interest rates have fallen, major credit card companies have failed to budge on their rates, keeping them outrageously high." He cited examples that range from 19.5 percent interest on credit cards issued by Chemical Bank to 21.6 percent for charge accounts at Montgomery Ward.

Ultimately, he added, "all Americans will benefit" from labor's move into the credit card field "because this card cracks the interest-rate barrier."

Continued on Page 5



The AFL-CIO's new low-cost credit card and a legal services program are unveiled at a news conference by Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue.

Early warning health hazard bill advances

A labor-backed bill to establish a federal early-warning system to alert workers whose health has been endangered by on-the-job exposure to hazardous substances won a strong 20-8 endorsement from the House Education & Labor Committee.

The measure, introduced by Rep. Joseph M. Gaydos (D-Pa.), requires the Dept. of Health & Human Services to identify and notify workers, including former employees, whose health may have been impaired by exposure to cancer-causing chemicals.

It would encourage affected workers to enter a program of testing and medical surveillance, offer counseling services for changes in occupation or lifestyle to diminish the possibility of illness, and require the government to designate 10 regional health centers for training and technical assistance to health professionals dealing with occupational diseases.

Before approving the Gaydos measure, the committee rejected a Republican substitute that would have slightly expanded the Occupational Safety & Health Administration's hazard communication standard and required employers to notify former workers whose addresses are known of health risks they may have incurred.

OSHA standard lacking

At hearings earlier this year, Machinists President William W. Winpisinger testified for the AFL-CIO and the Industrial Union Dept. that OSHA's new standard does not adequately meet the need for identification, notification and monitoring of workers having a high risk of occupational disease.

At least 25 percent of cancers among blue-collar workers are work-related, he stressed.

In a related area, House and Senate subcommittees approved a labor-urged bill to require the Environmental Protection Agency to develop rules to compel safe and proper removal or abatement of asbestos in schools.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney, whose union represents many school workers endangered by asbestos exposure and improper removal operations, welcomed the bipartisan support for the legislation by subcommittees of the House Energy & Commerce Committee and the Senate Environment & Public Works Committee.

The union also has a suit pending in federal court to compel EPA to issue the asbestos abatement rules the agency had promised in 1979.

Deficit surges 18%

Trade measure builds support as gap widens

The nation's trade deficit soared to $14.2 billion in May, a sharp 18-percent rise from the preceding month, spurring predictions that the Senate would buck the Administration and vote on legislation to curb imports and increase exports when it returns from its present recess in mid-July.

The AFL-CIO pointed out that the $71.9-billion deficit in the first five months of this year was a staggering 25.5 percent above the 1985 January-May trade shortfall of $57.3 billion.

The federation called this "compelling evidence that the trade problem won't go away by itself" and warned that if the present trend continues, the deficit could reach $168 billion this year—far eclipsing last year's record-busting $148.5-billion trade loss.

Manufacturing shortfall

There was red ink splashed all over the books of the manufacturing sector last month. May's manufacturing trade deficit was $11.6 billion, sending the shortfall in manufactured goods for the first five months of the year to $56.1 billion—28.7 percent above the $43.6 billion recorded in the same period in 1985.

Given the "gravity of the situation," AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald declared, the Senate must move swiftly on trade legislation similar to that passed by the House earlier this year. "The time for stalling is over. The time for action is clearly here," he asserted.

"The Administration's policy of 'open markets' and 'free trade' is bankrupt," Oswald stated. "There is no way the President can continue to pretend that everything is going to come up roses.

"The trade deficit is a growing menace to the national economy, to the jobs of American workers and to the survival of American industry. The Administration cannot wish the problem away. Because it won't act, the Congress must. It has to come to grips with this issue before it's too late."

Labor received support for a trade crackdown from a welcome, if unexpected, source. Senators from farm states reacted with dismay to the Commerce Dept. report that the nation imported more agricultural goods than it exported in May. It was the first farm trade deficit in 27 years.

The chorus of protest was led by Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), who asserted that "something is radically wrong when the greatest food producer in the

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Kirkland hits South African arrests

The AFL-CIO launched a vigorous campaign to protest South Africa's wholesale arrests of union officers, staff and members and vowed that American labor would not stand by and allow these unionists to "just disappear."

Under the "state of emergency" imposed by the white-minority government, President Lane Kirkland noted, "tens of thousands of men, women and children" have been seized in a "massive police and military roundup."

Among those being held incommunicado and without any formal charges being lodged against them are hundreds of trade unionists, Kirkland charged.

He called on all affiliated unions and state and local central bodies to bombard the South African Embassy in Washington with demands for "the immediate release of all the detained trade unionists and others" who joined in the rising chorus of protest against Pretoria's racist apartheid policies.

"Strict censorship" imposed by the government of President P. W. Botha has prevented American television, radio and newspaper correspondents from reporting the full extent of the crisis in South Africa, Kirkland pointed out.

Key leaders

Even though the government has refused to release the names of detainees, the federation was able through clandestine channels to obtain a list of 111 trade unionists known to be detained, he continued.

The list included officers and staff of two major trade union centers—the Council of Unions of South Africa, an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions—as well as officials and members of 26 separate trade unions.

Declaring that "it is imperative that these thousands of detainees should not just disappear," Kirkland insisted that "the world must demand their immediate release" as part of the "ongoing fight against apartheid."

The day after the federation made public the list of imprisoned unionists, the South African government indicated at least two of them had been released from custody—CUSA Gen. Sec. Phiroshaw Camay and that federation's research director, Dale Tifflin.

At the same time, the Labor Monitoring Group, an independent agency in Johannesburg, said the number of union members known to be in detention soared to 920—up sharply from the figure contained in a report a week earlier.

Although the names of some of the top-ranking union leaders arrested were known

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AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee leads call against apartheid during rally at the South African consulate in Chicago. Sec.-Treas. William Lucy, left, and nearly 1,000 convention delegates joined the protest.

Kirkland asks wide protest of arrests in South Africa

Continued from Page 1

in press circles in Johannesburg, the stringent restrictions imposed by the Pretoria government made it impossible to disclose them.

However, reports reaching Washington indicated that COSATU President Elijah Barayi and Metal & Allied Workers Union General Sec. Moses Mayekiso were among the latest union officials detained.

Angered by Barayi's arrest, COSATU officials called his detention "a reckless attack on our freedom" and warned of impending "widespread and spontaneous worker action around the country" unless he was released.

The second wave of unionists taken in the crackdown by the army and police, the Labor Monitoring Group said, included 737 union members taken during protest strikes at factories, together with 27 union leaders.

Following his release from custody, Camay pledged that the government's assault on organized labor would "not prevent us from continuing trade union activities. We'll go about our business as much as possible."

Tifflin said that she and other unionists "were kept in solitary confinement" throughout their detention and were not "interrogated at any stage," indicating that the sole purpose behind their arrest was the government's attempt to blunt the effectiveness of South Africa's unions.

The government subsequently announced it planned to prosecute 780 of them on charges ranging from murder and arson to assault.

Civil rights lawyers charged that the government's move was calculated to immobilize union and black political leaders by tying them up in complicated court cases that could drag on for months.

Union strength

Meanwhile, COSATU General Sec. Jay Naidoo remained in hiding to avoid detention under Pretoria's harsh new emergency decree.

Naidoo told the New York Times that, unlike in previous periods of labor oppression, it has now become "impossible to kill off the union movement in South Africa." He bluntly warned the government that "any attack on us" would not go "unchallenged."

The fourth highest officer in COSATU, Naidoo declared that the labor center wants "the end of the state of emergency and we want the release of our leadership."

The crackdown on trade unionists and activists in the black struggle for equality was launched a few days prior to the observance of the 10th anniversary of the Soweto massacre, commemorating the deaths of more than 500 black students by police in 1975 for protesting inferior black education.

"The emerging black trade unions and other anti-apartheid groups had called for a massive stay-at-home by workers to commemorate the anniversary," Kirkland pointed out.

Not even the South African government's "harsh response to this call for a peaceful observance" could deter the opponents of apartheid, he noted as "black workers in the millions stayed at home and most industrial activity came to a complete stop."

Kirkland called on all segments of the AFL-CIO to send messages "demanding the release of detainees" to J.H.A. Beukes, Ambassador of the Republic of South Africa, 3051 Massachusetts Ave, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

To help monitor the response, affiliates and individual members who send messages to the South African Embassy were requested to inform the African-American Labor Center, 1400 K St., N.W., Suite 700, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Girding for battle

AFSCME delegates strengthen dues plan

Chicago—Delegates to the State, County & Municipal Employees convention here approved amendments to AFSCME's constitution to strengthen the minimum dues system.

The action by the 3,000 delegates heeded an appeal early in the convention by AFSCME Pres. Gerald W. McEntee to make sure the union has the financial strength for the battles ahead. "It's not the time to return to being a union on the cheap," he said. "We must pay for our own."

When Sec.-Treas. William Lucy presented his report, he lauded delegates for their support of the minimum dues system, a system he called "probably the single most important reason for the astounding success of AFSCME over the past seven years." The minimum dues system is also important, Lucy said, "because it strengthens the structure that is at the heart of our union, the district council."

Specifically, the delegates voted to set minimum dues for permanent part-time members working 12 or fewer hours per week at 50 percent of full dues, and to provide exemptions from dues increases for locals where a majority of members have not gotten a pay raise for at least two years. The delegates also set up a blue-ribbon committee to study the feasibility of adopting an hourly or percentage minimum dues rate.

During a break in the convention on June 26, McEntee and Lucy led nearly 1,000 of the AFSCME delegates in a demonstration in front of the South African consulate in downtown Chicago.

Earlier that day, the delegates stood and cheered as Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, addressed the convention and demanded to know how long the world must wait for the end of apartheid. "Ronald Reagan apparently doesn't know what apartheid is," Robinson said. "He said the 30 million blacks of South Africa should be patient." And again he asked, "How long is long enough?"

AFSCME demonstrators also picketed the offices of the Chicago Tribune, adjacent to the consulate. Carrying signs reading "Boycott the Tribune," they marched with pickets from three unions that have been striking the paper since July 1985.

In other convention action, the delegates modified the union's constitution to bring it in line with criteria recently set down by the Supreme Court in an agency fee case. The changes establish new procedures for explaining and challenging agency shop fees and for placing disputed fees in escrow.

Political action

The convention voted continued support for AFSCME participation in the AFL-CIO presidential endorsement process and backed a goal of $1 per member per year in political action dollars. Other resolutions supported career development programs, rank-and-file education programs, on-site child care, increased training for correctional officers, and tougher job safety and health standards.

The delegates heard Missouri Lt. Gov. Harriet Woods (D), the AFSCME-backed candidate for the U.S. Senate, attack Reagan Administration policies as "a grand design to shift the cost of social services from the rich to the middle class and the poor. America was founded on principles," she said, "and we must return to those principles that put people first."

In an emotional moment, the delegates heard 18-year-old Rebecca Stucki read her winning essay in AFSCME's Golden Anniversary contest. Theme of the contest was "What AFSCME Has Meant to My Family." Stucki's essay won her an all-expense, four-year college scholarship.

'The world must demand their release'

Following is the list of 111 trade unionists known to have been "detained" by the South African government since its declaration of a "state of emergency" on June 16:

Congress of South African Trade Unions

Rev. Howard Magua of the Western Cape office, Chairman J. Mthombeza of Empangeni, V. Mzuzzani and Brian Najedi of the Bloemfontein center and Vice Chairman Noel Williams of the Western Cape Region.

L. Babuseng, Victor Bambani, Manne Dipico, Moses Gladile, Peter Mathibola, Exekel Mngkolo, Regional Chairman Paul Nkuna and Organizer Johannes Pakhi, all of the **National Union of Mine Workers.**

Petrus Bekkers, Ben Boikanyo, Maxwell Cindi, Organizer Oscar Malgas, O. Maroeletse, (first name unknown) Matsoso, Floyd Mazibuko, Richard Mnculwane, E. Mongale, Organizer R. Ncunwali, Steven Patsa, Organizer Kaiser Thibedi and Organizer Basher Vally, and of the **Commercial, Catering & Allied Workers Union.**

Education Director Adrian Bird, Transvaal Branch Sec. P. Dantgia, P. Dantjie, (first name unknown) Jizela, Mike Mavutakhulu, (first name unknown) Makathini, J. Mamabolo, Solomon Maunao, Joseph Mava, Northern Natal Branch Sec. W. Mehunu, (first name unknown) Mebeje, Shop Steward Botha Modisapaodi, J. Mohakgwe, K. Mohakwe, (first name unknown) Mthimba, Adna Pilane and Vice President Jeffrey Vilane, all of the **Metal & Allied Workers Union.**

Transvaal Branch Sec. Chris Bonner, Vusi Mavuso and J. Mkalipe, all of the **Chemical Workers Industrial Union.**

Kgoro Dau, Jackie Masemola, Post Molepo and Z. Mtshelwani, all of the **South African Allied Workers Union.**

Organizer Lolo Ditshego of the **General Workers Union of South Africa.**

Sipho Kubheka of the **Paper Wood & Allied Workers Union.**

Reg Lazarus, Rev. Marhawu and President Jerry Ntombela, all of the **Transport & General Workers Union.**

General Sec. Donsie Khumalo of the **Retail & Allied Workers Union** and Northern Transvaal branch secretary of COSATU.

Z. Galela, Petrus Mapalala, Shadrack Marumo, Simon Mkhwanazi and Aaron Nyatli, all of the **National Union of Textile Workers.**

Shop Steward (first name unknown) Lento, Ursula McDonald, Annie Menter, T. Mkhwanazi of Empangeni, T. Mkwanazi of Natal, Ben Petersen, Ronnie Petersen and William Zwani, all of the **Food & Allied Workers Union.**

Derek Hoshewho, Shop Steward J. Libese, Setsu Moreosele, W. Nehuna, Tiny Ntuli, S. Ramakubye, Organizer Mike Shongwe and Stanley Wilson, all of the **National Automobile & Allied Workers Union.**

General Sec. Dennis Neer, I. Ngcina and Duzi (surname unknown), all of the **Motor Assembly & Components Workers Union.**

V. Mkhonza from Empangeni and V. Nkhonza from Natal, both of the **National Iron, Steel & Metal Workers Union.**

Matthews Oliphant of the **National Federation of Workers** and Northern Natal regional secretary of COSATU.

Council of Unions of South Africa

General Sec. Phiroshaw Camay (who was subsequently released), Fezi Dabi of CUSA's legal unit, Organizer Simon Masibi, Information Officer Thami Meerwa, President James Mndaweni, Organizer Joyce Sedibe, Assistant General Sec. Skhosana Mahlomola and Research Director Dale Tifflin (who was subsequently released).

Other Unions

Organizer Sipho Cele of the **Motor Industry Combined Workers Union.**

General Sec. E. Erasmus of the **Clothing Workers Union.**

D. Dickson of the **National Education Workers Union of South Africa.**

Lucy Maine and (first name unknown) Mogalefa, both of the **Food Beverage Workers Union.**

J. Mkembela of the **General Workers Union.**

President Alex Mahalaagjie, Shop Steward Abraham Malatjie, Shop Steward Committee Chairman Louis Mashamba, Eliot Matibidi, Simon Mmatli and Isaac Segwapa, all of the **Transport & Allied Workers Union.**

Pamela Manene, Shop Steward V. Motsami and Organizer Sipho Mzolo, all of the **South African Chemical Workers Union.**

S. Mokgalagaei and Monwabisi Vika, both of the **Black Allied Mining & Construction Workers Union.**

Organizer Phillitus Monokong of the **Building Construction & Allied Workers Union.**

Carter Seleke of the **African Allied Workers Union.**

Chairman Mathatha Tseudo of the **Media Workers Association of South Africa.**

Plan pressed for health care during layoffs

The AFL-CIO welcomed a bipartisan effort to require employers to continue health insurance coverage of laid-off workers, but stressed in Senate testimony the need for additional measures to make health care available to all who need it.

Some 35 million Americans are without any health insurance and an estimated 50 million persons have inadequate health protection, Director Bert Seidman of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security testified.

Against this need, he said, the bill being considered by a Senate Government Affairs subcommittee should be regarded as a starting point rather than a solution.

It would require an employer to continue health insurance coverage for workers and dependents for up to four months after a worker is laid off. Thereafter, the worker could buy the same insurance at group rates for up to 18 additional months.

Other provisions of the bill would set up state insurance pools to provide coverage for persons who can't get health insurance because of medical problems and require states to reimburse hospitals for the cost of caring for charity patients.

Subcommittee Chairman David F. Durenberger (R-Minn.) is one of the four principal Senate sponsors, along with Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), John Heinz (R-Pa.) and Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.).

Unmet needs

Seidman said the legislation will help meet the "short-term health needs" of those who lose their jobs, but he stressed that it is far from adequate in terms of filling unmet health needs.

Public programs have been cut so that Medicaid now covers less than 50 percent of the population below the poverty level, Seidman noted. The burden of caring for persons without adequate insurance has overstrained the resources of public hospitals, he said.

Among the world's industrial nations, Seidman testified, only South Africa and the United States do not provide health care as a matter of right, regardless of employment. "Only in the United States," he added, "are individuals with chronic health problems locked out of the system because they cannot obtain health insurance protection."

Legislation to deal with the loss of health care benefits by laid-off workers is needed, Seidman said. But the "best medicine," he testified, "would be the enactment of a national health care system which makes access to basic health care services a right for all Americans."

Meeting health needs

Challenges facing the labor movement in meeting the health needs of workers and their families were explored by the AFL-CIO Executive Council's Ad Hoc Committee on Health Care, chaired by Service Employees President John J. Sweeney, center right, who is flanked by Occupational Health, Safety & Social Security Director Bert Seidman and Karen Ignagni, an assistant director. The session heard reports on health legislation pending in Congress and the coordinated organizing drive being conducted among the 35,000 workers at Blue Cross/Blue Shield operations nationwide.

High court rebuffs Administration on attempt to curtail role of unions

By David L. Perlman

The Supreme Court rebuffed an attempt by the Justice Dept. to limit the ability of unions and other associations to represent their members in the courts.

In an important 5-4 decision, the court held that the Auto Workers had legal standing to challenge a restrictive Labor Dept. interpretation of eligibility requirements for trade adjustment assistance. If the decision had tilted the way Justice Dept. attorneys had urged, organizations would have been seriously limited in their ability to protect the rights of their members.

In the case that reached the Supreme Court, a federal district judge agreed with the UAW that the Labor Dept. had improperly instructed state unemployment insurance agencies not to count days off from work because of sick leave or vacations towards the length of employment needed to qualify for trade adjustment benefits.

But on appeal, a divided U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit ruled that the union didn't have legal standing to bring the suit. It based its conclusion on the fact that many of the workers adversely affected were not union members, most UAW members were not directly involved and the individuals directly affected were not listed as parties to the suit. The 2-1 appellate court decision was written by Judge Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. and joined by Judge Antonin Scalia, who has been nominated by President Reagan for the Supreme Court.

Justice Dept. attorneys, acting as lawyers for the Labor Dept. in the case, argued for even more stringent restrictions on association rights to represent members.

Broad coalition

The AFL-CIO, concerned at the implications of the Administration's legal argument, filed a brief supporting the UAW position as part of a remarkably broad coalition of national organizations. The participating groups included the Chamber of Commerce, NAACP, National Association of Manufacturers, Chemical Manufacturers Association, Sierra Club and Alliance for Justice.

Justice Thurgood Marshall's majority opinion noted that the case involved a matter of law, not the separate claims of various individuals. An association can draw on a "reservoir of expertise" and financial resources to litigate such issues, Marshall noted, "and there is no reason to doubt the ability of the UAW" to represent its members affected by the Labor Dept. interpretation.

His decision sent the case back to the appellate court so that the issues raised by the union can be considered on their merits.

The Supreme Court, clearing its caseload in preparation for a summer recess, also issued rulings on a trio of civil rights cases of interest to labor. All three decisions were written by Justice William J. Brennan Jr.

Two of the decisions upheld affirmative action plans that were ordered or approved by lower courts over the objections of two local unions.

The AFL-CIO did not participate in the two cases, but issued a statement welcoming the court's clarification of standards governing affirmative action.

Labor support

"The labor movement supports affirmative action that is consistent with federal law," the federation noted. "Like other segments of society, we have been divided over what the law permits. Now that the court has spoken, we will redouble our efforts to assure both vigorous enforcement and complete compliance."

One of the cases upheld the imposition by a federal court of an order that Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers, in the New York metropolitan area, increase its minority membership to 29 percent and take other steps to overcome past discrimination dating from a time when apprecticeship opportunities were largely limited to children or relatives of members.

The other case approved, over the objections of the Cleveland local of the Fire Fighters, an agreement on promotion opportunities that settled a suit against the city brought by a group of minority fire fighters. It reserved about half of future promotions for qualified minority candidates.

The court majority said such a voluntary agreement—which is not binding on a union that does not agree and which a union can challenge in court—meets the guidelines of federal law even though those benefited may not themselves have been victims of past race discrimination.

In the third case decided, a unanimous court held that an employer must remedy pay discrimination that existed before the Civil Rights Act became law. That's the position the AFL-CIO had advocated in its brief to the Supreme Court.

The case involved pay disparities for employees of the North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service that dated from a period when there were separate black and white divisions serving farmers and homeowners. After the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the divisions were merged and newly hired workers were paid the same rate. But blacks hired before 1965 never had their pay raised to offset the discriminatory differential.

Employer obligation

Brennan's decision found the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals clearly wrong in holding that the employer did not have an obligation to remedy discrimination that had its origins before the law was enacted.

Two other Supreme Court decisions of general interest dealt with the shaping of legislative districts and made clear that the one-man, one-vote test isn't the only consideration.

One case involved the time-honored practice of gerrymandering, shaping legislative or congressional districts for political advantage.

In a case involving a Republican-drawn districting in Indiana, the Supreme Court overturned a lower court finding that the reshaping for political advantage had exceeded constitutional limits. But the language of the decision made clear that the court will review and may overturn gerrymandering that more clearly is designed for partisan advantage.

Ironically, in the Indiana case, the Republican National Committee supported Indiana Democrats in challenging the redistricting and California Democrats, who are resisting a Republican suit to force a rewriting of their state's congressional districts, filed a brief supporting the Indiana Republicans.

The other case involved a Supreme Court setback to the Reagan Administration's attempt to limit the application of 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act. The court held that a North Carolina redistricting plan that provided for election of legislators from multimember districts made it likely that a minority population will have its representation diminished.

That makes such a districting plan invalid, the court said, regardless of whether dilution of black voting strength was the intent of the plan and even if minority candidates sometimes win election in the new district.

Labor Studies center schedule

The George Meany Center will offer eight labor studies institutes and workshops in July and August at its Silver Spring Md., campus. The schedule:

Alcohol & Drugs: Standards of Discipline & Discharge, June 29-July 3—A detailed examination of the standards for discipline and discharge applied in grievance arbitration hearings. Participants must have completed the basic arbitration institute.

TV: The Cool Medium, June 29-July 2—A three-day workshop to coach union leaders on how to face television cameras and how to work with reporters.

Public Communications: How to Work with the Media, July 13-17—A workshop for business representatives and local union officers on using the media to improve labor's image in their communities.

Organizing Techniques, July 20-25—A program for full-time organizers and local staff members on the basics of an organizing campaign, including measures to counteract employers' anti-union techniques.

Newswriting & Editing for Union Publications, Aug. 10-15—An opportunity for union editors and would-be editors to get coaching on the basics of producing a readable union publication, co-sponsored by the International Labor Communications Association.

Labor Law for Organizers, Aug. 17-22—A review of laws governing private sector organizing, election procedure and legal issues arising out of workplace tactics and corporate campaigns.

Arbitration Techniques: Preparation & Presentation, Aug. 17-22—An institute concentrating on the presentation of mock cases before professional arbitrators.

Alcohol & Drug Intervention Programs, Aug. 24-27—An institute to review union programs and joint union-management programs to assist workers dependent on drugs or alcohol.

About 70 union officials enrolled in the center's college degree program are expected on campus July 27-Aug. 1 for their semi-annual week-in-residence. The college degree alumni will meet July 30 and 31.

Affiliates using the campus in July for their own training conferences are: Flight Attendants, July 7-11; Railway & Airline Clerks, July 13-18; Industrial Union Dept., July 18; Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers, July 20-23; Asbestos Workers, July 21, and Communications Workers, July 23-25.

Forty Spanish-speaking trade union women from South and Central America will wind up five weeks of study at the Meany Center July 18. They'll be followed by 40 trade unionists from Bermuda who will be on campus July 19-26.

For more information about labor studies programs, write or telephone Robert Pleasure, executive director, George Meany Center, 10000 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md. 20903. Telephone 301/431-6400.

Open house

The Screen Actors celebrated the opening of the union's new headquarters in Los Angeles with public festivities and a reunion of six past presidents. The new offices are housed in a building designated a historic landmark, just across the street from SAG's first headquarters which opened in 1933. Past presidents joining the dedication of the new building were, from left, back row, Leon Ames, Dana Andrews and Charlton Heston; front row, Ed Asner, William Schallert and Dennis Weaver. Current SAG president is Patty Duke.

World action on asbestos hazards wins support from ILO conference

Geneva—Global standards to safeguard workers and the public from the health hazards of asbestos, a known carcinogen, won a ringing endorsement from labor, management and government delegates to the 1986 conference of the International Labor Organization.

In the only new convention adopted during the three-week session, the 1,800 delegates from 140 countries outlined strict measures that must be taken to prevent serious health hazards resulting from exposure to asbestos dust.

At the same time, the ILO laid the groundwork for outlawing crocidolite, an especially dangerous type of asbestos, as well as a complete ban on spraying all forms of asbestos.

The concept of "labor market flexibility," which has had the ILO's enthusiastic support, came under sharp criticism from the AFL-CIO. It warned that this approach leads to the denial of workers' protections against layoffs and encourages employers to open non-union subsidiaries.

The federation's case was presented by Deputy European Rep. James Baker, a stand-in for International Affairs Director Irving Brown, who took ill shortly after the assembly opened and is recuperating at a hospital in Paris.

Baker told delegates that "flexibility" represents an attempt by employers to gain "more control over the labor force" or to escape the reach of legislation "they consider detrimental" to business.

The result, he said, is to give business a free hand in closing plants, terminating individual employees at will and moving to other parts of the country or to other countries to depress wage levels.

The Soviet Union suffered a stunning political defeat in its efforts to revamp the ILO structure to put "employer" delegates from the communist bloc on the policy-making governing body.

Employer, worker and government members of the U.S. delegation opposed the move, charging that there is no difference between a government or employer delegate from a communist country.

Soviet setback

The magnitude of the setback could be measured by the fact that Third World countries, on whom Moscow usually relies for support within the United Nations, voted against the Soviet proposal. Then they adopted a communist-opposed plan to reform the ILO by doubling the size of the governing body and taking away the previous automatic membership for the 10 largest industrial countries.

In another development, a letter from Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa, sharply criticizing the Polish government for failing to send a "genuine" worker representative to the conference, sparked a walkout of 40 Soviet-bloc delegates.

The Nobel laureate assailed the "unrelenting deterioration in the material and social welfare of Polish workers and their families."

Call for sanctions

Expressing continuing concern over the deteriorating situation in South Africa, the ILO's Committee on Apartheid sent a cable to the United Nations Security Council, calling for "the imposition of mandatory, comprehensive" economic sanctions against the white-minority government in Pretoria until it abandons its racist policies of apartheid.

The committee directed its appeal particularly to those countries "who have previously used their right of veto to prevent the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions," and said its call was issued in the name of "the international community and the black majority" in South Africa.

In major resolutions, the conference:

- Urged governments to find "realistic solutions" to the global debt crisis, warning that it is undermining living standards and the dignity of workers in developing countries.
- Supported improved education systems to give workers and low-income groups "genuine access" to education and training in marketable skills.
- Called for coordinated international action to provide job opportunities and training possibilities for the 1 billion young people who are expected to be in the population in the year 2000. Nearly 84 percent of them will be in Third World countries.
- Pointed to the significant role small and medium-sized businesses play in creating jobs, and called on governments to provide them with investment incentives and repeal measures that "impose a disproportionate burden" on these enterprises.
- Expressed "regret" that several countries—especially Romania, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Liberia, Yemen, Zaire and Mauritius—failed to report on their compliance with international labor standards.

Union editors explore organizing role

Birmingham, Ala.—Labor editors from across the country met here to explore their role in mobilizing union members and building effective coalitions to fight for economic and social justice, especially in the sun belt.

The International Labor Communications Association drew 92 participants to its biennial conference at the University of Alabama. The ILCA, representing some 750 AFL-CIO affiliated publications, held the conference here in recognition of the great potential for organizing in the South, and to serve as a building block for the recently formed Southern Labor Press Association.

The labor editors participated in the AFL-CIO's Union Meeting of the Air and in a variety of skill-building workshops. Panel discussions were held on coalition-building and on a popular repeat session from last year's convention, called Burnt Up or Burnt Out?

The delegates were updated by Edwin Schmidt, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Reproductions & Mailing, on the U.S. Postal Service attempts to eliminate second-class mailing subsidies.

Other speakers, primarily from the southern political arena, included John Buchanan, a former Republican congressman from Alabama who is chairman of the board of People for the American Way; Tom Turnipseed, a former South Carolina state senator, and Julian Bond, a Georgia state senator.

ICFTU details violations of worker rights

Geneva—A "grim picture" of wholesale denial of workers' rights around the globe was painted by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in its report to the annual assembly of the International Labor Organization.

"Violations of trade union rights range from murder, torture and imprisonment to bureaucratic and legal restrictions and union-busting," the ICFTU asserted.

The 42-page report documented these abuses:

Africa—Basic trade union rights are restricted in most countries, with arbitrary arrests of unionists and government intrusion into union affairs. So-called trade unions organized by government edict deny freedom of association in Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Libya, Mali, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia and Tanzania, while Tunisia has taken "drastic action" against unions. On the plus side, workers have "been able to engage in genuine trade union work" in Kenya and Zambia.

In South Africa, changes in labor legislation have as their purpose "an even more rigorous control over black workers." More than 50 labor leaders were arrested last year.

Latin America—A return to democracy in some countries has helped improve the labor climate, but workers' rights continue to be "flagrantly violated" in countries like Cuba, Bolivia, Brazil and Chile. Repression also continues in the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua, while unions remain crushed in Paraguay under Gen. Stroessner's dictatorship.

North America—Restrictions on collective bargaining have been imposed on government workers in Alberta, British Columbia, Newfoundland and Ontario.

Asia—"Despite certain improvements in some Asian countries, in many others basic trade union rights continue to be violated on a wide scale." This is especially true in the communist states of Afghanistan, China, Cambodia, Laos, North Korea and Vietnam and in Iran, Iraq, South Yemen, Syria and Yemen. In the Philippines, President Corazon Aquino is taking steps to restore human and trade union rights.

Eastern Europe—All of the nations in the communist bloc deny workers their "most basic trade union rights," and "rigorously repress" any attempts to organize outside the government-controlled structure for workers' groups.

Western Europe—A number of governments "have resorted to wage fixing and similar measures which constitute severe limitations on the right to collective bargaining." The report cited Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands as the nations with the worst records. The West German government has "launched a major attack on the right to strike," while in Britain, new industrial relations legislation "seriously undermined the rights of trade unions to regulate their internal affairs in full freedom and engage in industrial action."

R.I. coalition presses pay equity campaign

Providence, R.I.—The Rhode Island AFL-CIO and a coalition of 70 public and private organizations launched a campaign for legislation to set up a pay equity system for state employees.

Joining with the state body were the State, County & Municipal Employees, the Teachers, the unaffiliated National Association of Government Employees, the National Education Association and a broad range of social, women's and minority groups.

The campaign comes on the heels of a report of a special legislative commission which found that earnings of female employees averaged $3,200, or 18 percent, annually less than those of males.

The report also found that women workers are concentrated in a narrow number of job categories.

Two bills are pending in the House and Senate calling for a $300,000 appropriation for the coming fiscal year to finance a review of the state classification and pay system. They also would provide $5 million in the 1986-87 budget for pay grade adjustments that would be achieved through collective bargaining.

Conferees weigh needs

Community services face critical challenge

By Candice Johnson

San Diego—Labor's role in helping the growing numbers of jobless workers and their families and government's duty to meet basic human needs were the twin challenges raised at the annual AFL-CIO Community Services national conference.

In a week-long session of problem-solving and brainstorming, nearly 400 community service representatives sought to sort out the obligations and responsibilities of government, labor and communities at a time when the Reagan Administration continues to slash away at vital domestic programs.

In his keynote address, Community Services Director Frank Emig told participants that high unemployment and "misconceptions about the rosy picture of the economy" were responsible for the growing need for food, housing, health care and other necessities by workers and their families.

"Never before has so much been expected of us," he stated, pointing out that the labor movement was working to fill those needs while the federal government addressed the problems of unemployment and homelessness with "cliches, cute phrases or just excuses."

Rising unemployment

Participants were welcomed to San Diego by Joseph S. Francis, executive secretary-treasurer of the San Diego-Imperial Counties AFL-CIO. Francis noted that San Diego had lost thousands of jobs since 1980, even though its "official" unemployment rate is just over 5 percent. "Laid-off workers here have joined a new class—the working poor," he charged, with "community service programs carrying an ever-growing burden."

Acknowledging the rebirth of patriotism in America, Francis called for a "rebirth of economic patriotism" in which the government would make a real commitment to industrial redevelopment.

The conference examined the responsibilities of labor, the community and government to meet the needs of working men and women, with a number of speakers pointing out that labor's community services efforts stand in stark contrast to an ill-conceived "image of a selfish, greedy labor movement."

AFL-CIO Region VII Director Humphrey Donahue denounced the corporate "bottom-line mentality," a philosophy that declares "not paying taxes is the game to play." He cited the endless stream of jobs and technology—in textiles, steel and electronics—that have been shipped overseas "after being perfected here in the United States with tax grants and benefits."

The Reagan Administration, through its free-market creed, has "radically changed the role of government in the past six years," Donahue said, making a sharp turn from the nation's earliest days when Thomas Jefferson declared that government's main responsibility was to care for the people.

Change of attitude

The Reagan revolution has meant a change of attitude, Donahue noted, with business and the wealthy placing a premium on tax avoidance. But "our members need the services that come from taxes," raising the stakes in labor's fight against corporate greed and an unsympathetic Administration, he said.

Donahue praised the participants for giving their "time and talents and caring," stressing that the labor movement must put greater emphasis on its community service activities.

Gloria Johnson, director of social action for the Electronic Workers and treasurer of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, targeted jobs as labor's chief concern and urged participants to become more involved in legislative activities to preserve workers' jobs and American industries. "Plant closings are occuring throughout the country" with workers and communities given no notice, she charged, while growing imports put greater numbers of workers on the unemployment line.

Communities face additional hardships from unemployment as their financial base erodes, she said. Across the country, workers are facing the same problems—"their savings exhausted, their homes sold, and their families in deep trouble," Johnson stated.

In other presentations, Patrick Greene, director of community services for the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO, stressed that the government's responsibility for meeting workers' needs has been ignored by the Adminstration and that "it is time to wake the government up" to meet its obligations. He noted the tendency among some corporate and government leaders to "blame an individual's failure for his own unemployment, disregarding mergers, plant closing, unfair trade" and other real causes.

Terry Parsley, community services representative from Machinists Local 1781, detailed food collection, housing programs, counseling and help for the handicapped available through his IAM local, while Ethan W. Sproston, a community services representative in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, urged participants to go back to their communities and tell of an "America born in a union hall," whose history "is the history of working people."

In workshop sessions, participants shared stories of success and frustration and reviewed strategies for providing services to the unemployed and needy in their areas. Discussions focused on relief efforts to workers whose unemployment benefits had long expired, particularly in communities hard hit by permanent plant closings. Health care for unemployed workers and their families, mortgage and rent assistance and keeping children in school were cited as growing problems that require help from communities and government.

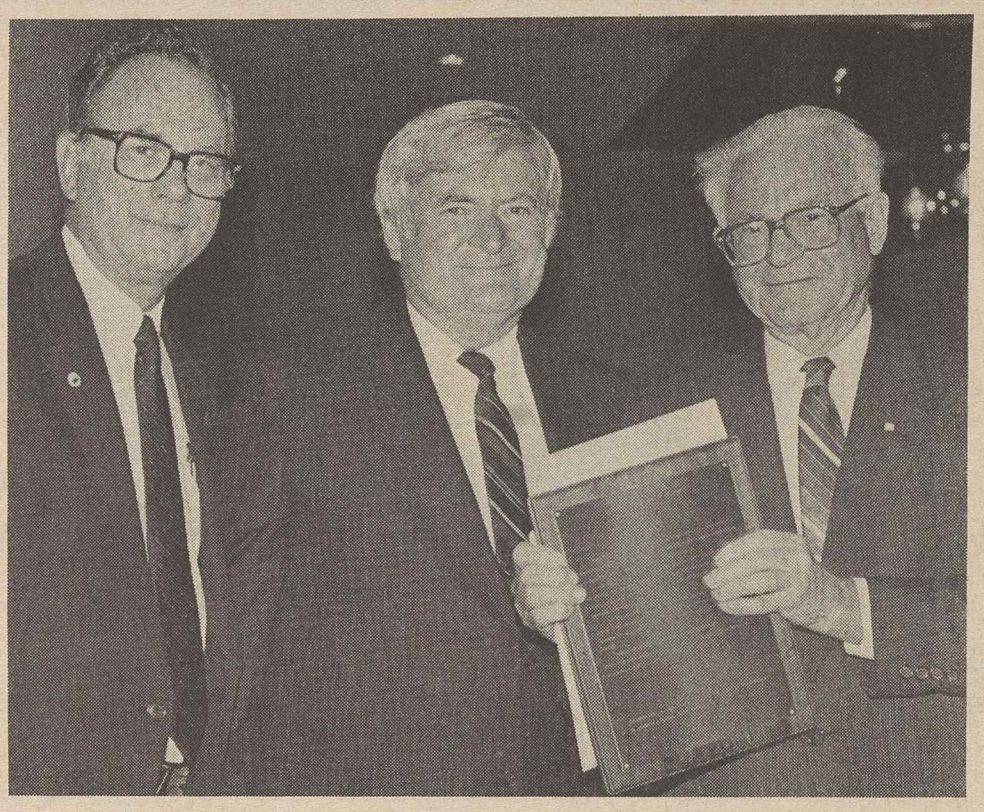
Sharing experiences

Community services representatives from eight cities addressed the conference, outlining programs and sharing common problems from Duluth, Minn. to Richmond, Va.

Other speakers included AFL-CIO Regional Directors Ed Collins and David Sickler; President Robert Harbrant of the Food & Allied Service Trades Dept.; President Robert G. Gibson, of the Illinois AFL-CIO; William R. Robertson, executive secretary-treasurer, Los Angeles County AFL-CIO; Robert Kortkamp, secretary-treasurer, St. Louis AFL-CIO; William Aramony, president, United Way; Ervin Oberschmidt, vice president, American Red Cross, and John S. Mrozek, the deputy mayor of Denver.

During the conference, a special presentation was made to CARE—the Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere honoring the organization's 40 years of service "to those who cannot care for themselves." In accepting the citation, CARE President Wallace J. Campbell thanked labor for its four decades of support, declaring that without the AFL and the CIO, "CARE probably wouldn't have come into being."

Special recognition was also given to the United Services Organization on its 45th anniversary. Michael E. Menster, executive vice president of the USO, praised the partnership with labor and thanked the trade union movement for "standing behind the USO during some lean years."



CARE President Wallace Campbell, right, received citation from AFL-CIO Community Services Director Frank Emig, left, and Regional Director Humphrey Donahue.

Kirkland reaffirms alliance with NAACP in rights effort

Baltimore, Md.—AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland vowed that the "long-standing, close and fruitful partnership" between labor and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will continue to hold the line against a Reagan Administration set to destroy affirmative action and make racial discrimination acceptable.

He pledged the federation's support for the civil rights organization in a message to the NAACP's 77th annual convention here.

"America's progress toward true equality for all races and both sexes has been brought to a halt by the Reagan Administration and its right-wing supporters," Kirkland charged.

"As long as the Reagan Administration remains in power, we have no choice but to concentrate on the defense of current anti-discrimination laws. We look forward, in the post-Reagan era, to resuming our unfinished task of creating a truly just society," he stated.

Kirkland reaffirmed the trade union movement's determination to defend the rights of workers around the world and thanked the NAACP for its support of the Shell Oil Co. boycott, organized by labor to draw attention to that company's tacit approval of apartheid in South Africa.

"As the struggle against South Africa's wicked system of apartheid nears an apparent climax, we must redouble our efforts to persuade our government and American businesses to shift their allegiance from the oppressors to the oppressed,"he said.

Kirkland made note of the "fundamental changes in American life" won by the civil rights and labor alliance and promised there would be "many more, here at home and around the world."

At the traditional labor luncheon, attended by more than 1,000 delegates, AFL-CIO Vice President William Wynn, president of the Food & Commercial Workers, credited the partnership between labor and the civil rights movement with opening "many doors . . . the doors to schoolhouses, the doors to voting booths and the doors to public offices."

"And we won't rest until we open the doors to freedom in South Africa as well," he insisted.

Wynn called on President Reagan to mark the Statue of Liberty's rededication by "disengaging from the policy of constructive engagement" and abandoning those policies that have "placed the United States on the side of wrong, on the side of slavery and on the side of exploitation."

Labor awards

The annual labor luncheon is sponsored by the NAACP's AdHoc Labor Committee, chaired by AFL-CIO Vice President Frederick O'Neal, president of the Actors & Artistes, and Auto Workers Vice President Marc Stepp.

William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the State, County & Municipal Employees, was presented with the Roy Wilkins Award by the NAACP's labor committee. The William E. Pollard award, named for the retired AFL-CIO civil rights director, was given to Frank Mont, civil rights director of the Steelworkers. Also honored were Tom Turner, president, Detroit AFL-CIO; Annie B. Martin, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers; Sebelle Turner, Novelty Workers; Irene Graves, Teachers, and Robert White of the unaffiliated Postal & Federal Employees.

AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director Richard Womack led workshop discussions on black unemployment and "the business of getting jobs," while other sessions focused on the housing, education, youth and economic development concerns of black Americans.

Benefits plan aids worker buying power

Continued from Page 1

The benefits corporation negotiated with Bank of New York in Newark, Del., and Affinity Group Marketing, Inc., and came up with what Denison called "the lowest-cost nationally distributed credit card" in the country.

Unions offering the card to their members can choose between a "true credit" arrangement, under which interest at a current rate of 13.5 percent commences at the time of purchase, or a "grace period" arrangement under which there is no interest charged if the full balance is paid within 25 days, and with a current 15.75-percent rate on any unpaid balance.

The credit cards are "uniquely tailored to union members," Denison said. They include a skip-payment option during a strike and customized cards which identify their union and thus impress on merchants the volume of business that comes from trade unionists.

Credit limits will range from $1,000 to $5,000. The bank will handle all credit reviews and the unions will not be involved in the decision on an individual member's creditworthiness.

The Service Employees, the first international to sign up for the credit card, will offer it to its members this month, Denison said. Fifteen other unions will follow suit and by the end of the year, 5 million members of AFL-CIO unions will be eligible to participate in the program.

Participating unions

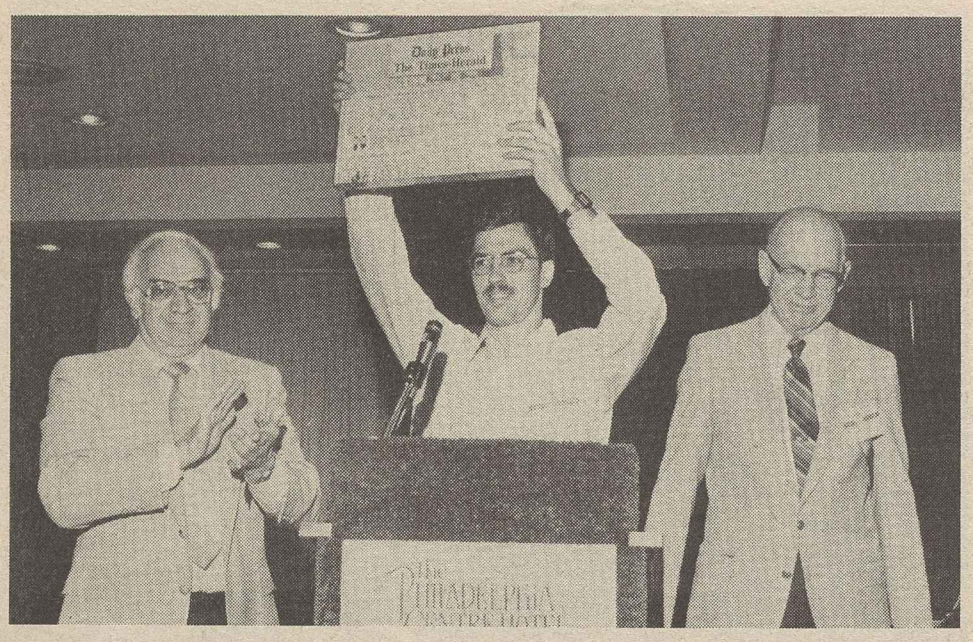
The officers of seven unions participating in the program attended the press conference. They included SEIU President John J. Sweeney, Communications Workers President Morton Bahr, Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch, Newspaper Guild President Charles Perlik Jr., Railway & Airline Clerks President Richard I. Kilroy, State, County & Municipal Employees President Gerald W. McEntee and Professional Athletes President Gene Upshaw.

Other unions that have signed up for the program include the Bricklayers, Flight Attendants, Fire Fighters, Machinists, Plasterers, Painters, Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees, Masters, Mates & Pilots and the Office & Professional Employees.

The legal services program will offer "high-quality assistance to union members," Denison said. It provides free initial consultation, free examination of legal documents, free follow-up and a 30 percent discount on further services.

The benefits corporation is assembling a panel of lawyers who currently service unions and will then make lists available to participating unions. Members will be able to obtain the names of Union Privilege Legal Services lawyers from their union.

The program will be supervised by the National Center for Consumers of Legal Services.



Bill Melton, president of Newspaper Guild local in Newport News, Va., banners first contract reached at Daily Press and Times-Herald papers after five years of bargaining. With Melton at Guild convention are TNG Sec.-Treas. Charles Dale, left, and International Chairperson Harry Culver.

CWA settlements achieve job security breakthrough

The Communications Workers ended a 26-day strike against AT&T after reaching tentative accord on a national pact and six unit contracts covering 155,000 members. The agreements, which provide a "quantum leap" in job security, are subject to a nationwide ratification vote that will be completed Aug. 4.

The final unit settlement, covering 36,000 workers at AT&T Information Systems, was reached June 26 following a nearly all-night session of bargaining. A day earlier, agreement was announced for the largest unit, the 76,000 employees at AT&T Communications. Tentative unit settlements with four other company units had been reached earlier.

The strike was prolonged by the complexity of combining 23 regional labor contracts from the former Bell System into a single agreement.

The CWA said the agreements "represent a major breakthrough in the telecommunications industry because of a far-reaching and innovative total employment security package and other gains which met the union's chief bargaining goal."

The national agreement, reached June 17, provides wage increases totaling 8 percent over three years, with workers to receive an immediate 2-percent boost, followed by 3 percent in each of the two remaining years. The union accepted the wage increase in lieu of cost-of-living adjustments.

Employment security was the major item, CWA President Morton Bahr said. Included in the security package for the first time was the right of laid-off workers to transfer to job vacancies in other divisions of the company.

Job-training plan

Cash and pension benefit increases won in the tentative settlement are aimed at encouraging early retirements. For other workers, there will be a jointly owned corporation financed by a $7-million annual fund to provide job training, retraining and counseling.

In helping the giant firm become more competitive in the deregulated telecommunications field, the union cushioned changes in job status for those workers who will become technicians' assistants, a new lower-paid job classification. Under the agreement, the rate of pay for those reclassified will descend slowly over a period of up to four years.

In exchange, a new higher classification of senior technician was established with pay 5 percent above the highest technician scale.

Additionally, the company agreed to limits on contracting out of work and to remain neutral in any organizing drives.

The Electrical Workers settled with AT&T for its 41,000 members on May 31, avoiding a strike. Its 31,000 members in AT&T manufacturing operations overwhelmingly ratified a contract with the company. The results of a mail ballot ratification vote by 10,000 IBEW members in telephone operations will be announced July 5.

'Baby Bell' talks

Meanwhile, CWA has begun bargaining with the seven regional Bell System operating companies, a mammoth task of trying to negotiate 48 contracts before the expiration of the current three-year agreement that expires Aug. 9. Negotiations with the "baby Bells," the first since the court-ordered break-up of the Bell System in 1984, cover 300,000.

The IBEW, which represents some 50,000 workers at the "baby Bells," reached tentative settlement with Illinois Bell Telephone Co., one of the five companies under Ameritech, one of the seven regional operating companies. The company and the union had moved the expiration date ahead to June 28. The new pact will expire July 1, 1989.

The accord with Illinois Bell, covering 12,739 IBEW members, provides for a general wage increase and a $400 lump-sum payment, totaling 2.5 percent, the first year, followed by 2 percent increases in 1987 and 1988. The COLA formula provides payments for annual inflation above 2 percent, up to 5.5 percent.

A new "success sharing plan," similar to one in effect for management, guarantees workers that beginning in February 1988, they will receive lump-sum payments ranging from 1 percent to 2 percent of salary based on a formula that considers return on equity and customer satisfaction.

Additionally, pension benefits for future retirees would be improved 4 percent in 1987 and 1989. Health care improvements include a program eliminating deductible costs.

Bargaining rights voted by Maryland county

Rockville, Md.—The Montgomery County Council approved legislation giving collective bargaining rights to 3,600 government workers represented by the Food & Commercial Workers.

They join local teachers, police officers and some other public employees who have had the same right for ten years.

Two years ago, 70 percent of the county's voters approved the collective bargaining concept in a nonbinding referendum.

Chance for a change

Newspaper Guild asks political involvement

Philadelphia—A change in the political climate that for more than five years has fostered attacks on the hard-won gains of working men and women and their unions is within reach in this fall's congressional elections, The Newspaper Guild declared, urging greater involvement by the union's U.S. locals and members.

Responding to a keynote appeal from TNG President Charles A. Perlik Jr., the Guild's 53rd annual convention pointed out that restoring the Democratic majority in the Senate and retaining it in the House could bring to a halt the successes of those who now are "chiseling away" at employee benefits and protections.

Under the Reagan Administration, "spurred by unceasing activity from ultra-right ideologues," the NLRB "has been transformed into an agency of the employers," OSHA has been crippled and "the objectives of the EEOC and the policies of affirmative action have been all but reversed," the convention said.

At the same time, it pointed out, "the Reagan Administration has evidenced an insatiable appetite for press bashing, has tried to emasculate the Freedom of Information Act and has attached other free speech and press freedoms."

In all of this and more, however, Reagan has "needed the help of a compliant Senate and a frightened House," Perlik noted. A gain of four seats in the Senate would both alter its complexion and "inject some badly needed iron into the veins of the House," he added.

A Senate "out from under Reagan's thumb" also can mean that Supreme Court appointments "will receive the kind of scrutiny so urgently needed," can prevent enactment of legislation "that would further cripple labor, if not open the door to reform" of the NLRB's "frustrating procedures," and "write finish" to efforts to amend the information act "into impotence," Perlik said.

Perlik pointed to preliminary results of a recently completed telephone poll of the Guild's membership showing that "those who thought it a good idea for us to support political candidates edged out those who didn't."

Legislation sought

He reminded delegates of the desirability of holding majorities in both houses of Congress when it is time for action on a proposal endorsed last year by the Guild, other publishing industry unions and the AFL-CIO that would limit the size of newspaper chains.

Enactment of the measure, expected to be introduced soon, will be a task of considerable magnitude in the face of publishers' legislative clout, Perlik noted. That clout was displayed most graphically when publishers persuaded Congress to "endow their joint operating agreements with both prospective and retroactive immunity from the antitrust laws" in 1970, he added.

In a separate action, the convention pointed out that newspapers' joint operations "invariably lead to job loss, diminished editorial quality, higher costs to the community and threats to smaller newspapers" as well as increased concentration of "economic and potential political power in the hands of a few newspaper chains."

The convention declared its wholehearted support for the Detroit Guild's challenge to a proposed joint operation by the Gannett chain's Detroit Free Press and the Knight-Ridder chain's Detroit News, called for a thorough investigation of the papers' finances before a Justice Dept. hearing, and pledged TNG's assistance and counsel to the local in opposing the proposal.

In other actions, the convention:

- Pledged the Guild's continuing support for those "struggling against the cruelties of apartheid" in South Africa, as well as for "those who have fallen victim to the efforts to draw a curtain over the tyrannical situation" there. It called on both the U.S. and Canadian governments to "impose full economic sanctions" against the South African regime.
- Urged continued efforts to assure the safety of employees operating video display terminals, including research on possible reproductive effects, shielding against all forms of emissions and enactment of regulatory legislation.
- Urged greater efforts to bargain employer support for child care, leaves for dependent care and associated measures such as job sharing, while also calling for legislation for publicly funded child care programs to provide affordable, quality, accessible, nonprofit services by trained persons earning reasonable wages and benefits.
- Declared the Guild's solidarity with the Graphic Communications Union and others seeking extension of the Manufacturing Clause of the U.S. Copyright Act beyond July 1 to prevent the export of thousands of printing jobs.
- Renewed the Guild's commitment to seek "merger with an appropriate union."

Job security guarantee extended in Xerox pact

Rochester, N.Y.—A guarantee that their jobs will be secure for at least the next three years, plus substantial lump-sum bonuses, highlighted a new contract for 3,500 members of the Clothing & Textile Workers at Xerox Corp.

Three years ago, the union agreed to a one-year pay freeze and only modest wage boosts in the second and third years in exchange for assurances that the jobs of all workers on the payroll would be protected. That assurance now is extended through 1989.

The new pact, ratified by a 4-to-1 margin, calls for an initial cash payment of $2,000, a second-year lump-sum payment equal to 6 percent of straight-time pay, and a 2-percent general wage increase in the third year. It also provides cost-of-living adjustments in the second and third years equal to one cent an hour for each increase of three-tenths of 1 percent in the Consumer Price Index.

ACTWU improved the profit-sharing plan so that workers will receive benefits when Xerox's return on assets reaches 18.5 percent, rather than 23.5 percent.

House panel clears immigration measure

The House Judiciary Committee broke a deadlock that has blocked action on immigration reform by adopting a compromise on the controversial issue of bringing in foreign nationals to harvest U.S. crops.

That paved the way for a 25-10 committee vote to clear the immigration bill for action by the full House.

The committee-approved bill, like the legislation the Senate passed last year, would penalize employers who hire undocumented aliens. Unions consider such sanctions essential to stemming the heavy flow of illegal immigration.

Other labor-supported provisions would legalize the status of aliens who came to the United States illegally before 1982, primarily by crossing the thinly patrolled 2,000-mile Mexican border, and prohibit job discrimination against aliens who are legal residents of the United States.

In terms of labor's position, the Senate-passed bill is fatally marred by a "guest-worker" program that would enable growers to import up to 350,000 foreign workers each year for up to nine months to pick, process and pack perishable agricultural products. The AFL-CIO branded the scheme a revival of the "bracero program" that after World War II enabled growers to contract for workers from Mexico in order to avoid paying fair wages to farm workers in this country.

Compromise backed

At congressional hearings, the AFL-CIO questioned the need for bringing any foreign workers into the United States to harvest crops. But it supported the House committee compromise as preferable to the Senate version and a means of reaching a consensus on immigration reform.

The compromise, put together in the Judiciary Committee by Representatives Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Howard L. Berman (D-Calif.), would grant permanent resident status to foreign nationals who have worked in U.S. agriculture for at least 60 days during the past year. Growers could replace a decreasing percentage of their foreign workers who leave for other jobs, and then only if the government certifies that a shortage of U.S. workers exists.

Despite Judiciary Committee approval, pertinent sections of the immigration bill must be scrutinized by the Agriculture Committee and the Education & Labor Committee before the legislation is brought to the House floor.

In the last Congress, the House added a labor-opposed "guestworker" amendment to a bill reported by the Judiciary Committee, but a House-Senate conference failed to resolve differences before adjournment.

EDITORIALS

Relighting the Torch

THE PROUDEST union members in America this Independence Day are those privileged to have worked on the restoration of the Statue of Liberty, the generous gift of the people of France 100 years ago.

A New York Times account refers to "fatigued but exultant crews" working through the night to meet "near impossible" deadlines. It reports that workers invested "not only muscle, but also heart and soul" in the three-year project.

An earlier AFL-CIO News feature found that the pride of the on-site construction workers was shared by production workers who cast copper sheeting and produced the tons of specialty steel products needed for the restoration.

Labor's special commitment was expressed in a resolution adopted at the 1985 AFL-CIO convention, supporting the nationwide fund-raising campaign. It termed the Statue of Liberty "a symbol of a nation built by working people of all races, creeds and nationalities, drawn to these shores in search of freedom and the opportunity for decent work."

Today's trade union movement was shaped in large part by these immigrants and their children, and by the hopes and vision they brought with them.

ON THE EVE of the relighting of Liberty's torch, the House Judiciary Committee reached a shaky but welcome consensus on immigration reform.

The legislation seeks to accommodate both the reality that today's economy cannot sustain a wide-open border and the need to free those who have established roots in this country from the fear of deportation and the intimidation of employers who prey on this fear.

The need for such legislation is testimony anew that America remains a beacon of hope for those looking for a better life.

Without belaboring the point, border control obviously has a different meaning in the Soviet Bloc. The Berlin Wall wasn't built to limit immigration.

Let's Make a Deal

THE WHITE HOUSE has avoided, temporarily, a clearly deserved Senate rejection of the nomination of Daniel A. Manion to a lifetime appointment as a federal appeals court judge, a position for which he is obviously unqualified.

It did so through some last-minute political deals that were demeaning to all parties involved and to the Senate as an institution. Those who traded their votes for favors made no pretense that principle was at stake.

Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.) acknowledged frankly that he had switched from opposition to support of the Manion nomination after the White House agreed to accept his choice for a judgeship in Washington state. Sen. Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.) was another convert who voted for Manion only after the White House dropped its objections to a judicial recommendation he had made.

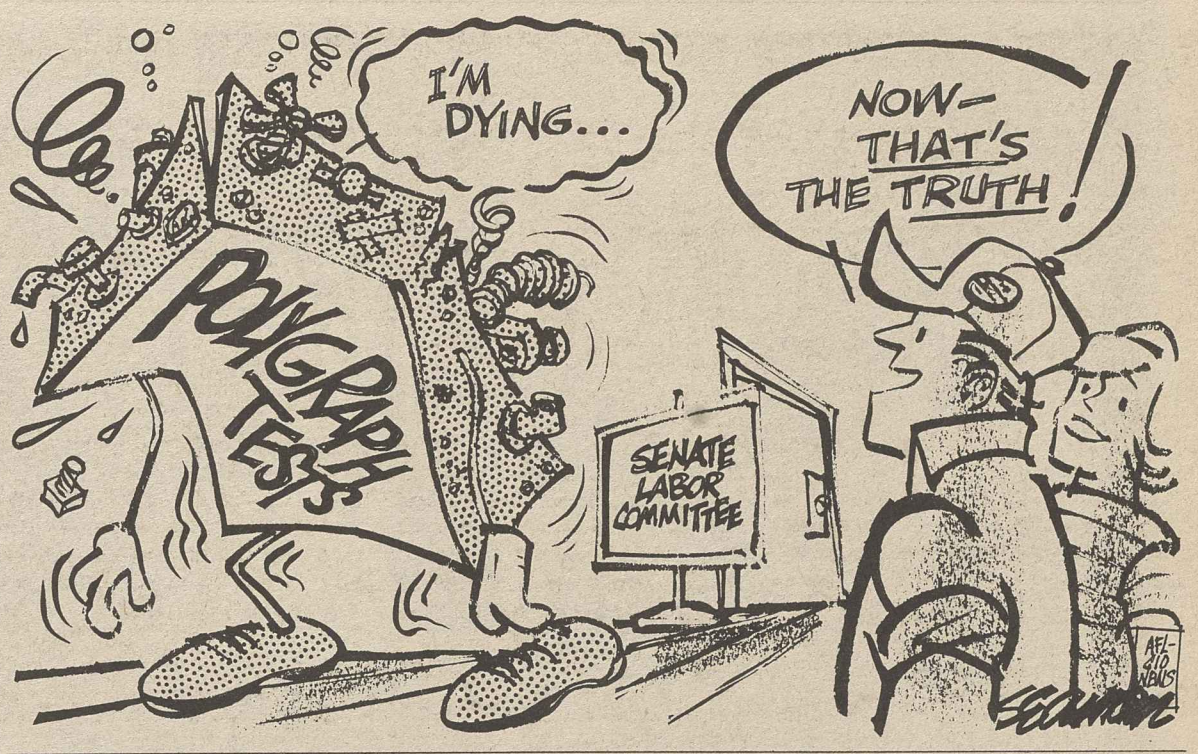
Even that wasn't quite enough. So Sen. Paula Hawkins (R-Fla.) was persuaded to withdraw her vote against Manion to balance off the absence of Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.). But then it turned out that Goldwater hadn't intended to vote for Manion.

ONLY A hasty parliamentary maneuver by Senate Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd prevented the Manion nomination from being steamrollered through with the help of a tie-breaking vote by Vice President Bush.

Cynics predict that the Administration will make other deals for senators to switch votes in return for favors. That, clearly, is the only way such an unpalatable nomination can be confirmed when Congress returns from its holiday recess.

The Senate as an institution, not just those who are willing to trade off their conscience, will be the loser if it abandons its constitutional responsibility to advise and consent.

As the President has demonstrated on some other occasions, it is possible to find conservatives who are clearly qualified for high judicial office. Surely our judicial system deserves better than the scrapings from the bottom of the barrel.



Washington Window

Poverty blights retirement for many elderly women

By Press Associates Inc.

This past Mother's Day, Americans mailed 140 million greeting cards and spent millions of dollars on candy, flowers and long distance calls to let their mothers know they care.

On Capitol Hill, meanwhile, a 1986 Mother's Day Report on the Status of Midlife and Older Women was issued by the Older Women's League, or OWL. The organization was formed in 1980 after a White House conference on the nation's older women.

The report paints a very different picture from such stereotypes as the retired couple living graciously in a Florida condominium; the wealthy widow living off stock dividends, or the elderly matron thriving on a fat pension or on generous social security and Medicare benefits.

While many elderly and middle-age women are financially secure and others are wealthy, as a group they are among the poorest in the nation, said the report, based on government statistics and research organization findings.

Lower wages and benefits

The reasons, the report said, include private pension and social security systems not geared to women's discontinous employment patterns; sex discrimination, which means lower wages and pension income; a Medicare and private health care reimbursement system that fails to account for chronic health problems and the need for long-term care; the earnings impact of women's caregiving for elderly parents and husbands, and cuts in federal entitlements and other programs that women depend on more than men.

The report findings, based on 1984 data, include:

- Of the 3.3 million Americans over age 64 living below the poverty line, 2.4 million—about 70 percent—were women.
- More than 43 percent of men over 64, but only 20 percent of women, received private pensions to supplement their social security benefits.
- Median income for men over 64 was $10,450 while for women it was $6,020.
- For those on pensions, the median monthly pension income was $484 for men and $233 for women.
- Of the 2.2 million people providing unpaid home care to 1.2 million frail elderly, 72 percent were women.
- Of 8 million elderly who lived alone, 6.4 million—about 80 percent—were women.
- Nearly 4 million women aged 45-65 had no basic health insurance coverage. Among divorced women, 40 percent had no coverage, and 27 percent of widows not in the labor force had no coverage.
- Medicare paid less than half the health care costs of elderly married couples and little more than a third of the costs of elderly single women.
- The elderly hold fewer financial assets than many believe. The median assets of households with heads over 64 was about $11,000, excluding home equity.

"Too often, elderly women are alone and struggling to survive on minimum social security without pensions or other assets to supplement their income," OWL President Lou Glasse told reporters. "Millions of midlife women are heading for the same bleak future," she added.

Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio) said "Congress should give the mothers of the country the best gift of all—economic security."

Oakar has introduced several bills to improve the lot of older women and the elderly as a whole. One bill would provide equal earnings sharing in the social security system in the recognition that marriage is an economic partnership whether a spouse works inside or outside the home. Divorced and widowed spouses would be protected under this proposal.

OWL also has proposed to increase Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits for the disabled and aged poor, to enact pending legislation to ensure wider pension coverage, to advance programs for child and dependent adult care, to strongly enforce sex discrimination laws and move toward pay equity and to increase options for care of frail elders.

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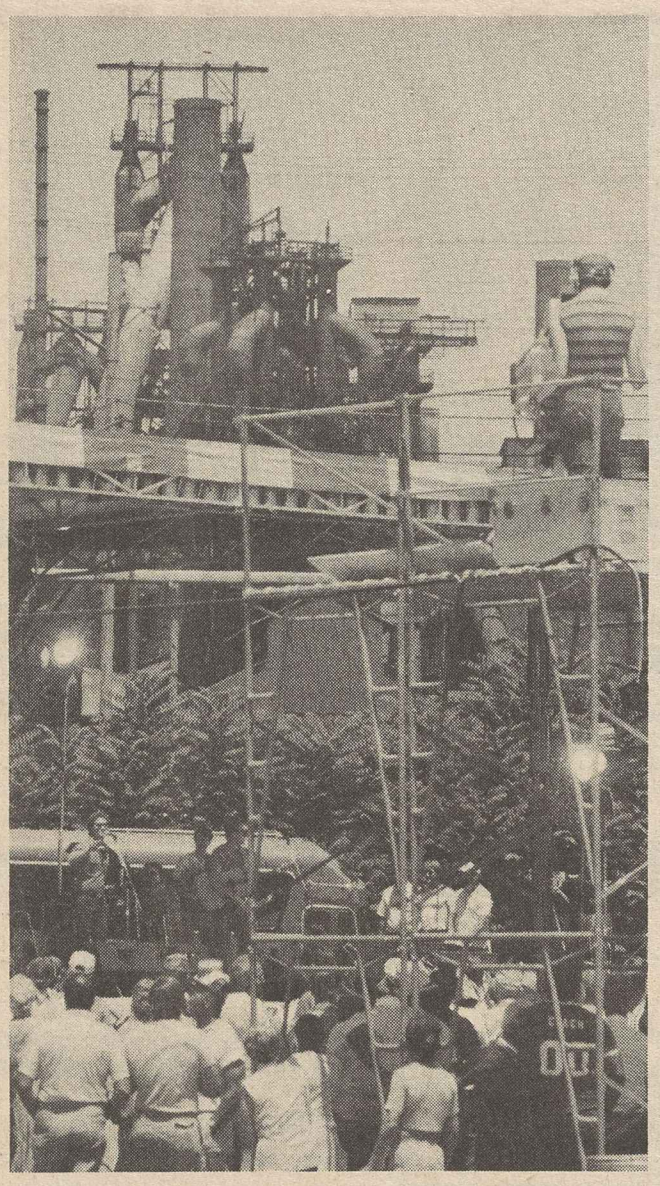

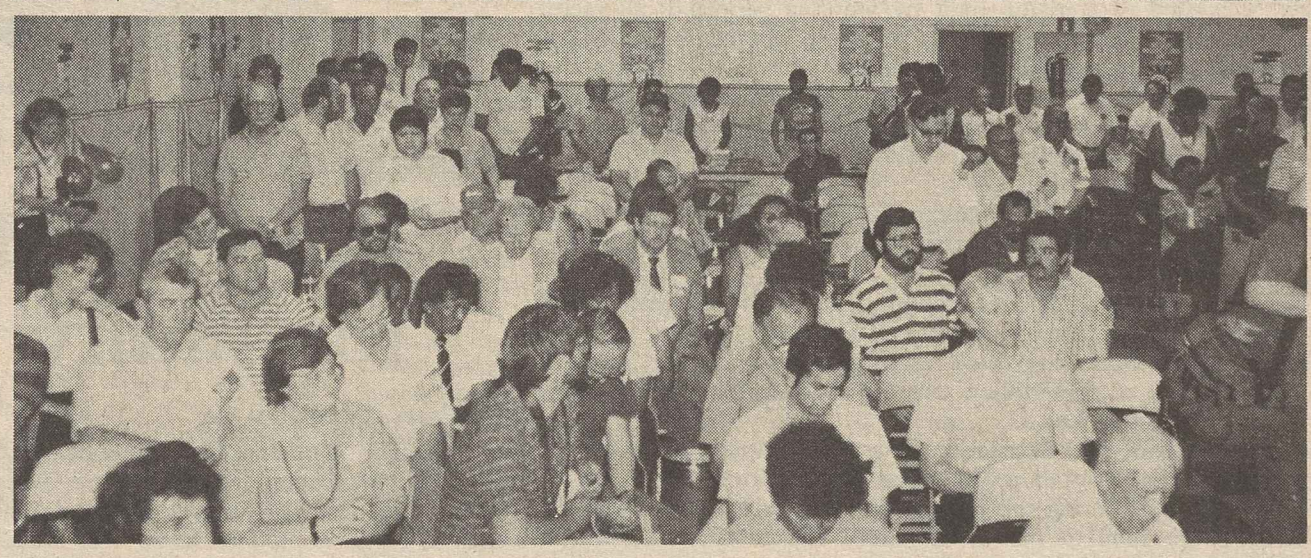

Save American jobs, industry

From the idled hulk of a steel mill in Aliquippa, Pa., where the Gatlin Brothers sang (left), to the rotunda of the Minnesota state capitol in St. Paul where Gov. Rudy Perpich spoke (top), to a union hall in East Chicago, the message was the plain and simple truth—imports cost American jobs. It was well understood by laid-off steelworkers, by unemployed textile workers, by governors, local officials and social service workers. But to get the ear of the Reagan Administration to hear the demand for a cohesive national trade policy, the Steelworkers and five major steel companies sponsored a nationwide Save American Industry & Jobs Day on June 21. In 55 cities linked by television satellite, thousands of union members were joined by local, state and national officials in focusing public attention on an import problem that plagues many U.S. industries. The USWA teleconference also helped focus attention on the upcoming Aug. 6 congressional vote to override President Reagan's veto of trade legislation that is aimed at easing the crush of textile, shoe and apparel imports that have devastated those industries.

New surge in trade deficit bolsters bill on import curbs

Continued from Page 1

world is buying more agricultural commodities than it is selling."

May's $348.7-million trade deficit in agricultural products—a sharp turnaround from the days when American farmers dominated world markets—led Dole to send this blunt warning to President Reagan:

"If nothing is done to increase agricultural exports within the next two or three months, I expect pressures could build up to such a level in Congress that some legislative action will be taken."

Dole was joined not only by senators from his own side of the aisle but also by Minority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.), who declared that "the Administration may believe that a deficit in agricultural trade is acceptable, but I am sure that American farmers, suffering from a neglected farm policy, do not."

What faces the Republican-dominated Senate when it returns from vacation is the trade bill that passed the House by an apparent veto-proof margin. It would crack down on unfair trade practices, including exploitation of workers by companies operating overseas, and would give the President a range of options for dealing with countries that flood the American market with goods, deny U.S. firms access to their consumers and wind up with consistently large surpluses in their trade balance.

Misplaced optimism

Although the White House continued to paint a rosy picture about how the trade deficit would turn down dramatically later this year, its optimism wasn't shared by the business community.

"The lousy trade numbers mean it is highly unlikely that we will get any relief on the trade front this year," said Jerry Jasinowski, chief economist for the National Association of Manufacturers. "It puts a dark cloud over forecasts for an economic rebound."

The 30-percent decline in the value of the U.S. dollar over the past 18 months, according to the Administration's scenario, was going to make American products less expensive overseas and increase the price of foreign goods here. But it hasn't worked out that way.

The May trade figures showed that overall, U.S. sales overseas declined while foreign goods continued to pour into this country. "Foreign competitors are holding onto the U.S. market at all costs," Jasinowski said.

At the same time, other economists blamed the lack of overseas markets for U.S.-made goods on a sluggish world economy. "There's nobody to sell to," said David Wyss, chief economist for Data Resources Inc., of Lexington, Mass.

Widening deficits

The extent of the problem was evident in the fact that the deficit with Japan widened to $4.99 billion in May from April's $4.7 billion. The deficit with Canada swelled to $2.18 billion from $1.8 billion, while that with Taiwan was $1.2 billion, up $200 million from the previous month.

The figures on the growing deficit with Canada came as the U.S. International Trade Commission ruled that there is a "reasonable indication" that Canadian softwood lumber imports pose an economic threat to the American lumber industry.

The ITC ruling clears the way for the Commerce Dept. to determine whether the exports are unfairly subsidized by provincial governments, as U.S. lumber manufacturers and unions contend, and what duties should be imposed to stem unfair competition.

In a related economic development, orders for "big-ticket" durable goods rose four-tenths of 1 percent in May, the Commerce Dept. said. It was the first increase since January, but all the strength in demand was triggered by orders for defense equipment, which surged 36.2 percent above the April level.

Excluding the defense category, new orders for durable goods actually fell a sharp 2 percent in May, indicating a continued sluggishness in the manufacturing sector.

Limping along

The American economy continued to limp along in May as the government's main gauge of future economic activity rose an anemic two-tenths of 1 percent, substantially below the pace of the last three months.

The slight upward movement of the leading indicators followed increases of 1.3 percent in April, six-tenths of 1 percent in March and 1 percent in February.

Much of the gains in the economic indicators in recent months has been concentrated in the financial sector, paced by Wall Street's raging bull market, while barometers of actual production have remained sluggish.

The figures dashed cold water on Reagan Administration predictions that the economy would grow at a 4-percent rate this year. Economists now express doubts that growth will be much different than last year's weak 2.2-percent performance.

Flight Attendants gain Midway Airlines unit

Flight attendants at Midway Airlines' southern division, formerly Air Florida, voted 124-2 for representation by the Association of Flight Attendants. The two votes were for the workers' former union, the unaffiliated Air Florida Flight Attendants Association.

The election was certified by the National Mediation Board. The balloting followed a similar election last month by Midway's northern division flight attendants. AFA received 103 votes from 216 eligible workers and has challenged the outcome, charging Midway with intimidating workers during the campaign.

AFA President Linda A. Puchala said a merger is pending between Midway's two divisions. "The flight attendants are understandably concerned; they feel they need a union and they chose AFA," she said. If that merger occurs, the union will file for another election.

Ohio convention mobilizes unions for election push

Cleveland—Political action held the spotlight here as 1,000 delegates to the Ohio AFL-CIO's 15th biennial convention geared up for the November elections.

In the COPE meeting that marked the final session of the three-day convention, delegates voted overwhelmingly to endorse incumbents Sen. John Glenn, Gov. Richard Celeste, Supreme Court Chief Justice Frank Celebrezze and the rest of the Democratic slate.

The action came after AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue and COPE Director John Perkins told delegates that state federations are strong only when unions work together on political and legislative agendas and when they forge community-based coalitions to achieve labor's social and economic goals.

Celebrezze, target of a big business drive to deny him another term on the bench, warned it is up to labor to insure that the court remains progressive and gives workers fair treatment.

For a century, he reminded delegates, "corporations have never been challenged in the courts; now workers have an opportunity to have their grievances heard."

Celeste, seeking his second term in the governor's mansion, presented the four-year record of his administration, which included passage of legislation giving Ohio's 500,000 public employees the right to join unions and bargain collectively.

Delegates re-elected Milan Marsh to his fourth term as president and elected John Hodges of the Steelworkers as secretary-treasurer to succeed Warren J. Smith, who served in that post since 1967. Hodges is a subdistrict director for the USWA and is president of the Columbus-Franklin County AFL-CIO.

Labor's drive to ease the menace posed by imports was emphasized by USWA President Lynn R. Williams and Sec.-Treas. Jack Sheinkman of the Clothing & Textile Workers. Both officials stressed the need for legislation cracking down on countries whose trade policies are detrimental to American jobs.

AFL-CIO news

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Philadelphia sit-down

Members of State, County & Municipal Employees on strike since July 1, picket a Philadelphia municipal building. Two AFSCME district councils representing 14,000 city employees are pressing for improvements in wages, health care and pension contributions, along with an end to contracting out of bargaining unit work. (Story on Page 5.)

High court shifts budget decisions back to Congress

By David L. Perlman

The AFL-CIO welcomed the Supreme Court's ruling that the automatic enforcement procedure of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act is constitutionally flawed and said it is now up to Congress to make the hard choices about budget priorities and deficit reduction.

The court's 7-2 decision left the deficit reduction timetable intact, including the goal of a balanced budget by 1991.

But its enforcement, through the sequestering of funds, must now be triggered by a resolution passed by Congress and signed by the President. The law, written in anticipation of a constitutional challenge, spells out the procedures Congress must follow to carry out the functions it had tried to delegate.

The Supreme Court held that it was a violation of the constitutional separation of powers for the comptroller general, an agent of Congress, to perform the executive branch function of administering a law.

That's what the AFL-CIO and its federal-sector unions had contended in a brief supporting the constitutional challenge raised initially by Rep. Mike Synar (D-Okla.) and 11 other House members.

In its statement welcoming the Supreme Court decision, the AFL-CIO expressed its opposition to "any attempt by Congress to find a new means of defaulting on its responsibilities."

Two authors of the deficit reduction law, Republican Senators Phil Gramm (Tex.) and Warren Rudman (N.H.), have suggested that Congress could bypass the constitutional obstacle by loosening its control over the comptroller general and the General Accounting Office which he heads.

Opposing such tactics, the AFL-CIO stressed that the "fundamental failing" of the Gramm-Rudman law, apart from the constitutional issue, is that it abdicates congressional responsibility to establish budget priorities.

New deadlines

In practical terms, the Supreme Court ruling brings Congress up against two deadlines.

It must now reconsider the 4.3-percent spending cut imposed last April in the first application of the deficit reduction procedure. Technically, the cut is invalidated by the Supreme Court ruling, but the court allowed 60 days for Congress to remedy the constitutional fault by enacting legislation to achieve the same purpose.

Anticipating the constitutional challenge, Congress wrote a "fallback" into the deficit reduction law. That provision of the law, which now goes into effect, sets up a special joint committee to receive and act on revenue and spending estimates submitted

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Stagnant job conditions stunt economic growth

By Gene Zack

Unemployment dipped two-tenths of 1 percent in June—a decline that the AFL-CIO termed "not enough improvement to be encouraging."

Lagging employment opportunities, Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald declared, are part of a bleak overall picture. "The index of economic indicators is weak, manufacturing orders are soft and our trade deficit is going through the ceiling," he said.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics said the jobless figure last month moved back down to April's 7.1-percent mark as more jobs in the service industry cancelled out continued employment declines in the import-assaulted industrial sector and the price-battered oil and gas industry.

The government reported 8.4 million unemployed, another 1.1 million discouraged workers who have quit looking for jobs that aren't there, and 5.5 million forced to work part-time because they can't find full-time employment. That adds up to 15 million affected by full or partial unemployment.

"For 25 months," Oswald declared, "the stagnant U.S. economy has had what America used to call recession-level unemployment"—joblessness at, or above, the 7-percent mark.

During that period, he noted, "the nation has failed to address such specific problems as the trade deficit, youth unemployment and displaced workers."

Aggravating the situation further, Oswald pointed out, is that nearly 6 million of the 8.4 million Americans officially listed as out of work "have no unemployment benefits of any kind."

Over the past year, the federation declared, the manufacturing sector has lost 146,000 jobs and there are 167,000 fewer workers employed in mining and oil production.

There was a continued shift from higher-paying industrial jobs to lower-paying work in the service industry since June 1985. In that period, employment rose nearly 1.2 million in service trades, 628,000 in retailing and 336,000 in finance and insurance. The year also saw 275,000 more jobs added in the construction industry and 355,000 in government.

Growth claims doubted

Although the White House hailed the figures as "more good news" for the economy, most analysts disagreed. They predicted that economic growth will not accelerate sufficiently during the rest of the year to drive the jobless rate down significantly—if at all.

Martin Mauro, senior economist at Merrill Lynch Economics, said, "We see very little change, perhaps a slight increase in unemployment because economic growth won't be strong enough to absorb the new workers in the labor force."

The jobless rate for adult men last month stood at 6.2 percent, a two-tenths of 1 percent decline. For adult women, the rate was 6.4 percent, down one-tenth of 1 percent. For black workers, the rate went

Continued on Page 3

NLRB sides with employers on hiring scabs in lockouts

Employers are legally free to lock out union workers when their contract expires and to hire scabs as "temporary" replacements, the National Labor Relations Board ruled.

The precedent-setting 3-1 decision continued the sharp tilt by the Reagan-appointed board towards the employer position, and foreshadowed more of the same. The lone dissenter, Patricia Diaz Dennis, recently was appointed to the Federal Communications Commission and has left the NLRB.

The case involved a New Jersey equipment maintenance firm that locked out its workers after Local 825 of the Operating Engineers wouldn't agree to a pay cut and other givebacks. The company refused the union's offer to extend the contract and continue negotiating.

When the firm, Herter Equipment, hired what it termed "temporary replacements" for the locked-out workers, the union filed unfair labor practice charges.

After an administrative law judge ruled in favor of the employer, the labor board heard oral arguments last September in which both the AFL-CIO and the Chamber of Commerce participated.

At issue was whether the NLRB would give a much broader interpretation than union attorneys considered warranted to Supreme Court decisions involving the right of employers to use their economic strength to resist a union's position.

The conclusion of NLRB Chairman Donald L. Dotson and members Marshall B. Babson and Wilford W. Johansen is that it's not an unfair labor practice for an employer to hire lower-paid temporary replacements for the workers he locked out

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Kirkland protests Chile repression

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland strongly condemned the government of Chile for its "brutal repression" of a two-day nationwide strike that left at least five people dead at the hands of police and the military.

The general strike was called by the Assembly of Civility—a coalition of labor, professional, student and other groups—in an effort to persuade military leaders to open negotiations aimed at replacing the dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet with a democratic government.

In a cable to Pinochet, Kirkland underscored the federation's full support for Chile's "democratic trade union movement" and its efforts to "restore freedom and democracy" in a country that has lived under an iron-fisted military rule for nearly 13 years.

Kirkland told Pinochet that American labor "joins in solidarity with all Chilean democratic institutions seeking constitutional reform leading to free elections."

500 strikers detained

In addition to the killings—four in Santiago and one in Valparaiso—government forces fired tear gas at protestors in a downtown Santiago plaza, and soldiers tried to break up gatherings elsewhere throughout the country. More than 500 strikers were detained by police and soldiers.

Copper Workers President Rodolfo Seguel said that more than 60 percent of the workers in Santiago alone remained off the job, tying up public transportation and bringing truck shipments throughout the country to a virtual halt.

Seguel, whose union is affiliated with the Confederation of Democratic Workers (CDT), said he was "truly satisfied with the response" from trade unionists to the call for a general strike.

The government reacted to the widespread expression of dissatisfaction with Pinochet's regime by bringing charges of "inciting acts of violence, attacks on the armed forces and continuous calls to disobey the government" against the protest leaders.

Riot police later attacked mourners at a funeral for a youth killed by the militia.

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7/12/86

Hidden agenda of right to work

Priority on smashing unions

By Karin Chenoweth

This series of articles is reprinted from a study sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy. Copies of the full report are available for $2 each from the LID, 181 Hudson St., Suite 3A, New York, N.Y. 10013. The author, Karin Chenoweth, is a Washington area journalist.

The National Right to Work Committee proclaims itself over and over again as a single-issue organization. That single issue, it says, is "compulsory unionism."

With this claim, Committee President Reed Larson and other spokesmen are able to pose as friends of the worker. They say they are against any employer who tries to force a worker to join a union (although they have launched no campaign against this phenomenon) and they claim to represent no business interests. Thus, when committee aide Susan Staub was asked why, if the compulsion of workers was so important, the committee did nothing to help those workers found in virtual slavery on southern farms, she replied, "It's not in the committee's charter."

The "single-issue" focus allows the committee to say that unions are good in the abstract, without having to support unions—because virtually all unions want union security arrangements. When asked if there were any

Third in a Series

unions she could support, Staub could name only one—a small independent union of school maintenance workers in Connecticut headed by a supporter of the committee.

In other words, the committee supports only those unions that are weak and ineffectual.

As discussed before, however, unions have long felt that union security arrangements are necessary in order to fulfill the obligation to represent every eligible employee.

The committee's answer is to advocate the elimination of exclusive bargaining, that is, the rule that only one union may represent the same kind of workers at any given worksite. But here the unions are caught between two undesirable alternatives. Doing away with exclusive bargaining rules could lead to two or more unions representing the same set of workers and the employer trying to subvert them all by offering benefits to a "friendly" union that it doesn't offer to the others. That would lead to chaos in collective bargaining, which could be disastrous for American unions.

That is not to say it cannot be done. France and Italy have such a system, as do other European countries. But their trade union history differs significantly from ours. Workers tend to join the union most closely associated with their political philosophy, and unions runs the full gamut from conservative to liberal to socialist to communist. Their system is both a result of and a contributor to a much more divided society than America's, despite its diversity and heterogeneity.

If the U.S. abandoned exclusive bargaining as the preferred policy, it would radically transform the character of the labor movement, with the probable result that unions would become less unified and more fractional, and would continually be pinned down in jurisdictional battles over which union would represent which part of which workplace.

The committee's argument is that this would permit competition for workers' loyalties that would promote a vigorous trade union movement. In fact, such policies would most likely lead to less responsible unions. In order to attract more workers, unions would be tempted to make extravagant demands at the bargaining table—and adopt a militant posture to make them stick.

Another argument by committee spokesmen is that once a union is elected and workers must join or pay dues, they cannot effectively oppose union policies. Since they cannot withhold their dues they are forced to support union policies financially even if they do not agree with them.

However, workers who disagree with union representation have several options. One of the basic features of the American trade union movement is its democratic decision-making structure. It would be impossible for an organization on which the members' material future depended to function if, on every decision, dissident members could resign or withhold their dues at will. But a disaffected worker has the opportunity to try to convince a majority of his colleagues and change the direction of the union—either elect new leaders or, in an extreme case, vote the union out altogether.

To discuss the RTW Committee's stated philosophy, however, is not to accept that its words bespeak its real objectives. If this were the case, the committee would press continually for right-to-work laws in every state and possibly try for a national right-to-work law.

But that is not what the committee does.

Soon after Reed Larson took control of the committee in 1958 it abandoned its emphasis on right-to-work laws. Part of the reason for this change in strategy was the unimpressive showing the committee had made in state right-to-work campaigns. Since the formation of the committee, a net gain of only three right-to-work states could be counted; some states, such as Indiana, had rescinded their right-to-work laws. An attempt in 1978 to pass a right-to-work law in Missouri appears to have been initiated by a state committee despite the opposition of the national committee. The results, for the committee, were disastrous. After protracted debate, the people of Missouri defeated the proposed law in a referendum by a decisive 600,000 votes.

Given its failure to expand the number of right-to-work states, the committee shifted its concentration to national labor issues. It still works occasionally on the state level, but not as it once did. The committee mainly lobbies on the national level against bills supported by labor unions and for bills that would weaken unions.

One of the committee's most important campaigns in recent years could almost be called frivolous, except that it has provided a platform for the committee's most outrageous statements about unions and their leaders. That campaign is to amend the Hobbs Act. It has occupied much of the committee's time and resources and has been the basis for much of its fundraising.

History of Hobbs Act

The Hobbs Act was passed in the 1940s to give federal law enforcement officials a way to prosecute racketeers. Among other things it made violence or threat of violence connected with what were called "illegitimate demands" a federal crime. Illegitimate demands include demands for kickbacks, protection money, pay for no-show workers, and other abuses.

In 1973, the Supreme Court ruled the term "illegitimate demands" should be interpreted in the narrow way described above and that the law could not be used in case of an ordinary strike. The ruling was in the case often referred to as Enmons, which involved some workers who had shot two electric transformers with rifles during a strike. The Justice Dept. had tried to prosecute the workers under the Hobbs Act, but the Supreme Court ruled that as long as the strike was not connected to racketeering, the Hobbs Act did not apply.

Of course, almost all violent crimes fall under the jurisdiction of the states, not the federal government. That is a basic feature of our federal system. But the committee, apparently wishing to bring the federal government's interference into state and local matters, wants to amend the Hobbs Act to bring union members' actions under federal jurisdiction. It has used the Enmons decision in a deceptive way to attack unions, actually saying that union members and officials are immune from prosecution if they break the law.

For example, accompanying a March 1983 fund appeal letter for the foundation was a one-page excerpt of the decision, across which were written such comments as:

"This means that the Union Bosses can bomb, vandalize, even murder on Union Business and still avoid federal prosecution!

"Now the Enmons decision is a legal precedent Union Bosses can use to get away with any crime.

"Thanks to this decision, Union Bosses can avoid federal prosecution for almost any crime in the book."

The fact is that everyone can "avoid federal prosecution for almost any crime in the book," if crime is defined as those acts people most fear—assault, battery, destruction of property, and murder. That is why the campaign to amend the Hobbs Act seems almost frivolous, except that it provides a platform for the committee to parade victims of violence before the public, in order to propagate the idea that to become involved with a union is to risk violence and injury. Of course, the committee is not interested in having the federal government prosecute violent crimes committed by employers.

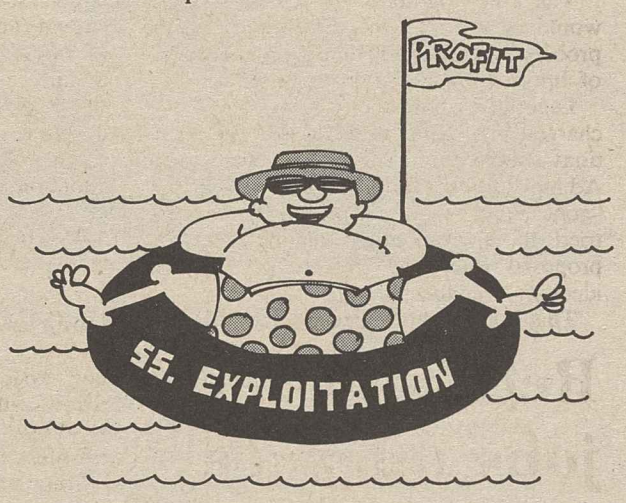
The committee places advertisements in magazines, and publishes a "Violence Task Force Report." It also provided information for a Readers' Digest article in 1981 about union violence, "We'll Get Those Scabs."

Some of these stories are true, or at least have a kernel of truth in them. However, when violence does occur, it is about as often instigated by anti-union employees or by management as it is by union workers. One example is illuminating.

In 1971, employees of the Great Coastal Express Inc. went on strike. During the strike, one of the company's trucks was burned, bricks were thrown, and tires were punctured. A leader of the union, the Teamsters, was found guilty of the crime. That incident seemed tailor-made for the committee, which cited it in its literature.

The committee did not retract its charges when, 10 years later, a judge found that the union official had been wrongfully convicted on the perjured statement of a supervisory employee. The union official had been framed by the employer and an accomplice, who had arranged to burn the truck, to gain public sympathy.

It should be noted that labor-related violence is not commonplace in this country. To begin with, there are relatively few strikes. Almost 2,000 labor contracts covering 1,000 or more workers each are administered every year, and in 1983 only eight-tenths of 1 percent of working time was lost because of strikes. Most strikes are resolved quickly, and usually involve no more violence than shouting and arm waving. When there is real violence, it is sometimes traceable to employers, as in the Great Coastal Express case.



But the committee continues to repeat that union violence is growing, and even quotes what it calls "government figures" to "prove" union violence has become the country's number one problem.

That, too, is false. When asked to cite their government figures, committee spokesmen point to a study by the Dept. of the Treasury's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms on violent incidents where explosives were used. The study was cited in the aforementioned Readers' Digest article, which said, "The U.S. Treasury Dept.'s Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms reports that labor-related violence has replace political terrorism as the number one cause of property damage from explosives in this country. No section of the nation remains untouched by the wave of lawlessness."

No major problem

In fact, the Bureau reports no such thing. According to the Bureau's 1980 figures, 18 out of 922 bombing incidents were labor-related—a distant fifth in the reasons for property damage—and out of 368 incendiary bombing incidents, only 10 were labor-related. By 1982, the labor-related category had dropped even further to sixth place for bombings (21 out of 805 incidents) and fourth for incendiary bombings (15 out of 329 incidents). Almost all the bombings and incendiary fire-bombings were committed for revenge, vandalism and protest—and many for unknown reasons. A spokesman said the bureau does not consider labor-related bombings to be a major problem.

As an aside, the Bureau defines "labor-related" incidents as acts perpetrated "by management, organized labor, or others attempting to discredit, intimidate or embarrass either group relating to labor issues such as strikes, job actions, lockouts, etc." In other words, "labor-related" does not necessarily mean committed by a labor union.

Another pseudo-fact trotted out by the committee is that "top officials in the U.S. Justice Dept. have said publicly that 'organized crime in (organized) labor is probably the most serious problem in the criminal field. It overrides everything else.' "

That allegation was never made by a top official of the Justice Dept. The closest one can come to a source for the committee's statement is that, during 1978 hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, Sen. Sam Nunn said: "Concerns have also surfaced in the news media; for example, a Justice Dept. prosecutor was recently quoted as saying that 'organized crime in labor is probably the most serious problem in the criminal field.' "

But Kurt W. Muellenberg, head of the Justice Dept.'s Organized Crime Racketeering Section in 1978, has said that he never made or authorized that statement. Former Attorneys General Griffin Bell and Benjamin Civiletti also deny making or authorizing such a statement.

NIOSH office closings to curb needed services

The decision of the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health to close seven of its 10 regional offices on Oct. 1 will reduce the agency's ability to provide workplace health hazard evaluations and other services, the AFL-CIO warned.

NIOSH plans to close its offices in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Kansas City, Dallas, San Francisco and Seattle. Only the regional offices in Boston, Denver and Atlanta will remain open.

Margaret Seminario, associate director of the Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, said that the decision represents a further cut in the agency's effectiveness. She stressed that funding cutbacks under the Reagan Administration, coupled with the agency's move from Washington to Atlanta, have reduced its viability.

"We believe the regional offices perform useful functions, including providing health hazard evaluations in the workplace and in maintaining a presence in the region," Seminario said.

The regional professional staff have often worked with state health departments in occupational disease and health surveillance and have participated in numerous regional conferences. These functions will certainly be affected by the closures, Seminario said.

New OMB procedure fails to address issue of regulatory delays

The Reagan Administration and critics in Congress reached a compromise on new procedures opening to public scrutiny the rule-making decisions of the Office of Management & Budget.

The AFL-CIO called the action "little more than window dressing," because it leaves the public in the dark until after the fact and "fails to come to grips with the basic problem" of OMB interference with federal agencies charged with setting standards for workers' health and safety.

The best solution, the federation said, would be to take away OMB's role in the process by cutting off funding for its Office of Information & Regulatory Affairs.

Legislative Director Robert McGlotten charged in a letter to a House Appropriations subcommittee that, since the Reagan Administration took office, OMB has "gone far beyond" its authority and has tried to block new regulations, weaken proposed rules and impose its "political ideology" on the process.

This intervention, McGlotten declared, takes place "behind closed doors" and occurs without any "accountability to Congress or other interested parties."

Bert Seidman, director of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, criticized OMB for its "dangerous and dilatory tactics" in holding up the few regulations proposed in recent years by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration on toxic exposure limits for asbestos, formaldehyde and grain dust.

The Budget Office's "irresponsible and unconscionable actions have actually caused the deaths of a considerable number of workers and injury and illness for countless more," Seidman charged. Not only did OMB delay the issuance of standards, he declared, but when it finally permitted some rules to be issued "it forced the adoption of weakening changes."

Lacking competence

The Reagan Administration, he asserted, used OMB to "delay and frustrate" the intent of Congress in enacting workers' safeguards although the Budget Office "has no expertise to make judgments about these regulations, no competence and no statutory authority to hold up the issuance of safety standards."

Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), a longtime critic of OMB's role in the decision-making process, agreed with the AFL-CIO assessment.

The new procedures negotiated with the Senate, Dingell said, "are limited in their scope and they fail to address the fundamental unfairness of the current regulatory review program, the undue leverage available to OMB under this program and the absence of a statutory mandate for such a program."

OMB agreed to the revised procedures in order to head off legislation proposed by Senators Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.) and Carl Levin (D-Mich.) to clamp down on the agency's ability to review and revamp agency rulemaking.

Under the compromise, OMB must:

- Disclose all draft and final rules that it reviews.
- Make public all written and telephone communications regarding agency rules with employers or anyone else outside of government.
- Allow agency employees to attend all meetings between OMB officials and outside individuals seeking to water down proposed regulations.
- Publish an annual accounting of the rules it reviews, including those sent back to agency heads and never published.

Levin said action was needed because of the "strong-arm" tactics used by OMB. "It has bullied agencies" in the rule-making area, "trashed" congressional mandates for worker health and safety regulations, and operated in a "highly secretive manner."

Durenberger conceded that the agreement "is not perfect" and indicated it would be "far better to establish this new procedure by statute." He said he and Levin agreed to the compromise because it was essential to start OMB "down the road of public disclosure."

Recession-level jobs dilemma stunts economy

Continued from Page 1

up three-tenths of 1 percent to 15.1 percent while it declined from 11 percent to 10.6 percent for Hispanics.

For teen-agers, the rate went up one-tenth of 1 percent to 19.1 percent. Although joblessness for black teens declined six-tenths of 1 percent, it still stood at a staggering 40.2 percent in June.

In other developments:

- Providing another sign of weakness in manufacturing, new orders for factory goods fell one-tenth of 1 percent in May despite a sharp increase in military orders, the Commerce Dept. said. Excluding the 36.6-percent surge provided by the Pentagon, May orders actually fell 1.3 percent.

Economic doldrums

The figures led Robert Orner, chief Commerce Dept. economist, to conclude that "we have evidence here that the economy is not about to rebound from its doldrums." Lawrence Chimerine, chairman of Chase Econometrics, called it "a very soft picture," and said he saw no current evidence of any "acceleration in economic activity."

- The monthly survey of the National Association of Purchasing Management recorded a sharp 4.9-percent decline in its June composite index of production, new orders and employment. It was the steepest month-to-month drop since January 1984, when the index fell 10 points.

The downward slide in the index prompted survey chairman Robert J. Bretz to sound a note of caution about the future business outlook. "With every indicator off," he declared, "we are going to have to watch the next few months very carefully."

Unveiling USWA historical marker are, from left, Msgr. Charles Owens Rice, Dr. Leroy Patrick of the state historical commission, USWA President Lynn Williams and Pittsburgh Mayor Richard Caliguiri.

Steelworkers celebrate half-century milestone

Pittsburgh—The Steelworkers kicked off a year-long series of celebrations marking the union's 50th anniversary with the dedication of a historical marker on the site of the union's founding in 1936.

A crowd of union members, community and political leaders and citizens cheered the unveiling of the marker noting the birth of the Steelworkers Organizing Committee in 1936 and honoring the effort of the USWA pioneers.

The founding of the union exactly 50 years ago, when 11 steelworkers met in a Pittsburgh office building, was designated a historic event by the State Historical & Museum Commission. It is the first time one of the commission's 1,400 markers paid tribute to a union.

At the dedication ceremony, USWA President Lynn Williams praised those labor pioneers who, led by founding president Philip Murray, became "the instrument to change the lives of hundreds of thousands of working families." He pledged that the USWA will continue to build a society of "hope, decency and civility through the next 50 years."

Also attending the ceremony were Dr. Leroy Patrick of the historical commission, Msgr. Charles Owen Rice and Mayor Richard Caliguiri who proclaimed June 17, the date of the first organizing meeting, as "Steelworkers Founders Day."

A premiere showing of "We Are the People," a documentary film highlighting the USWA's achievements, also was held during the founders' day celebration. Against a backdrop of historic footage, union pioneers and modern-day activists examine the USWA's history and their hopes and plans for its future. The film also features the six unions that have merged with the USWA since its founding.

A special "50th Anniversary of the Union" committee, chaired by Vice President Leon Lynch, is encouraging the USWA's 4,000 local unions to participate in the commemorations and to plan local events.

Other celebrations and events already scheduled for later in the year include a special recognition ceremony for founding members during the USWA's convention and a Philip Murray symposium to be held at Penn State University.

Auto Workers hit measures for pension funding change

Toughening minimum funding requirements for single-employer pension plans could be counterproductive, the Auto Workers cautioned at House hearings.

UAW Associate General Counsel Alan V. Reuther stressed the union's support for existing funding standards for defined-benefit pension plans and noted that many union contracts require employer funding levels that exceed the legal minimum.

The UAW also strongly supported the strengthening of the pension termination insurance program that Congress enacted early this year. It included an overdue increase in the pension premium from $2.60 to $8.50 a year for each worker covered.

Reuther urged Congress to give the strengthened insurance program a chance to work before considering higher funding levels that could force some companies to abandon pension coverage or even throw them into bankruptcy. He noted that the degree of funding flexibility allowed under present law saved the Chrysler pension program when that company was threatened with bankruptcy.

The two House Ways & Means subcommittees that held oversight hearings on pension plan funding heard an argument for re-examining minimum funding standards from an Administration witness, Executive Director Kathleen Utgoff of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp.

Utgoff said underfunded plans result in losses that have to be offset by premiums charged to pension plans with sounder financing.

Reuther told the subcommittees that a "long run" solution to the risk of pension plan terminations in basic industries requires economic and trade policies that will enable companies "to return to profitability" and meet their pension obligations.

Jobless can buy health plan extension

A new federal law that took effect July 1 will allow most workers in firms of 20 or more employees to continue their employment-related health insurance coverage for up to 18 months after losing their job. They will have to pay the cost of extended coverage themselves, but would be able to buy it at group rates.

The same law also allows divorced or legally separated spouses, surviving family members of a worker who dies, and dependent children who reach the age limit for family coverage to purchase continued group rate insurance protection for as long as three years.

While the federal government is exempt, other public employers are covered by the law. In the nonprofit sector, church-related employment is excluded.

Persons entitled to the continued coverage could be charged 2 percent more than the actual group rate premium cost. The incentive for taking such coverage, for those who could afford it, would be that group rates are less than the amount an individual would have to pay to buy comparable insurance.

By contrast, a labor-supported bill pending in Congress would require employers to continue payment of health insurance premiums to cover workers for four months after a layoff, with an option of a further 18 months coverage at the worker's expense.

Coverage not automatic

The new law, which was part of an omnibus budget reconciliation package Congress passed last April, still must be defined in regulations and will not automatically apply to workers covered by a collective bargaining agreement until the contract expires. However the law allows the parties to a union contract to modify it to include health coverage without opening up other parts of the contract.

Some unions have contracts that require continuation of health coverage at the employer's expense in the case of a layoff, and nothing in the new legislation relieves the employer of this contract obligation.

A number of questions raised about the application of the law won't be answered until the Labor Dept., the Dept. of Health & Human Services and the Internal Revenue Service complete regulations to implement the legislation.

Meanwhile, the Labor Dept. has drafted a sample notification of rights that employers may give to affected workers to show good-faith compliance with the new law. It says that those eligible to purchase continued health coverage must be allowed at least 60 days after their benefits would expire to serve notice of their desire to do so.

Field staff organizer J.D. Patrick retires

J.D. Patrick has retired after 25 years as an AFL-CIO organizer, most recently as a Region II field representative.

Patrick, 60, has been a member of the Communications Workers since 1946 and held a number of offices in CWA Local 6313 before his appointment to the AFL-CIO staff in 1961. His special assignments included serving as the trustee for the Colorado AFL-CIO when it was under federation trusteeship in 1973-74.

AFT President Albert Shanker delivers convention keynote. Vice President Jacqueline Vaughn, left, chaired the session.

Pattern Makers at centennial shape organizing strategies

Las Vegas, Nev.—An "all-out organizing effort" was the top priority of delegates to the Pattern Makers' 100th anniversary convention here.

The 78 delegates set up a $200,000 fund for organizing, coupled to strict accounting procedures to enable the union to monitor the effectiveness of campaigns. The convention called for expanded organizing opportunities by stressing the need to sign up workers in related crafts.

President Jack L. Gabelhausen Sr. was elected to his first full five-year term in a three-way race for the union's top post. In a run-off election, Gabelhausen won 55.6 percent of the vote. He had been named president of the union two years ago upon the resignation of Charles Romelfanger.

In his convention address, Gabelhausen echoed the convention's organizing theme, stressing the need to "unite and look to the future, if we are go progress and grow as we should."

The union's members make patterns from wood, plastic, plaster and metal for castings for machine tools, auto and aircraft engines and many other items.

Guest speaker John Leyden, executive director of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept.'s Federal/Postal division, reviewed recent federation actions to bolster organizing and explained the development of new service programs, including the MasterCard program. Leyden also detailed Reagan Administration attacks on laws and programs that benefit working men and women.

Common enemy

Joseph Thompson, manager of industrial relations for Navistar (formerly International Harvester), told delegates to the three-day convention that the trend in labor-management relations has been toward "more open, trusting and cooperative approaches than in the past." He noted that both workers and their employers are faced with the common enemy of foreign competition, and must "bring to bear the toughness with which we fought each other and be a formidable team in this fight for world markets."

Harry Donoian, administrator of health and welfare for the Allied Industrial Workers, discussed recent events in the health care industry and stressed that various benefits could be realized from the pooling of health and welfare funds.

In addition, the delegates voted to rename the union's magazine the Pattern Makers' & Allied Crafts Journal and produce a special publication on the union's 100th anniversary. A committee was set up to plan for an anniversary party to mark the union's centennial.

Idaho delegates draft program to protect workers

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho—Workers' rights was the focus of the Idaho AFL-CIO convention, as delegates adopted a legislative action plan aimed at protecting workers on the job and reviewed election-year activities to defeat a so-called right-to-work initiative on the November ballot.

Delegates condemned the 1985 state legislative actions that repealed the state prevailing wage law—the "little Davis-Bacon" Act—and eight-hour workday requirements, calling for reinstatement of both measures. The 120 delegates also urged enactment of a strong right-to-know state law to protect workers and communities and opposed employer-backed schemes to create a youth subminimum wage.

Delegates adopted resolutions that urged stiff restrictions on the use of lie detectors, pressed for employer-paid child care and maternity leave, and called on Congress to reduce imports and same American jobs.

State AFL-CIO President Jim Kerns told delegates to "talk to their families, their friends and their neighbors" about the right-to-work issue, so that Idahoans realize that a right-to-work law means lower wages and fewer jobs for everyone. He criticized the Virginia-based National Right to Work Committee for interfering in "an Idaho fight," stressing that labor must show its "solidarity now more than ever."

RTW fight

Kenneth Young, executive assistant to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, applauded the state federation's fight against the right-to-work forces, urging the delegates to continue "to speak up for your members, for the jobless and for those with no voice."

He outlined some of labor's recent victories in Congress, stressing that they could not have been won "without your registration and get-out-the-vote activities, your postcards, letters and phone calls."

Membership outreach

Teachers adopt plan for associate status

Chicago—The Teachers approved a new "associate" membership category and threw support behind a revolutionary report calling for reforms in teaching and in schools.

These two actions signaled rank-and-file support of the AFT's new emphasis on the need for substantial changes in public education and its desire to appeal to more teachers and school employees who share that vision.

The 2,700 delegates to the AFT's biennial convention overwhelmingly approved an amendment to the union's constitution permitting the associate membership inspired by the landmark 1985 report by the AFL-CIO's Committee on the Evolution of Work.

That committee, which included AFT President Albert Shanker, recommended that unions try creative strategies to attract new members, including new categories for workers who may want to join a union but are not employed in an organized bargaining unit.

The AFT action will permit employees in jurisdictions where there are no AFT locals to be admitted as associate members without voting rights but with eligibility to participate in AFT conferences and such union benefit programs as insurance, travel and discount buying programs, as well as the AFL-CIO's new low-interest credit card program.

The provision will also make possible membership for retirees and former active members who would otherwise not be eligible to affilate with the Teachers.

The union has already offered associate memberships on an experimental basis in several states. In Texas, for example, the AFT's direct-mail campaign reached 150,000 teachers not affiliated with the union and produced over 14,000 positive responses.

Key resolutions

AFT delegates approved two key resolutions that propose dramatic changes in how teachers are trained and how schools are organized—one endorsing the findings of its own Task Force on the Future of Education and the other supporting the recent report of the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession.

The convention gave its approval to the AFT task force report calling for the professionalization of teaching, achieved in part through a new national, nongovernmental board to develop professional standards for teaching and a full one-year internship for beginning teachers. The board, patterned after ones that govern those entering the legal and medical professions, would certify new teachers.

The report also called for a dramatic restructuring of schools to move away from the "factory" model of education and toward a "learning-centered" environment that gives teachers more individual time with students and an opportunity to explore new teaching techniques and ideas for improving the academic program.

Teachers should be more involved in setting a school's goals and should be given the opportunity to explore various ways of managing their school, the report said. This could include teacher-run schools in which adminstrators would be hired to handle day-to-day administrative tasks.

The AFT report also emphasized the pivotal role the union must play in any experiments with reform at the local level. The collective bargaining process and state legislation offer important ways to address new proposals, delegates agreed.

Sweeping changes

The convention also hailed the sweeping changes in teacher preparation and improvement, and the restructuring of schools, recommended by the Carnegie Task Force on which Shanker served. The delegates adopted a resolution of support after hearing from Task Force Chairman Lewis Branscomb, chief scientist and vice president of IBM.

In his keynote address, Shanker told delegates that "our open attitude toward ideas" on educational reform "has created a positive atmosphere" that has resulted in high hopes on the part of parents, teachers and legislators for change.

Shanker also cited the new Auto Workers-General Motors agreement covering the Saturn plant in Tennessee as an example of how management and labor worked together to open new avenues of cooperation.

The AFT, too, is searching for ways to improve both teaching and schooling that may involve new approaches to collective bargaining and other experiments in the education field, he emphasized.

Owen Butler, chairman of the Subcommittee on Business & the Schools of the Committee for Economic Development, described that organization's report endorsing Head Start and Job Corps programs, and backup teacher-astronaut Barbara Morgan told how she was inspired by the example of Christa McAuliffe and the other crew members who died in the Challenger disaster.

Following an address by Nana Mahomo, AFL-CIO South Africa program director, delegates demonstrated at the South African consulate here to protest the Botha government's anti-union and apartheid policies.

Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio) spoke at the women's rights award breakfast, and John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labor Party in Northern Ireland, was presented with the AFT's human rights award.

Copper pacts signed to spur industry

A coalition of 14 unions representing 8,100 active and 5,000 laid-off copper workers signed new contracts with three of the industry's four top producers that grant cost reductions to help the firms compete against imports and nonunion companies.

Edgar L. Ball, chief union negotiator and chairman of the National Nonferrous Industry Coordinating Committee, noted the settlements involved sacrifices by members that "would not have been necessary if this country had a rational, fair foreign trade policy."

The coordinated bargaining produced new agreements with Kennecott Corp., Asarco Corp. and Newmont Mining Corp., which owns Magma Copper Co. and Pinto Valley Copper Co.

Union negotiators beat back even more severe management pay cut demands in bargaining to replace agreements that expired June 30. Kennecott had sought a one-third reduction in its labor costs. Two of the contracts were reached before expiration of the previous agreements and Kennecott made its final offer shortly after the contract expired.

Talks continue between the unions and Inspiration Consolidated Copper Co., a unit of Inspiration Resources Corp. The more than 600 union members at the company's mine in Miami, Ariz., remained on the job as negotiations progressed.

The agreement with Kennecott, a unit of Standard Oil Co., contained pay and benefit cuts totaling $3.22 an hour. It was sent to the workers for a ratification vote without recommendation by the committee. The contract was ratified by a 75.3 percent approval vote. The unions represents 1,500 active and 5,000 laid off workers at Kennecott.

Signing bonus

The company offered a $1,000 signing bonus for each worker and promised to begin reopening its Bingham Canyon copper mine in Utah. Kennecott said the mine, the nation's largest, could be back in production by mid-1987 and employ some 2,000 laid-off copper workers.

Union bargainers first reached agreement with Newmont, agreeing to pay cuts totaling 20 percent. The new hourly rates will range from $9 to $12.60 at Magma and $8.88 to $13 at Pinto Valley. Benefits were standardized, resulting in improvements in health care coverage at Pinto Valley and in pensions at Magma.

The contract was approved by an 86 percent vote at Magma and 92 percent at Pinto Valley.

Although wages were cut an average of $2.82 an hour over the life of the contract, recovery of the reduction will be possible if copper prices rise. In 1987, workers will get an added 10 cents an hour in bonuses for each penny rise above 70 cents in the price of copper; an extra 15 cents hourly for each one-cent rise above 90 cents and a quarter for each penny increase between 91 cents and a dollar. The price of copper currently is 63 cents a pound.

The Asarco contract, covering 1,400 workers, is also a three-year package that will cut pay by $3.50 an hour. It does, however, provide for a 75-cent-an-hour pay increase in 1987 and $1 an hour the following year. The cut averages out to $2.67 over the term of the agreement. That contract was ratified by a 74-percent approval vote.

The unions involved in the bargaining were the Steelworkers, Boilermakers, Carpenters, Plumbers & Pipefitters, Bricklayers, Iron Workers, Railway Carmen, Office & Professional Employees, Painters, Machinists, Electrical Workers, Operating Engineers, United Transportation Union and the unaffiliated Teamsters. Also participating in the contract talks were the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept. and the Industrial Union Dept.

Unions 'building bridges' with psychologists

By Candice Johnson

"Building bridges of understanding" and finding common ground were the short-term goals of a first meeting of union representatives and psychologists, who explored ways the labor movement can benefit from a closer partnership with the psychological profession.

Participants from 16 unions and the AFL-CIO joined members of the American Psychological Association in discussions and workshop sessions that explored the sometimes rocky relationship between organized labor and the psychological profession and how that relationship can be improved.

Nearly 65 participants took part in the two-day conference, with psychologists who specialize in clinical work as well as industrial and social psychologists attending the sessions. The meeting, held at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, was sponsored by the federation's Dept. of Economic Research.

In a keynote address, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue underscored the conference theme of "building bridges," as he told participants that "unions want and need the help of the psychological community" in improving organizing techniques, motivating workers to participate more fully in union affairs and expanding services.

Other opportunities for cooperation include the participation of psychologists in drug and alcohol treatment programs and counseling activities operating through the federation's Dept. of Community Services, Donahue said.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue chats with President Logan Wright of the American Psychological Association at Studies Center conference.

But above all, Donahue stated, "our two organizations need to speak out on certain public policy issues that affect the whole society," stressing that "the civil liberty issues of polygraph tests make this an issue beyond the workplace."

Common bond

Donahue also noted that several AFL-CIO unions represent psychologists, especially those working in public agencies and hospitals.

AFL-CIO Organizing Director Charles McDonald and Phil Kugler, organizing director for the Teachers, led a discussion of how psychology can be used to promote a truer image of labor.

Kugler reviewed specific AFT organizing drives, noting that the union recognizes that quality and education reform issues, once considered nontraditional organizing issues, are important teacher concerns and must be stressed in campaigns.

In a workshop led by Anthony Sarmiento, assistant director of the AFL-CIO's Human Resource Development Institute, and Art Shy, education director of the Auto Workers, participants examined the problems of laid-off and unemployed workers and how psychologists can help workers assess their skills and abilities to find new employment.

Sarmiento also emphasized the severity of job displacement and unemployment, pointing out that 5 million workers in manufacturing industries have lost their jobs since 1979. The workshop also focused on counseling and other programs to help workers and their families deal with the trauma and hardships of long-term unemployment.

A workshop on testing and personnel selection reviewed the positive aspects of psychological testing, with participants discussing techniques used to select workers for apprenticeship programs or support their bids for promotion.

Other workshop sessions covered quality of worklife programs, psychological health care benefits, community help programs and new approaches to expanding union membership.

Bargaining works

In an evening presentation, Kay McMurray, director of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, stressed that the collective bargaining process "still works" and will continue as a useful system for settling labor and management disputes.

Unions participating in the conference included the Auto Workers, Boilermakers, Bricklayers, Clothing & Textile Workers, Communications Workers, Electronic Workers, Government Employees, Graphic Communications Union, Machinists, Operating Engineers, Paperworkers, Professional & Technical Engineers, Service Employees, State, County & Municipal Employees, Teachers and the unaffiliated National Federation of Federal Employees.

Participants from the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. and Food & Allied Service Trades Dept. also attended.

CWA-ITU merger proposed to meet technology challenge

The Communications Workers and the Typographical Union reached formal agreement to pursue plans to join forces.

CWA President Morton Bahr and ITU President Robert S. McMichen said exploratory talks have produced an outline draft that could form the basis for merger. The announcement followed a visit by Bahr to the ITU's Colorado Springs, Colo., headquarters. Leaders of the two unions subsequently met in Washington to continue the unity talks.

Pointing out that CWA has "expanded well beyond a telephone union," Bahr said that "more and more, CWA employers outside of the telephone industry are the same conglomerates that have been active in the publishing field for decades."

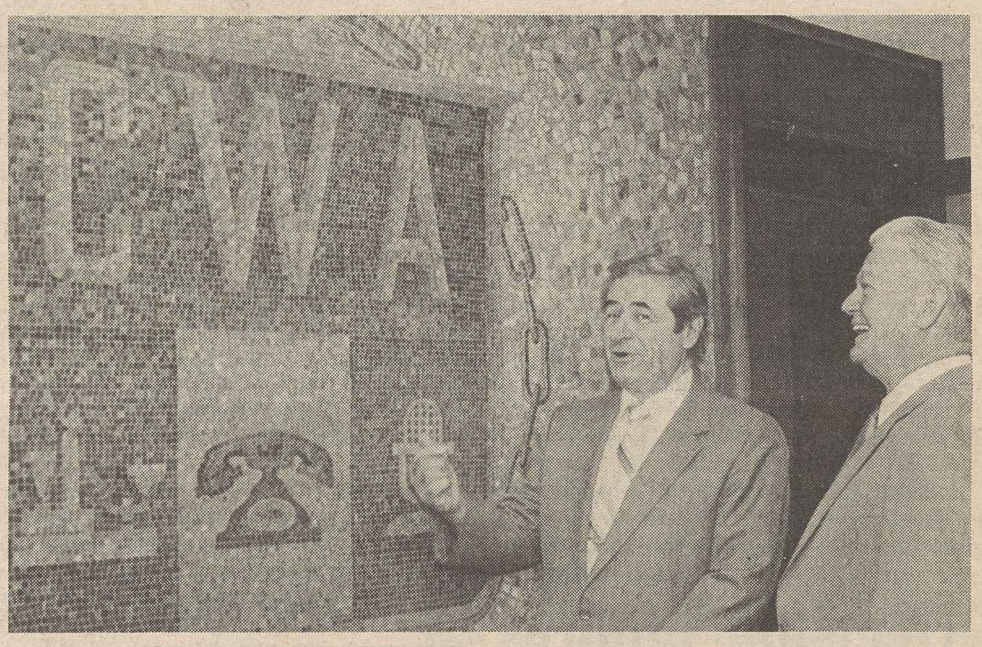
CWA looks forward to building a stronger union "that has been brought up on technology and will be able to meet the information age," Bahr asserted, and the ITU "offers us another avenue toward the electronic media." He indicated that CWA hopes to explore merger with other unions in the communications field.

McMichen said the ITU's leadership was "very enthusiastic" about the prospects for affiliation, pointing to a "substantial common interest with the CWA."

The increasing computerization of newspaper composing and mail rooms and the major ownership in cable television by the big newspaper chains have "put the ITU and CWA on a common track," McMichen said. "In our industry, the CWA is clearly the union of the future."

Bahr said he was impressed with the ITU's 134-year record of democratic trade unionism. The union was founded in 1815 and became a national organization in 1852.

The draft agreement would create a Printing, Publishing & Media Workers sector within CWA, led by officers elected by ITU members. If the leaders of the two unions agree on a final merger document, it would have to be approved in an ITU membership referendum.



CWA President Bahr and ITU President McMichen at merger discussions.

Broyhill to complete East's Senate term

North Carolina Republican James T. Broyhill moved from the House to the Senate by appointment to fill the few months remaining in the term of the late Sen. John P. East.

East, who was aligned with the GOP's right wing and was not seeking re-election because of ill health, took his own life June 29.

Broyhill, who had won a hard-fought GOP primary and will face Democrat Terry Sanford in the November election, was appointed to the vacancy by Gov. James G. Martin, a Republican.

By the AFL-CIO's rating, East was "right" on only 4 percent of the key votes he cast through the 1985 session of Congress. Broyhill's cumulative record showed him in accord with the AFL-CIO position on 9 percent of key votes.

Delay on health care payment triggers Philadelphia walkout

Philadelphia—Some 14,000 members of State, County & Municipal Employees District Councils 33 and 47, on strike against the city government since July 1, are seeking improvements in wages and health care payments, along with an end to contracting out of work.

No new talks were scheduled with District Council 33 following the break off of a 17-hour bargaining session on July 8. District Council 47, representing 2,000 white-collar workers, resumed negotiations with the city the following day.

The strike, the first since an eight-day walkout in 1978, centers as much on past contract obligations as on getting a new agreement for District 33's blue-collar workers.

The city owes the council's health care fund substantial back payments under a 1985 court ruling that the city had underpaid the fund for several years. That decision was upheld by an appellate court.

President Earl Stout of District Council 33, which represents some 12,000 blue-collar city employees, explained that "we're not going to negotiate over something that was settled over the course of two previous contracts."

The city was ordered under the 1985 ruling to pay $15.9 million in back payments covering an 18-month period. Accountants hired by the union, however, determined that the city owes the fund $48 million for years of underpayment.

The health care issue is vital because the fund's expenses have been running $1.6 million ahead of income from the city. The union reported that some of its members had been pursued for nonpayment by health care providers.

Stout said the city government has been contracting out street repaving, auto repairs, window washing and a variety of other services with growing frequency over the past decade, with the result that union membership has dropped by nearly 4,000.

Because negotiations have centered on the health care fund and contracting out language, Stout said, the union has not yet considered any wage offers.

Management offer

The Philadelphia Inquirer reported the mayor was ready to offer each union a 12 percent increase over three years, but District Council 47 President Thomas Cronin said the last offer he received was 6 percent over two years. That offer, a day before the contract was to expire, was rejected.

On the first day of the strike, 13,000 union members demonstrated their solidarity by surrounding city hall, where the Mayor and his staff had camped out overnight. By mid-morning, however, the city had obtained a court-order to limit the number of pickets.

Meanwhile, Transport Workers Local 234 continued negotiations with the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority for a new contract covering mechanics, inspectors and maintenance workers. Local 234 struck SEPTA for four days in March to win a new contract for the 5,200 drivers and operators.

Coordinated bargaining wins strike-ending Alcoa contract

The Aluminum, Brick & Glass Workers and the Steelworkers reached tentative agreements with two major aluminum producers, ending a five-week walkout at the Aluminum Co. of America.

The two unions had coordinated their bargaining strategies and won similar agreements covering about 15,500 workers at Alcoa and 9,500 workers at the Reynolds Metals Co. Contracts at both companies had expired May 31 and although negotiations continued with Reynolds, workers at Alcoa voted to strike, citing the company's excessive demands.

The twin settlement calls for an overall reduction in benefits of about 95 cents an hour, with part of the savings to be set aside in individual 401K savings plans. The 95-cent savings was obtained primarily through health insurance cost containment measures, elimination of extended vacations and restrictions on bonus vacation pay. Workers due to receive extended vacations instead will receive cash payments.

In exchange, the two unions won continued dental and vision coverage and retained the cost-of-living adjustment that will go into effect when the annual inflation rate reaches 3 percent. The unions also spurned the companies' attempts to slash health insurance coverage by adding steep co-payments and high deductibles.

The contracts establish profit-sharing committees at both Alcoa and Reynolds with labor and management representatives.

Nearly 14,000 ABGW members are voting on the tentative agreement. USWA local union presidents, representing 11,000 aluminum workers, approved the pact by a 15-7 vote.

Court ruling restores role of Congress

Continued from Page 1

by the White House Office of Management & Budget and the Congressional Budget Office. Both the House and Senate would then have to pass legislation to carry out any cuts required by the Gramm-Rudman formula.

Since the fiscal year to which the 4.3 percent cuts apply ends on Sept. 30, most of the impact of that reduction has already been felt.

More difficult—and more political—is the issue of the budget ceilings Congress adopted for the new fiscal year in a resolution passed just before the 4th of July holiday recess.

On paper, that budget resolution projects a deficit slightly under the Gramm-Rudman limits. Its domestic expenditures are higher than President Reagan had proposed, its military spending below his request. Both the House and Senate had originally proposed a lower deficit, conditioned on enactment of $4.8 billion in tax increases. But Reagan remained adamant that he would veto additional revenues and the amount sought was not included in the budget figures.

Hard options

If the estimates of the White House and the congressional budget agencies show that the deficit projection as of mid-August is higher than the June forecast of Congress, politically difficult election-year cuts will have to be made. The reductions, which would inevitably hurt large groups of constituents, would have to be enacted instead of being imposed through a faceless automatic process.

The Gramm-Rudman law requires the deficit estimates to be submitted to the 55-member special congressional committee by Aug. 15 and sets an Aug. 25 deadline for completing congressional action.

Calculation of a federal budget depends on estimates of economic conditions, including guesses as to inflation and unemployment. One of the arguments the AFL-CIO raised against the Gramm-Rudman procedure when it was being considered by Congress last year was that its rigidity would result in making recessions worse and slowing economic recovery.

Decision ignores Scalia reasoning

The Supreme Court's decision on the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction law was welcomed by the AFL-CIO for what it didn't do as well as for what it did.

The high court agreed with the conclusion of a special three-judge lower court that Congress could not constitutionally assign the enforcement of the law to the comptroller general.

But the decision, by retiring Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, declined to accept a legal theory advanced by Judge Antonin Scalia, who wrote the lower court opinion. Scalia, who has been nominated by President Reagan to fill the Supreme Court vacancy, suggested that the Constitution grants the President an unlimited power to remove federal officials and that Congress cannot limit the President's authority to do so.

The AFL-CIO brief argued against this viewpoint, which would have undermined the independent federal regulatory agencies and infringed on civil service laws.

Issues and action

Grass-roots lobbying and political action were at the top of the agenda when delegates from Paperworkers locals across the country came to Washington for a three-day national legislative conference. Here, Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.) addresses the conference. He was one of many Capitol Hill figures who spoke of the issues before Congress and how they will affect workers. Tax reform, trade legislation and plant closing concerns were among the subjects highlighted.

South Dakota boosts dues, girds for organizing effort

Sioux Falls, S.D.—Delegates to the South Dakota AFL-CIO's annual convention voted to increase the monthly per capita payment and set up an active organizing committee to assist local unions.

The convention's nearly 100 delegates approved the five-cent increase in per capita to help meet rising costs. The new rate took effect July 1.

In a resolution on organizing, the convention noted a decline in union membership with "many jobs being lost through unemployment." The delegates called for the state federation to set up an organizing committee to aid local unions in organizing "every available group of employees in the state."

The convention also opened the state federation's membership to retirees' groups "organized and in compliance with the constitution and bylaws of their international or national union." With annual per capita of $12.50, a group is entitled to have one convention delegate.

Other key resolutions called for establishment of local union trades and label committees, improvement of the state's hearing loss compensation law, and modification of workers' compensation laws to provide better protections for workers with recurring injuries.

Vote drive urged

Delegates also urged a strong voter education effort in the state, coupled to a registration drive and a get-out-the-vote campaign this fall. The delegates voiced opposition to the "exporting of American jobs and technical knowledge" and urged all union members to buy only "Made in the U.S.A." products and services.

Three new state federation vice presidents were elected to two-year terms: Rose Bailey of the Communications Workers, Bonnie Reeden of CWA, and Randy Flanagan of the Steelworkers. Reelected to their vice president posts were Ben J. Aning, John E. Hansen, Gerald Podoll, Ralph Pearl, Charles Good and Paul Aylward. State AFL-CIO President Jack E. Dudley was not up for re-election.

AFL-CIO COPE Director John Perkins told delegates to the three-day convention that Sen. James Abdnor (R) "has voted against your interests, your family's interests and your union's interest 76 percent of the time." He pointed out that Abdnor's opponent in this year's senate race, Rep. Tom Daschle (D), has a better voting record.

Perkins reminded the convention that "in politics as in life, the biggest risk that you can take is to do nothing at all."

Delegates voted to endorse Daschle for the Senate, along with Democrat Lars Herseth for governor and Democrat Tim Johnson for the state's only House seat.

On the convention's first day, delegates showed their solidarity with the CWA workers who were on strike against AT&T by marching on the picket line at the company's offices here. After the convention, 37 delegates took part in a one-day workshop featuring the new COPE video, Family, Country, Union & Job. The workshop was conducted by COPE Region II Director Jack McCoy and Western VIP Director David Gregory.

The South Dakota State Council of Auxiliaries, which held its convention concurrent with the state federation's, honored Jackie Varnes, assistant director of Women's Affairs for the Food & Commercial Workers. The local chapter of the Coali-

NLRB endorses lockouts, scabs

Continued from Page 1

so long as his only anti-union "motivation" is to secure a collective bargaining agreement on his own terms.

In the case at issue, the NLRB majority held that the use of scabs "had only a comparatively slight effect on employee rights."

The board said the lockout and replacement of workers in a bargaining dispute serves a "legitimate employer interest." The decisive consideration, according to the NLRB majority, was that the union members have the option of "accepting the employer's less favorable bargaining terms and returning to work."

In her dissent, Dennis countered that such an employer tactic is "inherently destructive" of worker rights guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act.

She noted that a Supreme Court decision which the NLRB majority claimed as a precedent involved a different set of circumstances. In that case, the employer lockout was a defensive response to a union's tactic of striking only one firm in a contract dispute with a multi-employer bargaining unit.

The remaining member of the NLRB James M. Stephens, was not on the board when the case was argued and did not participate in the decision.

IBEW ratifies phone pact by 3-to-1 margin

By a nearly 3-to-1 margin, 10,000 Electrical Workers in the telephone operations of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. ratified a new three-year national agreement.

They joined 30,000 IBEW members at AT&T manufacturing plants who approved the contract by a similar margin last month. At the same time, the telephone members ratified local agreements at AT&T Information Systems and AT&T Communications.

The new national agreement, negotiated on May 31 when the old contract expired, raises pay and pension benefits by 8 percent each over the three-year period, establishes company-funded training programs and redefines the systems technician job classification.

The Communications Workers, whose 155,000 members struck for three weeks before reaching agreement, has started its ratification procedure and will announce the final vote Aug. 4. The CWA contract achieved some modifications in the IBEW pact. These changes will be incorporated in the Electrical Workers' agreement.

Meanwhile, both unions have begun negotiations to replace contracts that expire Aug. 9 with all of the regional Bell operating companies.

The IBEW already has reached agreement with Illinois Bell, while CWA has yet to decide which regional company it will target for a pattern settlement.

3,300 score gains at New England utilities

Wage increases totaling 12.6 percent over a three-year period were won by three unions representing 3,300 employees of the New England Electric System, a consortium of five utilities serving Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island.

The contracts, negotiated by the Electrical Workers, the Utility Workers and the unaffiliated Brotherhood of Utility Workers, provide increases of 4.3 percent the first year, 4.2 percent the second, and 4.1 percent the third.

Increased employer contributions to the pension system, early retirement at age 60 with continuation of Blue Cross group health insurance, a health cost-containment provision and higher shift differential payments also were included in the settlements.

The agreements run to March 1989. They cover employees of Granite State Electric Co., Massachusetts Electric Co., Narragansett Electric Co., New England Power Co. and New England Power Service.

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EDITORIALS

Unfriendly Fire

TUCKED INTO an already controversial $301-billion defense authorization bill the Senate will take up later this month are a couple of booby traps that would come close to destroying laws intended to assure fair labor standards on government-funded contracts.

The targets are construction workers covered by the prevailing wage requirements of the Davis-Bacon Act and persons employed on government service contracts, mostly women and minority workers in low-paying jobs.

An Administration hostile to prevailing wage standards has eroded worker protections through regulatory changes and now is supporting legislation that would come close to outright repeal by excluding all but the very largest contracts.

The Senate Armed Services Committee has been a recurrent battleground over Davis-Bacon coverage. But this year its field of fire has widened to include the Service Contract Act.

THAT'S THE law Congress passed in 1965 so that firms paying the lowest wages and providing the fewest benefits wouldn't automatically be given contracts to clean government buildings, provide technical maintenance or perform the myriad tasks that the federal government puts out for bids.

Testimony that led to passage of the law showed a common pattern of low-paid workers organizing and winning modest contract improvements—and then losing it all when the contract was next put out for bids and won by a firm with no pay or benefit commitments. Often, the same workers would be hired to do the work, but at lower pay.

These are the conditions the Senate Armed Services Committee would restore through a provision to exclude from coverage of the Service Contract Act contracts of less than $1 million or involving fewer than 25 employees.

It's a shameful proposal. Like the committee's attempt to raise the threshold of Davis-Bacon Act coverage from contracts over $2,500 to contracts over $250,000, it should be rejected by the Senate—decisively.

Blaming the Victim

IT'S NOT surprising that the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers oppose extended unemployment compensation, and so testified at recent House hearings. Their contention was that the availability of benefits would "discourage" people who lose their jobs from actively seeking work.

That's an old refrain. It's in the same tradition as the congressional testimony the NAM gave when it opposed establishment of the social security system more than half a century ago:

"When individuals realize that they can definitely count upon public monetary aid in cases of adversity, the incentive for individual self-help, thrift and forethought is weakened," the NAM sternly warned.

PERHAPS we shouldn't be surprised that this Administration chooses to echo the position of the business lobby on the issue, as on so many others. Nevertheless, it comes as a jar that it was the Labor Dept., the agency set up to represent the interest of workers, that claimed "the availability of long-term income support tends to discourage undertaking the readjustment process that is essential to workers permanently dislocated from their jobs."

The further suggestion was that workers whose jobs are wiped out by a declining manufacturing economy should look to the service sector for a change of careers. Like fast food outlets, perhaps?

If lack of unemployment benefits is a solution to unemployment, why has the jobless rate hovered for so long at recession levels, or at least what used to be considered recession levels before this Administration introduced us to double-digit joblessness?

After all, fewer than 30 percent of out-of-work Americans receive unemployment compensation.

Perhaps there is a better answer to unemployment than blaming the victim. If not, we're in real trouble.

Washington Window

Pro-family leave proposal puts Reagan on the spot

By Press Associates Inc.

Not so long ago, political writers were reporting that Republican strategists seeking ways to capture the mass vote went to Britain to learn from Tory successes there. Stress "values" and get away from "issues," they were told.

That provided the theme for the 1980 Republican convention and its emphasis on jobs, family, neighborhood and country. And it fit in very well with the rhetorical talents of candidate Ronald Reagan. Issues and problems were out; values were in. What happened was that a heavy fog of generalities settled over the political landscape, smothering and obscuring the real problems facing ordinary people.

Now, however, a real down-to-earth pro-family issue is making its way through Congress —the Family & Medical Leave Act of 1986.

The legislation would require most public and private employers with 15 or more employees to provide up to 18 weeks of unpaid family leave to care for newborn, newly adopted or seriously ill children or parents. It also requires up to 26 weeks of unpaid disability leave for workers with serious medical conditions.

Continued health insurance

The legislation would require employers to continue health insurance benefits while the worker is on leave. Upon returning to work, the employee would have a right to the old job, or a comparable one, with full benefits and seniority.

The bill also would create a commission to study the feasibility of establishing some kind of paid leave policy, as is common in other advanced nations.

The United States is the only advanced nation without a maternity and parental leave policy. Canada provides up to 37 weeks to the working mother, with 60 percent of pay for 15 weeks. West Germany has 26 weeks for the mother, with 100 percent of pay for 14 to 18 weeks. Italy provides up to 48 weeks for the mother, with 80 percent of pay for 15 weeks. Sweden provides up to 52 weeks to the mother or father, with 90 percent of pay for 38 weeks. Finland also provides leave to the mother or father, up to a total of 35 weeks, with 100 percent of pay.

All these nations guarantee the worker's job and seniority.

The House legislation, sponsored by Rep. William L. Clay (D-Mo.), was approved by the Education & Labor Committee on a 22-10 vote. It is overwhelmingly a Democratic bill, with compromises drawing the support of only three Republicans—James M. Jeffords (Vt.), Tom Tauke (Iowa) and E. Thomas Coleman (Mo.).

Broad-based support

When the bill reaches the House floor, the debate should add to the public's education on the issue. The measure is supported by organized labor, the U.S. Catholic Conference, women's groups, and the Academy of Pediatrics, among others. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is leading business opposition to the bill, saying it would "destroy the flexibility employers and employees need to tailor benefits to their own needs." House Republicans are carrying water for business on the issue, with Rep. Marge Roukema (N.J.) arguing parental leave would damage profits and lead to automation. Roukema offered a substitute to weaken the bill, then voted against Clay's measure.

The pressures are building up for some kind of parental leave policy. Testimony before the committee noted that 60 percent of American mothers are now in the workforce. One expert witness said that, in the absence of national policy, many women are forced by economic necessity to return to work within a few weeks or months of giving birth, "often before they are physically and emotionally prepared to do so."

Senate hearings on parental leave probably will start soon, but supporters don't expect a decent bill to pass the Republican-controlled body. "We don't want to embarrass the President by sending him a pro-family bill that he can't sign," a Republican Senate aide said.

After all, pro-family values are great for campaign speeches, but whoever expected a Republican President might have to veto one?

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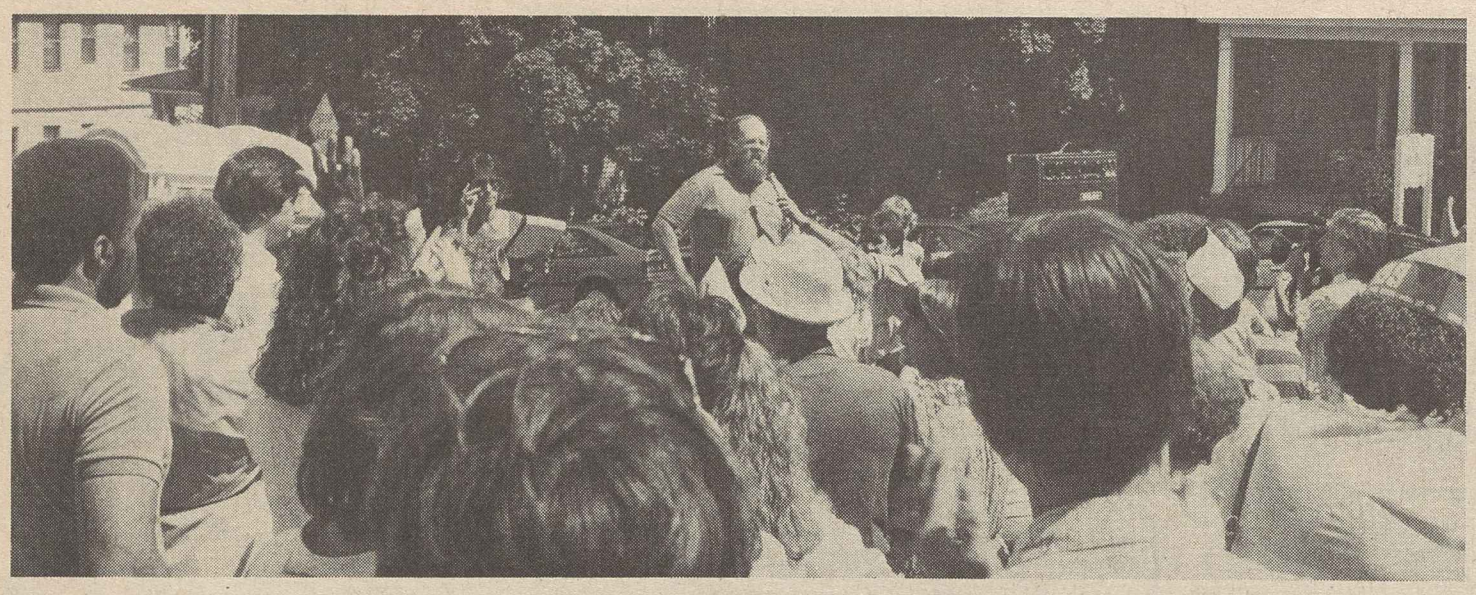

Runaway hospital

Connecticut union members protest closing of Waterbury Hospital, where 1,100 Hospital & Health Care Employees were permanently laid off after a contract dispute. Connecticut AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Barry Williams urges the crowd of union and community activists to publicize management's union-busting, anti-patient tactics and demand the reopening of the hospital, Waterbury's largest employer. Management had demanded steep givebacks from service maintenance workers and nurses, opting to close the hospital instead of negotiating with the union. Waterbury residents, protesting the lack of health care facilities, have collected 12,000 signatures supporting the hospital workers and demanding that the facility reopen.

Timber unions nix 'final offer,' continue strike

Portland—Some 7,500 members of two unions remain on strike against the Weyerhaeuser Co. after having rejected the giant timber firm's "final offer" by better than a four-to-one margin. The strike began June 16.

The striking Weyerhaeuser employees belong to the Woodworkers and to the Lumber, Production & Industrial Workers, a division of the Carpenters. LPIW represents about 1,000 of the strikers. Contracts for some 28,000 woodworkers expired June 1, but only the workers at Weyerhaeuser, the largest union employer, went on strike.

The IWA reported that picketing has spread to the company's pulp mills in five northwest locations. Although Weyerhaeuser hasn't publicly stated its intention to hire strikebreakers, it has indicated at the bargaining table that it could follow the path taken in 1983 by Louisiana-Pacific Corp., which hired scabs who later voted out the unions. The unions are considering actions to increase pressure on the company if the strike continues.

The rejected contract proposal went to the rank-and-file for a vote with no recommendation from the bargaining committee. Even though Weyerhaeuser is making good profits, it was demanding wage and benefit cuts of more than $4 an hour.

Deep pay cut

The company's last offer was only slightly improved from one the unions voted down shortly before the strike. In that one, Weyerhaeuser sought an average pay cut of $4.30 an hour. The last proposal did reduce the contract term from three to two years, and minor improvements were made in a profit-sharing plan that initially was called a wage-recovery plan.

The IWA and the LPIW are bargaining cooperatively as the U.S. Forest Products Joint Bargaining Board, with each including its southern regions in the talks.

Weyerhaeuser is the only lumber firm the unions have struck, although the unions are considering contract proposals from Champion International Corp., Boise-Cascade Corp. and Willamette Industries Inc. They also are demanding pay and benefits cuts averaging nearly $3 an hour with no provisions for recovering any of the wage cuts.

The timber companies claimed their assault on workers' wages and benefits is necessary to meet competition from Canada, small nonunion mills and southern U.S. mills. Unionized woodworkers in the South earn about $3.50 below the $10.75 to $15.50 hourly pay in western mills.

Job security key to UAW contract with Caterpillar

Peoria, Ill.—Members of the Auto Workers overwhelmingly ratified a 28-month contract with Caterpillar Inc. covering 16,600 active workers and another 13,000 who have been laid off by the heavy equipment manufacturer.

The agreement contains innovative job security provisions, improves the profit-sharing program, restructures the labor grade and job placement system and continues cost-of-living adjustments.

The contract covers UAW members at Caterpillar's five plants here and at installations in Decatur, Pontiac and Aurora, Ill., Davenport, Iowa, York, Pa., Memphis, Tenn., and Denver.

Under the job security provision, the union won agreement that the company would not layoff more than 10 percent of the workforce unless there is a partial or complete plant closing. A new job retraining program will be inaugurated to help retrain workers affected by technological change—a move the UAW said would be of particular benefit to workers with the greatest seniority.

The new contract reduces the number of labor grades from 11 to six, providing immediate wage increases ranging from 12 to 37 cents an hour for nearly half the workforce.

5,000 Philadelphia hospital workers win pay increases

Philadelphia—The Hospital & Health Care Employees won new three-year contracts for 5,000 workers that provide pay raises totaling 12 percent and protections against workers from having to deny health treatment to indigent patients.

Agreements were reached at 18 facilities, including 10 private nonprofit hospitals. The others include nursing homes, clinics and mental health centers.

The wage package gives workers a 5-percent increase immediately, followed by gains of 4 percent in the second year and 3 percent in the third year.

Hospital & Health Care District 1199C Sec.-Treas. David Fair said employers agreed to maintain their 8-percent contribution to the pension fund and to improve the payment to the health care fund from 12 percent to 12.2 percent. They also agreed to several health care cost-containment proposals, Fair said.

The new contracts require the hospitals to give the union six months' notice of any shutdown in services and establishes joint labor-management committees on staffing and health care for the poor.

Bargaining is continuing for contracts covering about 400 workers at Albert Einstein Medical Center's Mount Sinai-Daroff Division and 75 at J.F. Kennedy Mental Health Center. Workers are remaining on the job in both locations as their contracts have been extended.

Labor team pledges support for unions in Pacific basin

American labor's support for free trade unions throughout the Pacific basin and its opposition to the exploitation of workers by export-oriented industries was emphasized by an AFL-CIO team during an Asian tour that took them to Taiwan, the Philippines and South Korea.

The interests of American workers are directly involved in the region, said Donald S. Slaiman, deputy director of the federation's Dept. of Organizing & Field Services, who headed the delegation. "We have a significant contribution to make" to help insure human rights and fair trade, he pointed out.

The American team included the presidents of three state central labor bodies—Edward J. Cleary of New York, Sam Fishman of Michigan and David Laws of Virginia. The delegation visited Taiwan at the invitation of the Chinese Federation of Labor; its trip to the other Pacific countries was under the auspices of the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute.

The group had high praise for the "energy and sophistication" of the Korean and Taiwanese economies. Cleary said the workers in those countries have done "a tremendous job" in adapting to the rapid pace of industrialization.

Korea and Taiwan are "beginning to challenge Japan for predominance in many areas of the international economy," Fishman declared, making it vital to explain American labor's commitment to fair trade and to let unions in those countries know the impact that foreign-made goods have on American jobs.

The AFL-CIO team expressed similar concerns during a meeting in Seoul with U.S. Ambassador Richard Walker following meetings with local labor leaders and visits to institute-sponsored projects in Inchon and Kwangju.

The visit to the Philippines, where the new government of President Corazon Aquino is engineering sweeping social reforms in the wake of the ouster of Ferdinand Marcos, stood in sharp contrast to the tightly controlled political environments of Korea and Taiwan.

Restoring democracy

"It is clear that an important political revolution" took place in the Philippines, Cleary said, and American labor is "particularly proud" that the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines "played an important role" in restoring democracy there.

While the TUCP was "promoting democratic elections and playing a major role in events," Slaiman pointed out, the Kilusang Mayo Uno, an alliance that includes some unions, supported an election boycott engineered by the Philippine communist movement.

The KMU "is not a union, it is a front group for the communist party," TUCP General Sec. Ernesto F. Herrera, winner of the 1985 George Meany Human Rights Award, told the American labor delegation. "Their leaders have no interest in the welfare of workers. They are simply interested in attaining power."

The AFL-CIO team attended a special TUCP convention called to restructure the federation and broaden its base by permitting several different types of union affiliation in an effort to bring rural workers and individual small vendors into the labor family.

The concept of reaching out to new workers is similar to the program being undertaken by the American labor movement, Laws commented.

"It is interesting," he said, "to see a foreign labor movement going ahead with this in a big way."

The delegation also visited a number of projects sponsored jointly by the TUCP and the AAFLI and met informally with union officers and members who stressed the need for continued support from American labor.

Funding slashed

Slaiman told Philippine unionists that spending cuts mandated by the Gramm-Rudman budget reduction law have slashed funds for the National Endowment for Democracy, which in the past has helped finance the work of AAFLI. He pledged that the federation would fight for continued support for the Philippine programs and would explore new sources of funding.

Demonstrating their personal commitment to the Philippine labor movement, the American team made a group donation of $500 to the Federation of Free Farmers on Leyte. The contribution was accepted by Father Ben B. Aniceto, FFF national chaplain.

During their visit to Manila, the AFL-CIO delegation met with U.S. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth to emphasize the need for more U.S. aid to the Philippines. Bosworth, who praised the institute's work in that country, expressed optimism about additional financial aid.

C.R. Barnes appointed to Mediation Board post

Charles R. Barnes, a former official of the Air Line Pilots, was named executive director of the National Mediation Board. He succeeds Rowland K. Quinn Jr., who retired after 21 years at the agency.

The NMB also announced that William A. Gill Jr., president emeritus of the Flight Engineers, had joined the agency as a mediator.

AFL-CIO delegation joins a union picket line in the Philippines.

Pension raiders reaped billions with flawed data

By Gene Zack

For the past two years, the AFL-CIO has warned repeatedly that management was using "absurd economic assumptions" as an excuse to raid pension funds of billions of dollars in so-called "excess" assets.

Now, with interest rates declining to 1978 levels and with Wall Street jittery as stock prices drop from record highs (the Dow-Jones industrial average lost some 140 points in just over a week's time), it is clear that the surpluses existed only on paper and many pension funds may actually be seriously underfunded.

Instead of the surplus that plan operators claimed could amount to as much as $300 billion, analysts now say the current economic climate has squeezed out the "excess," putting funds in a position where their assets are inadequate to meet long-term obligations.

This turn of events underscores the need for congressional action to put a brake on the wholesale termination of pension funds and "preserve the pension benefits of millions of American workers," Federation Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security Director Bert Seidman stressed.

Since 1980, Seidman pointed out, the government's Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. has approved applications to terminate 856 pension plans, giving management a combined $9.4-billion windfall—dollars that rightfully belonged to nearly a million workers and retirees.

More termination proposals are in the works—259 of them, to be exact—that could net corporations $3 billion more from pension programs covering nearly 325,000 workers. And the Internal Revenue Service has identified another 2,700 programs with "surpluses" of over $1 million each that remain potential targets for further corporate raids, Seidman warned.

"Termination for the sole purpose of capturing 'excess' assets is an abuse" of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act, which was put on the statute books to encourage establishment and maintenance of pension plans, Seidman declared.

Yet the Reagan Administration policy—contained in guidelines worked out by the Labor Dept., the IRS and the PBGC after months of squabbling—actually encourages employers to "appropriate these so-called 'excess' assets for their own benefit instead of using them for the benefit of workers and retirees as intended," he asserted.

Most retirement plans grow out of collective bargaining agreements, Seidman pointed out. "They are an acknowledgement that pensions are a part of the wages and conditions of employment which workers are to receive in exchange for their labor. They aren't free and workers

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Laid-off railway workers—battling anti-union tactics of Guilford Transportation Industries—rally in Rouses Point, N.Y., to get their jobs back.

Rail unions welcome crucial court rulings

By Arlee C. Green

Rail unions with bargaining rights at Guilford Transportation Industries won two key court decisions—one ordering reinstatement of 1,700 workers laid off after honoring Maintenance of Way Employees' picket lines, and the other holding that the courts cannot prevent the BMWE from "secondary" picketing.

Both cases grew out of a strike begun Mar. 3 by the BMWE against Guilford's Maine Central Railroad and Portland Terminal. Picketing in that strike expanded to other rail carriers, including Guilford's Boston & Maine and Delaware & Hudson lines.

In the U.S. District Court in Portland, Me., Judge Eugene Carter ordered Guilford to reinstate with back pay some 1,700 union employees from 13 unions whose jobs were abolished when they returned to work May 16 following establishment of a presidential emergency board to investigate the dispute. The workers who were ordered reinstated had honored BMWE picket lines set up at Guilford's facilities.

Carter later granted the carrier's request for a stay, pending appeal, of the order calling for the workers to receive immediate back pay.

BMWE President Ole Berge told delegates to the union's convention in Kansas City of the union's victory in that case and noted that the judge admonished Guilford for not carrying out his order to rehire the union members. "The judge said they had 'done it' to rail labor, they had 'done it' to the Railway Labor Act, they had 'done it'

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Vital issues cram Congress agenda

Shaping policy on trade, taxes, jobs

By David L. Perlman

The legislative clock is about to start ticking the final weeks of the 99th Congress and legislation affecting the jobs, health, safety and pocketbooks of America's workers will be competing for floor time.

Tax reform and trade are the two broad-based issues that have been at the top of the AFL-CIO's legislative agenda, and the verdict is not yet in.

A carefully picked panel of House and Senate negotiators has been named to mesh the separate tax bills passed by the House and Senate. Their decisions will determine how close the final version comes to labor's tax justice goals. If the conferees reach a consensus without heavy bloodshed, the legislation they agree on will almost certainly become law.

On the trade front, President Reagan's vetoes and veto threats have been the chief obstacle to bills that would stop the drain of American jobs. An enormous and growing trade deficit has been responsible for continued heavy unemployment and a shift from good-paying occupations to low-wage service jobs.

Veto override

In early August, Congress will make an effort to override President Reagan's veto of the bill passed last December to curb textile, apparel, shoe and copper imports.

Still awaiting Senate action is the labor-supported trade measure the House passed by a 295-115 vote last May. It calls for negotiations to reduce the trade imbalance with nations that have targeted the U.S. market while protecting their own. If agreement isn't reached, the President is directed to impose sanctions.

In another important area, a House-Senate conference has been struggling over renewal and expansion of the superfund program—to finance the cleanup of toxic wastes that has gotten off to such a slow start. The original program expired, but the superfund has been kept alive by stopgap extensions.

There are other unresolved safety issues directly affecting large groups of workers.

Job hazards

One is the labor-backed bill to establish a federal early warning system to alert workers whose health has been endangered by on-the-job exposure to hazardous substances. It has committee approval and is being scheduled for action by the full House.

Despite the lateness of the session, a consensus by interested parties encourages hopes for passage of a stronger pesticide control law that will speed up testing of pesticide agreements and improve information available to workers who are exposed to pesticides.

There is bipartisan support also for another labor-backed safety bill racing the legislative clock—a measure to force the Environmental Protection Agency to issue

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Economy in 'deep trouble' as fear of recession grows

Slumping factory production, serious under utilization of industrial capacity and a dizzying drop in the stock market brought warnings from some analysts that another Reagan Recession could be in the making.

As the economy ground along in low gear, the AFL-CIO predicted the Administration would be forced to announce a sharp downward revision in its economic forecasts for the balance of the year.

"The economy is in deep trouble, thanks to the record-breaking trade and budget deficits of this Administration," Federation Economist Arnold Cantor emphasized, "and virtually nobody in the business community shares the President's optimism about a strong rebound in the forseeable future."

Cantor said it may be too early to conclude that a new recession is in the offing—a prediction that came from a number of industry economists. But, he emphasized, such forecasts should not be discounted.

"It is clear that Reagan has been trying to whistle his way past the economic graveyard while the situation has gone from bad to worse," he declared. "There is no confidence in business and financial circles, and little consumer confidence that things are going to get better in a hurry."

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Protest flight

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and other international union leaders are en route to Johannesburg to file strong protests with the South African government against the wholesale arrest and detention of black trade unionists.

The delegation plans to let the white-minority government know that the free trade union movement opposes suspension of worker and human rights during the "state of emergency" imposed by the Botha regime to stifle opposition to its racist policies.

The group will also attempt to visit jailed trade union officials.

Heading the delegation is General Sec. John Vanderveken of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Other members include President Ernst Breit of the West German Trade Union Federation, General Sec. Norman Willis of the British Trades Union Congress and International Affairs Director Kaare Sandegren of the Norwegian Trade Union Council.

Hidden agenda of right to work

Deception a major weapon

By Karin Chenoweth

The National Right to Work Committee's campaign to amend the Hobbs Act has been used mainly as a forum to air anti-labor propaganda, with no regard for the accuracy of the many charges brought against the unions.

For example, its "Violence Task Force Report," a regular newsletter, gives specific instances of "union violence." Many of these incidents are described in such a vague way that it is impossible to determine if the incidents are true. Others seem to have a kernel of truth buried beneath piles of rubble. The following appeared on the front page of the October 1982 issue:

This series of articles is reprinted from a study sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy. Copies of the full report are available for $2 each from the LID, 181 Hudson St., Suite 3A, New York, N.Y. 10013. The author, Karin Chenoweth, is a Washington area journalist.

Fourth in a Series

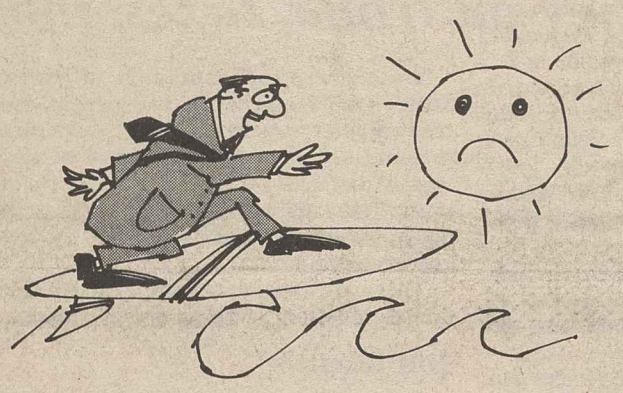
"Night riders recently pumped shotgun blasts into the home and car of a Peoria, Ill., couple in a cowardly late-night attack linked by the Paris Beacon-News to a strike called by officials of the Grain Millers Union Local 115 at the Illinois Cereal Mills.

"Heavy-gauge buckshot scored the siding of the home and ripped into the bedroom where Mitch Camp, whose wife worked at the mill, was sleeping.

"On the same night, police rushed to Illinois Central Mills to investigate a shotgun attack that demolished the glass in the front door of the plant. Local 115 boss Gene Sharp admitted to the Beacon-News that 'The first thing that comes to everybody's mind when stuff like this happens is that the union is behind it.'"

This account is so muddled that it is difficult to separate fact from fiction. Peoria is about a three-hour drive from the Illinois Cereal Mills, so it seems unlikely that a Peoria couple was involved in any way. The editor of the Paris Beacon-News laughed when he heard the description of "night riders" and "cowardly sneak attack." He said that the newspaper had not linked any shooting with the strike. "No one ever wrote that," he said.

He and the local sheriffs did recall that a window of the mill was shot out and that there was another shot fired,



although some thought it had been at an unoccupied car and others agreeing that it had been a house.

The only Gene Sharp anywhere in that part of Illinois is not a "Local 115 boss." He was at that time and still is a member of a union—a different one—but neither he nor his wife has ever worked at the Illinois Cereal Mill factory.

The committee cites a similar case to support its allegation that local and state authorities are so intimidated by unions that they avoid prosecuting crimes committed by union members. A film produced by the committee, "Sceptre of Violence," charges that in Lake Charles, La., in 1976, "The father of two children, a 26-year-old construction worker who belonged to the 'wrong' union, lay sprawled on the floor of a demolished trailer, killed by the union gunfire. No convictions."

In fact, Donald Ray Lovett was arrested and convicted on the charge of criminal damage to property and conspiracy in connection with the murder of Joe Hooper. He was given the maximum penalty of 22-and-a-half years in prison, and at least two others were convicted of aggravated criminal damage to property.

A mailing by the RTW committee stated: "Wilkes-Barre, Pa., October 1978. A mob of union toughs attacked a group of workers at the Wilkes-Barre Publishing Co." But according to a local newspaper, the Scranton Times, it was armed security guards who attacked union members. On Oct. 8, 1978, it reported: "A Capital Cities guard, Stephen Foor, 23, of Pittsburgh, was arrested on charges of aggravated assault and battery after he allegedly used his vehicle to run down a picket, Frank Ancharski, Saturday." On Oct. 10, the paper reported: "Thomas Murray, a printer on picket duty, was treated and released from Wilkes-Barre General Hospital after allegedly being hit in the face with an ammonia-based fire repellent being sprayed through the chain-link fence by guards from the Wackenhut Security Service . . . . "

Fallout from falsehoods

The point is not whether union members and officials ever engage in acts of violence. Some do, just as have some businessmen, sports fans and rock concert-goers. Violent acts should be prosecuted, but it is no more necessary to do away with unions than it is to do away with businesses, sports or rock music. Yet the RTW committee's falsehoods and distortions are highly damaging to unions, since people who are unfamiliar with them are easily convinced that unions are more prone to violence than other groups.

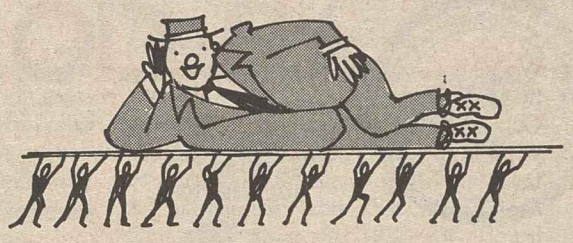
Although the Hobbs Act has taken up much of the committee's time and attention recently, its other activities have similarly been aimed at harming unions.

For example, it easily spent over $250,000 opposing the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977, which was hotly debated in Congress before it was defeated. The bill, which unions lobbied for heavily, would have given the National Labor Relations Board greater enforcement powers by allowing it to impose heavier penalties on law-breaking employers; it would also have permitted prompter union representation elections to prevent delaying tactics by employers. A major impetus for the bill had been the flagrantly illegal behavior of the J.P. Stevens & Co., which openly defied NLRB orders and paid modest fines rather than permit a union in any of its textile plants.

Employer groups, such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, opposed labor law reform on the grounds that nonunion businesses would be easier to unionize under the new rules. The National Right to Work Committee also opposed it, for similar reasons. In so doing, the committee abandoned its pretense of remaining a single-issue organization interested solely in the question of "compulsory unionism." The committee opposed the measure, according to the Right to Work Newsletter, because it would expedite union representation elections "before employees can be lawfully informed of the possible adverse consequences," because its penalties "would be harsh and unwarranted, particularly for small businessmen who operate on slight profit margins," and because it "would grant unions coercive new leverage at the bargaining table."

The committee's campaign against the bill, which included advertisements in 150 papers, generating millions of pieces of mail to Congress, was considered by many obsevers as quite effective—perhaps the deciding factor in the bill's demise.

The same holds true for the committee's vigorous lobbying against common-situs picketing legislation, introduced in 1975 and 1977. That bill provided that construction workers employed by different contractors could sup-



port a strike against a single contractor by picketing the whole construction site. It would have meant more effective strikes and more union leverage at the bargaining table.

Again, this issue had nothing to do with union security arrangements. Yet for almost four months, the committee devoted most of its time and budget to opposing the bill, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on advertisements and mailings on the issue. The justification for this mammoth campaign was that situs picketing would be harmful to business. In a 1975 letter to President Ford urging him to veto the legislation (which he subsequently did), RTW head Reed Larson wrote, "Even your Secretary of Labor now admits that major employer groups like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Associated General Contractors of America oppose this damaging legislation."

Letters of solicitation

In a letter sent out to solicit money and in lobbying letters, Larson wrote:

"Do you want a gang of strong arm toughs to come into Washington, force honest workmen from their jobs, replace them with union cronies, and drastically jack up the cost of building your schools, your hospitals and your homes?

"Of course you don't!

"But that's exactly what will happen in town after town if the "common situs" picketing bill, now being railroaded through Congress, is signed into law by President Ford . . . .

"This outrageous measure has but one purpose: to give added muscle to some of the most corrupt, ruthless, and violent bosses in our nation. This legislation would give officials of racket-stained unions yet another weapon to legally club employees, employers and consumers into submission."

Such language seems out of all proportion to the relatively innocuous proposal to allow pickets at construction sites. It certainly goes beyond the "single issue" of union security.

Oregon labor puts job safety at top of legislative agenda

Portland, Ore.—Controlling liability insurance rates and improving job safety topped the list of legislative goals shaped by the Oregon AFL-CIO convention.

In setting the federation's legislative agenda, delegates also called for an overhaul of the state's unemployment and workers' compensation systems and urged improvements in the retirement plan covering public workers.

On liability rates, delegates recommended that the state's insurance commissioner should determine whether proposed rate increases are justified and called for participation by consumer representatives in rate-setting and insurance industry regulation.

Delegates also insisted that changes in the workers' compensation program, likely to be considered by the 1987 state legislature in a "tort reform" package, must "be consistent with the right and ability of an injured party to receive full and adequate compensation."

Nearly 300 delegates attended the two-day session which focused on upcoming gubernatorial and congressional elections and the state federation's legislative priorities.

Neil Goldschmidt, Secretary of Transportation during the Carter Administration, won the delegates' endorsement for governor. Also winning the convention's vote of approval in upcoming congressional races were incumbent Congressmen Les AuCoin and Ron Wyden and candidates Larry Tuttle, Peter DeFazio and Barbara Ross, all Democrats.

No endorsement was made in the senatorial contest between incumbent Sen. Robert Packwood (R) and Democratic challenger James Weaver, both of whom addressed the convention.

The delegates also deferred action on the tax reform packages recently voted by the House and Senate, now headed for conference.

Call for jobs

The delegates heard Goldschmidt emphasize jobs as a principal element of his campaign. "My idea of life in America is that everybody ought to have a good job," he stressed.

Other speakers included Douglas Fraser, retired president of the Auto Workers, who reassured delegates that labor will "continue to play a constructive force in society."

In a series of resolutions, delegates voiced strong opposition to mandatory drug testing and searches, supporting rehabilitation programs and increaseed community services for affected workers.

Delegates also opposed attempts to turn prison operations over to private for-profit firms and underscored their opposition to a state sales tax.

Don't water the beer

A drop of good beer is good for a man who's thirsty, tired and hot . . .
And sometimes I has a drop for myself from a very special lot.
But a fat and healthy working class is the thing that I most fear,
So I reaches my hand for the water tap and I waters the workers' beer.

That's a humorous ditty that you might hear in a London or Dublin pub, or perhaps in some Washington hotels these days.

The modern-day "Man Who Waters the Workers' Beer" was the Hilton Hotel manager in Washington, D.C., who tried to dilute a contract provision that hotel cooks are entitled to three free bottles of beer a day. He made a unilateral decision to substitute a nonalcoholic imitation beer.

Local 25 of the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees took the dispute to arbitration—and won. When the arbitrator upheld the union's grievance, cooks and chefs toasted their victory with management-provided union beer.

Ron Richardson, the Local 25 secretary-treasurer, said the free beer is a tradition European cooks brought to America and preserved through their union contract.

UFCW sounds tampering alert

Los Angeles—A public awareness campaign against product tampering has been launched by Food & Commercial Workers Local 770 here using a brochure and a 30-second television commercial.

Local President Ricardo F. Icaza said in announcing the awareness campaign that "product tampering has frightened consumers and wreaked havoc with retailers and drug producers. We have a responsibility to the industry we serve, to the millions of consumers who rely on the safety of the products we sell them and to our own families."

The union brochure, titled "Tips Against Tampering," provides two dozen suggestions on how to spot tampered products and urges consumer to alert retail workers of suspicious packaging. The pamphlet was sent to union members and is available to the public.

The awareness campaign is a joint labor-management project with Sav-On and Thrifty drug store chains.

For service

Joyce I. Bean of Communications Workers Local 5073 in Galesburg, Ill., receives the Joseph A. Beirne Community Services Award, United Way's highest national honor for trade unionists, from CWA President Morton Bahr. The award is named for the late CWA president.

Textile jobs plunge to 35-year low as import tide batters U.S. industry

Textile employment in eight southeastern states—the industry's heartland—plunged in 1985 for the ninth consecutive year, hitting its lowest level since the government started keeping those statistics 35 years ago.

And all signs point to a continued decline this year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics said.

The BLS report brought renewed appeals from organized labor for Congress to override President Reagan's veto of the Textile & Apparel Trade Act. The vote is scheduled for Aug. 6.

"This is just added evidence of the destruction of a major American industry brought about by the impotent trade policies of the Reagan Administration," said Clothing & Textile Workers President Murray H. Finley.

President Vernon Mustard of the Textile Workers agreed. "The only solution to the problems facing the textile industry, and the entire American industrial base, is to restrict the amount of imports and guarantee American firms a share of the domestic market," he declared.

The BLS reported that textile plants in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Kentucky and Mississippi employed an average of 485,300 workers last year—down 33,400 from 1984.

Precipitate decline

The textile employment level was 17 percent below 1951 in a region that employs seven out of every 10 workers in that industry, BLS said.

The government noted that in 1951 the textile industry accounted for 32.2 percent of the region's total manufacturing employment. But the battering from imports has pushed textile's share of the job market down to a mere 13.5 percent.

In the face of this continued decline in jobs, both Finley and Mustard were skeptical about the effects of agreements the Administration has negotiated with Taiwan and Hong Kong to limit the growth of textile shipments into the U.S. during the next two years.

The agreements are "riddled with loopholes," Finley asserted, and will make it possible for the Administration to "continue to give away the store" to foreign interests. He charged the White House with negotiating the pacts in "a desperate attempt to stave off next month's veto override."

Mustard called the bilateral agreements "a BandAid approach" that will do little, if anything, to end the "hemorrhage in jobs caused by low-cost imports." American textile manufacturers "can't offset the differential in manufacturing costs" enjoyed by low-wage foreign competitors, he said.

Mustard pointed out that even if the agreements succeeded in inhibiting textile imports from Taiwan and Hong Kong, "new problems would arise" as other nations sought to penetrate the U.S. market.

White House turns up heat to avert Manion's rejection

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole is prepared to stretch the rulebook to get Daniel A. Manion confirmed as a federal appellate court judge, but Senate Democrats warn that they may hold up some of President Reagan's other judicial appointments over Dole's maneuver.

Manion is a former Indiana legislator who is better known as a right-wing ideologue than as an attorney. His minimal professional qualifications had apparently doomed the nomination to defeat until the Administration pulled a few rabbits out of the hat last month.

The most publicized maneuver switched the vote of Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.), who dropped his opposition to Manion's confirmation in exchange for a White House promise of support for his candidate for a district judge vacancy.

Another senator, Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.) withdrew her vote against Manion's confirmation in order to "pair" with an absent senator whose position on the nomination may have been misrepresented to her.

Split vote

Even then, the best the Administration could muster was a 47-47 split that would have allowed Vice President Bush to cast a tie-breaking ballot for confirmation. Senate Democratic Leader Robert Byrd thwarted that scenario by a voting for confirmation in order to move immediately for reconsideration. His parliamentary maneuver prevented the confirmation vote from becoming final.

The showdown on Byrd's reconsideration motion was supposed to come when Congress returned from a two-week recess. But when the Senate came back, the Republican leadership still couldn't count the votes necessary to confirm Manion in a rematch. And until he can count the votes to assure confirmation, Dole said, he won't allow a vote on the reconsideration motion. As majority leader, Dole has traditional authority over the Senate's schedule.

Dole held open what he termed the "final option" of a procedural maneuver that would allow the 48-46 confirmation vote to become final through the adjournment of Congress without a vote on the reconsideration motion.

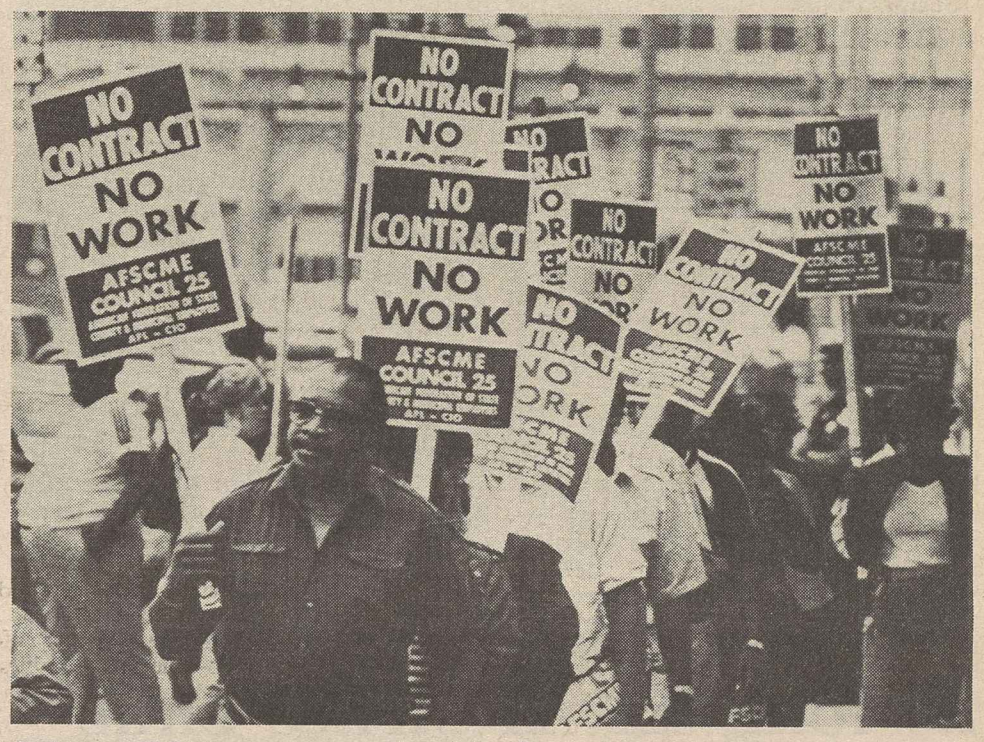
Fighting back

Democrats first talked of trying to block a confirmation vote on President Reagan's Supreme Court appointments until the Manion nomination is brought back before the Senate. But at a party caucus, the consensus was that any retaliatory moves be limited to lower-level judicial nominees.

President Reagan told Senate Republican leaders that he considered the confirmation of Manion a major test of presidential support, and Dole is seeking to neutralize GOP dissidents by portraying the reconsideration vote as a strictly procedural issue, in which party loyalty is expected.

But the White House pressure for vote switches is likely to stop short of the open horse trading that hurt Gorton politically and could cost the GOP its majority control of the Senate in the November election.

Gorton is running for re-election and his perceived lead over Democrat Brock Adams shrank drastically under a barrage of home state criticism. Ironically, the Washington state lawyer he was pushing for federal judge was being resisted by right-wing ideologues as too liberal. But Gorton's last-minute vote switch was so blatant that the consensus was that it did him serious political damage.



Striking AFSCME members on the picket line in Detroit.

Municipal workers hold firm for Philly, Detroit pay goals

Nearly 20,000 State, County & Municipal Employees remain on strike in Philadelphia and Detroit while negotiators continue to bargain over union proposals for higher pay and benefits as against management pressure for givebacks.

The Philadelphia strike by AFSCME District Council 33 continued in its third week with some progress reported at the bargaining table.

The city, expressing public health and safety concerns, obtained a court order July 16 to force about 2,500 sanitation workers and 850 health care workers back to work.

Council 33 President Earl Stout said the union would comply with the order, but the members refused to cross the picket lines.

AFSCME President Gerald McEntee noted some progress in working out the complex issue of the city's longstanding debt to the union's health and welfare fund and in limiting the use of private contractors to do bargaining unit work.

AFSCME District Council 47, which represents 2,500 of the city's white-collar workers, ratified a new two-year contract on July 12 that provides for a 10-percent wage increase. The agreement, ending an 11-day strike for the white-collar workers, contained a provision that they would not be required to cross Council 33's picket lines.

That agreement also provided for increases in the employer's health and welfare contributions, and pay equity adjustments in some female-dominated jobs.

Detroit walkout

In Detroit, 17 AFSCME locals representing 7,000 of the 18,000 municipal employees went on strike July 16.

The key bargaining issues are wages and city government demands for language changes that will weaken job protections and seniority rights.

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, who received a 44-percent pay increase earlier this year, called the union's request for a 26-percent increase over three years, "so unrealistic, it's not even worthy of discussion." The city council members got 22-percent raises this year.

Flo Walker, chief union negotiator for the 17 AFSCME locals, pointed out that the city ended the fiscal year last month with a $52-million surplus "sitting there from the workers making concessions over the years."

Toxic hazard report

Reagan undercuts 'right to know'

The Reagan Administration's continuing attacks on the gathering of occupational safety and health data on which critical decisions are made concerning worker safety on the job, were condemned in a comprehensive report released by Public Citizen.

The report titled "Working in the Dark: Reagan & the Right to Know about Occupational Hazards" echoes organized labor's chief complaints about the Administration's general weakening of the nation's worker protection programs and related activities.

Programs that generate toxicity and exposure data, that train workers about hazards, that provide technical or practical assistance and that ensure public access to health and safety information are being cut back by the Administration, the report said.

"The Reagan Administration is returning to the 'dark ages' when industry's economic successes were fueled by an ignorant and compliant workforce," it charged.

Joan Claybrook, president of Public Citizen, stressed that under Reagan, "workers must continue to fight to maintain their existing rights of access" to health and safety information.

She noted that the White House Office of Management & Budget is locked in a battle with the Occupational Safety & Health Administration on how far to cut back worker access to medical and exposure records.

Employers drag feet

Employers are reluctant to provide information concerning worker safety and health because costs may arise from required corrective actions, workers' compensation payments or liability lawsuits, the report indicated.

Evidence of this reluctance was seen recently when OSHA charged Union Carbide Corp. with hundreds of recordkeeping violations.

Yet the Administration recently blocked a request from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to survey just 40 workplaces to determine the extent of employer underreporting of occupational injuries, diseases and deaths.

At the same time, the report noted, employers often cite a lack of solid statistical evidence as a reason not to issue regulations on essential health and safety concerns.

Besides the attacks on data collection, the report emphasized that workers, whom the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health has identified as being at increased risk of occupational disease, will not be notified because the Administration is thwarting such action.

The Public Citizen report listed 19 recommendations for improving the collection of medical and exposure data, worker access to records and upgrading existing programs.

'No-tax' years mean megabucks for fat corporations

More than half the nation's biggest and most profitable corporations not only avoided any federal taxes in at least one year between 1982 and 1985, they also shared $6.1 billion in tax rebates during that period, Citizens for Tax Justice charged.

The study focused on the 250 leading corporations that account for more than half the total corporate profits reported in the last four years and was based on the firms' annual reports to the Securities & Exchange Commission.

CTJ reported that 130 of these firms racked up pretax profits of $72.9 billion. But instead of paying $33.5 billion in taxes, "as the 46-percent corporate tax rate purports to require," they received tax rebates totalling $6.1 billion, said Robert S. McIntyre, CTJ's director of federal tax policy.

"Nothing makes the case for tax reform better than this scandalous, ongoing tax avoidance by money-making companies," McIntyre declared. "Only by making these big corporations pay their fair share will middle-income taxpayers get a fair shake from the tax reform bill now pending in Congress."

No-tax years common

To the "vast majority" of American families who pay their federal income taxes every year, "the idea of a 'no-tax year' is almost inconceivable," he pointed out. "But for most of America's largest corporations, no-tax years are now commonplace."

The CTJ study showed:

- The biggest "corporate freeloader" for the past four years was AT&T, the company with the largest profits. Although it had almost $25 billion in pretax profits, it paid no federal income taxes in the past four years. Instead, it received $636 million in tax refunds from the federal Treasury.
- Ten other corporate tax avoiders also escaped any federal taxes between 1982 and 1985. The combined profit for the 11 firms was $39.7 billion, and they ended up with a total of more than $1.5 billion in tax rebates.
- Although the nation's top six defense contractors reaped $21.7 billion in combined profits, only one of them had a tax rate of more than 3 percent. Three others paid less than 1 percent while two actually received refunds.
- For all 250 companies, the average tax rate over the past four years was a mere 14.9 percent because they were able to use tax loopholes to avoid the 46-percent rate called for in the present tax code.

Had these 250 corporations paid the full rate on profits totalling $388 billion, their taxes would have been $120.5 billion more than they actually paid. That would have been enough, McIntyre pointed out, "to meet the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction targets" through fiscal 1989.

Spearheaded reform

CTJ—a research and lobbying group supported by a coalition of labor unions, churches, public interest groups and community-based organizations—has spearheaded the nationwide grassroots drive for tax reforms. It is credited with forcing Congress to come to grips with the corporate giveaways embodied in the Reagan Administration's restructuring of the tax code in 1981.

McIntyre urged congressional conferees to adopt the House tax reform provisions which, he said, will be "far more effective in cracking down on corporate tax avoidance" than the Senate version.

Top corporate freeloaders

Here is the Citizens for Tax Justice list of the biggest "corporate freeloaders," who amassed millions of dollars in rebates from the federal government instead of paying any income taxes between 1982 and 1985.

Company	Profit (in millions of dollars)	Rebate	Tax Rate
AT&T	$24,898.0	$635.5	-2.6%
Dupont	3,785.0	179.0	-4.7%
Boeing Co.	2,271.0	121.0	-5.3%
General Dynamics	1,994.5	90.9	-4.6%
Pepsico	1,921.1	89.3	-4.6%
General Mills	1,215.7	78.7	-6.5%
Transamerica Corp.	525.0	73.2	-13.9%
Texaco	1,587.0	68.0	-4.3%
International Paper Co.	581.0	59.8	-10.3%
Greyhound Corp.	338.9	53.7	-15.9%
IC Industries	561.2	53.7	-9.6%
Totals	**$39,678.4**	**$1,502.8**	**-3.8%**

Courts back 13 rail unions on job rights, picket lines

Continued from Page 1

to their employees, 'but you won't do it to me," Berge quoted the judge.

The second favorable court ruling came from a three-judge panel of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. The judges ruled the Norris-LaGuardia Act prevents the federal courts from enjoining rail unions from any of the numerous types of self-help activities that include "giving publicity to . . . any labor dispute, whether by advertising, speaking, patrolling and by any other method not involving fraud or violence."

In that case, Central Vermont Railway Inc. sought an injunction to block BMWE members from picketing its facilities. The rail carrier argued that since it was a "neutral bystander," the picketing it sought to enjoin did not "grow out of any labor dispute" covered by the act.

The court also concluded that such picketing was not barred by the Railway Labor Act. It explored whether the RLA required BMWE "to attempt to settle its 'dispute' with Central Vermont through the statutory mediation procedures before resorting to self-help."

Bargaining relations

A three-judge panel noted that the RLA language "presupposes an existing employment or bargaining relationship between the disputants." A "friend of the court" brief filed by other rail carriers suggested that "meaningful bargaining could be had over the placement and duration of pickets" and other matters.

The judges, in upholding a lower court ruling, said it would take a "strained reading of the act" to hold that it requires mediation between a carrier and striking workers of another employer. "Carriers would have little incentive to settle a dispute with non-employees whose only bargaining chip (the picketing) is taken away by the mediation process itself."

They added that "requiring mandatory mediation as a prerequisite to secondary picketing, then, could have the practical effect of banning conduct that Congress left unregulated." They concluded that RLA's settlement mechanisms "simply do not reach beyond the context of primary disputes."

Meanwhile, bargainers for BMWE and Guilford prepared to meet daily under the guidance of the National Mediation Board until July 21 when the 60-day "cooling-off" period ends. After that, either the carrier or the union can engage in self-help actions.

Basis for settlement

A presidential emergency board, in a report released June 20, recommended language providing job protection, along with some work rule changes that the BMWE said could form the basis for a settlement.

Berge told convention delegates he was still hopeful of reaching a reasonable agreement with Guilford. He stressed that the union would not resume its strike against the rail carrier so long as good-faith bargaining continues. "Any strike option we have would depend on their fulfilling that commitment," he said.

Meanwhile, President Reagan established another emergency board to investigate the disputes between the nation's major railroads and six rail unions that haven't reached new contracts.

Those unions, which represent 100,000 workers, include the BMWE, Railway Carmen, Railroad Signalmen, Electrical Workers, Machinists, and Firemen & Oilers. They have been bargaining with the National Railway Labor Conference, the management bargaining arm for the big carriers since.

If the board had not been named, the unions would have been free to strike July 25.

Machinists get jobs back as long El Al strike ends

New York—A 28-month strike and two-year AFL-CIO boycott ended with an agreement between El Al Airlines and the Machinists that will restore union workers to their jobs and oust strikebreakers hired to replace them.

The settlement was ratified by IAM members who had struck the Israeli airline's Kennedy Airport maintenance operations and its New York City office on Mar. 16, 1984. The strike was forced by El Al's insistence on wage and benefit cutbacks and workrule concessions in a contract renewal.

The new contract includes pension and health benefit improvements sought by the union. It leaves unresolved issues, including wages and the duration of the contract, to be settled through arbitration.

All IAM strikers will be recalled within 60 days with seniority that will include the period of the strike as well as pre-strike service. Replacements hired by El Al will be laid off to make room for them. Nearly 100 IAM members are entitled to recall, IAM District 100 Chairman Gene Hoffman said.

Hoffman said the role of the AFL-CIO and the direct intervention of President Lane Kirkland was the key to the resolution of the dispute, which involved mechanics, cargo handlers and ticket clerks at Kennedy Airport as well as employees at El Al's city office in Manhattan.

El Al is under the financial supervision of an Israeli bankruptcy court, and an earlier tentative agreement fell through after an Israeli bankruptcy judge had imposed "exceptions" that the union found unacceptable. The IAM put off the ratification vote on the present contract until the bankruptcy court accepted its terms.

Federation role

The AFL-CIO strongly pressed the Israeli government to repudiate the union-busting tactics of El Al management and Federation President Lane Kirkland stressed American labor's concern to Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. A resolution adopted at the 1985 AFL-CIO convention condemning El Al's anti-union tactics noted that the airline's actions "projects an unfair image of the nation of Israel."

With the signing of the agreement, Machinists President William W. Winpisinger requested the AFL-CIO to lift the boycott and welcomed the removal of an obstacle to the IAM's longstanding relationship with Israel. Union Label & Service Trades Dept. President John E. Mara said affiliates are being promptly notified of the settlement and the removal of El Al from labor's "don't patronize" list.

Guild wins letter perfect decision

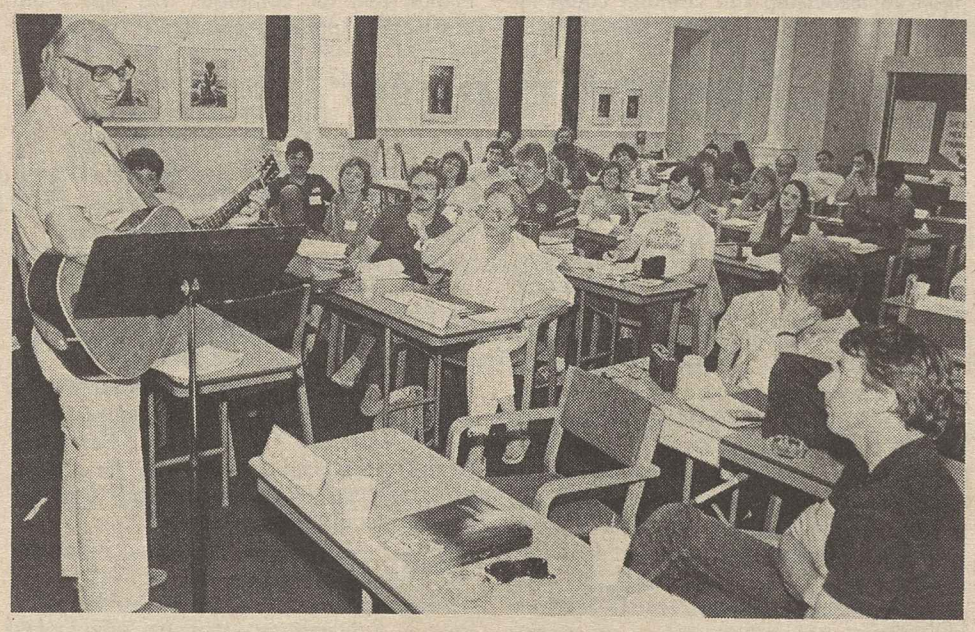
Cincinnati—The National Labor Relations Board ordered the Cincinnati Enquirer to stop discriminating against the Newspaper Guild by denying it access to company-owned employee mailboxes.

The board pointed out that the Gannett-owned newspaper permitted other organizations—including the Society for Professional Journalists and the employees' golf league—to use the mailboxes and that failure to extend the same right to the Guild violated the National Labor Relations Act.

For approximately 40 years, the NLRB said, an independent union that represented the Enquirer's employees was allowed to distribute its literature through the mailboxes. This practice ended abruptly in December 1983 after the independent group voted to affiliate with Guild Local 9.

Upholding an Administrative Law Judge, the board dismissed management's argument that it did not have to open the mailboxes to the union because it had such alternative means as bulletin boards to communicate with members. Local 9 pointed out that it had access to only some of the bulletin boards and that postings were routinely removed by management.

Although the board held that the Enquirer had discriminated against the Guild, it denied the ALJ's recommendation that the employer reimburse the union for mailing costs incurred during the time the mailboxes were declared off limits.



Singing for labor

Musicians and performers from across the country meet with a union beat during the three-day "great labor song exchange" at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies. Joe Glazer marked the 75th anniversary of the tragic Triangle factory fire with a special rendition, while participants in workshop sessions adapt traditional union songs to modern workplace problems. The finale performance featured nearly 80 labor troubadours.

For 27,000 workers

Job protection issue key to airline merger

Reagan Administration hostility to requiring labor protective provisions in airline mergers is on a collision course with the recommendations of a Transportation Dept. administrative law judge, who insists that such conditions be adopted before Northwest Airlines acquires Republic Airlines.

The decision must be made before month's end by Transportation Sec. Elizabeth Hanford Dole, and there are strong indications that she will overrule her own ALJ, Ronnie A. Yoder, who warned of a "substantial likelihood" of job terminations, demotions and transfers that could adversely affect the 27,000 employees of the two airlines.

Yoder said that if the department doesn't require full safeguards—including displacement allowances, severance pay, continued insurance coverage, moving allowances and seniority protection—it should, as a minimum, insist that the two carriers integrate their seniority lists and go to binding arbitration over any disputes arising out of that issue.

Labor protections shunted

Prior to airline deregulation in 1978, the Civil Aeronautics Board routinely insisted on labor protection provisions in any airline merger. Since coming to office, however, the Reagan Administration has repeatedly contended that they are no longer needed except when there is a threat of substantial disruption of airline service.

But airline unions point out that the "substantial disruption" standard is difficult, if not impossible, to meet.

Four AFL-CIO affiliates have a major stake in Dole's actions on the ALJ's recommendations—the Flight Attendants, Pilots, Machinists and Railway & Airline Clerks.

Ben C. Cooper, an AFA attorney, said labor would be watching the outcome closely because the Northwest-Republic merger is the "first big case" since deregulation to raise "major labor protection issues."

Airline unions pointed out that the ALJ was so specific in citing the potentially adverse effects on workers that Dole would be in an embarrassing position if she rejects the findings.

But Northwest has urged Dole to ignore the ALJ's recommendation, arguing that there are no "special circumstances" that would warrant DOT's backing away from Administration opposition to labor protection provisions as a prerequisite for approving mergers.

Impact of merger

The airline's stance during hearings drew sharp criticism from the ALJ. Northwest, he said, refused to provide any information on the merger's impact on employees.

Yoder said that it "stretched credulity beyond limits" that Northwest considered, planned and reached agreement with Republic on merger "without considering the benefits [or] detriments" to employees.

Northwest and Republic employ a total of 27,000 workers and the carriers have conceded that, following merger, there will be 49 fewer departures from cities now commonly served by the two airlines. In addition, both are headquartered in Minneapolis, both have hubs in Minneapolis and Detroit, and both provide nonstop service to 42 common markets. This all adds up, the ALJ said, to the inevitable conclusion that "consolidation of workforces will result in significant numbers of job terminations, demotions and transfers."

AFA represents 2,200 attendants at Republic. Although its contract contains labor protection guarantees, both Republic and Northwest have balked at including these provisions in the merger agreement. The unaffiliated Teamsters currently bargain for 3,600 attendants at Northwest and the ALJ accused that union of "severe bias" against Republic employees.

Pilots' issues

Yoder also found that the nearly 2,300 Northwest pilots have higher pay rates than the 2,200 Republic pilots. Although both groups are represented by the ALPA, he warned that merger would present the union with "significant questions" concerning equal pay for equal work and integration of pilots into a single seniority system.

The Railway & Airline Clerks represent 4,500 office, fleet and passenger service employees at Northwest while the Machinists represent 7,000 employees in the same classification at Republic as well as 4,400 mechanics at Northwest and 2,700 mechanics at Republic.

Beyond the Northwest-Republic case, union spokesmen point out, Dole's decision will have a major impact on another 100,000 employees whose jobs are at stake in the pending merger of Trans World Airlines and Ozark Airlines, and Texas Air Corp.'s takeover of Eastern Airlines.

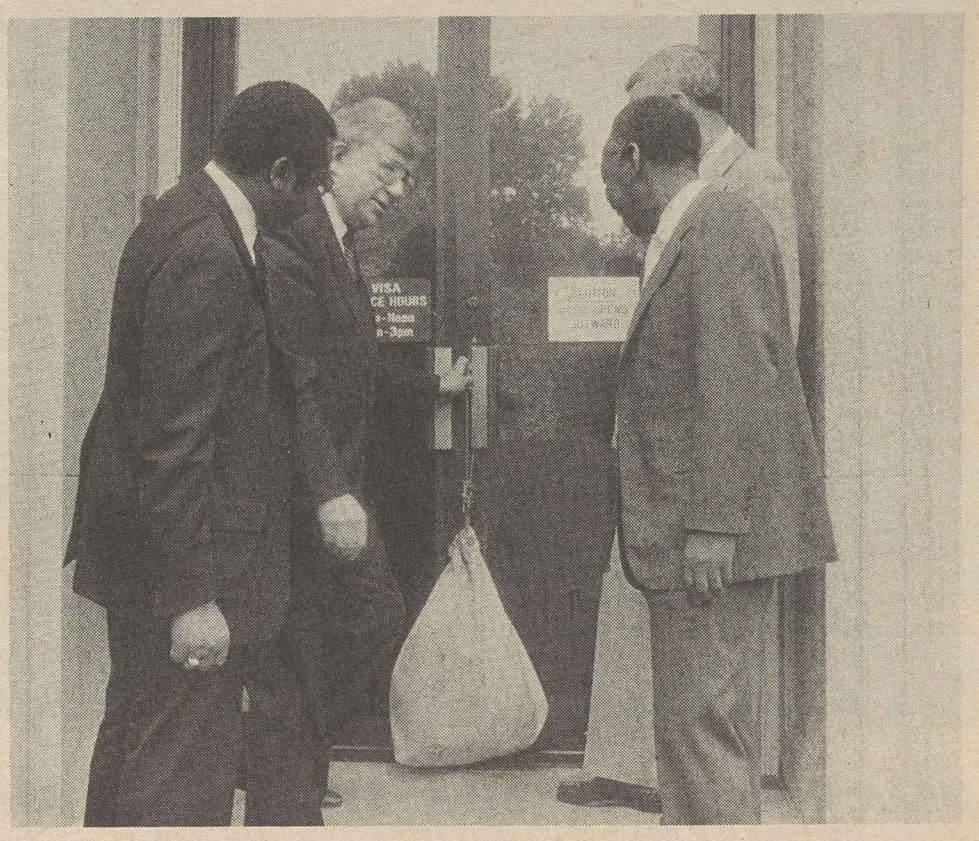
Concern that Dole will bow to political pressures from within the Administration and overrule the ALJ has prompted the unions to pursue a legislative remedy. They are supporting a bill introduced by Rep. Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif.) to make labor protection provisions mandatory in any airline merger.

Organizing drive set by Flight Attendants

The Flight Attendants are gearing up a major organizing effort at the merging Northwest and Republic airlines.

The AFA already represents Republic's 2,600 flight attendants while the unaffiliated Teamsters represent the 3,500 attendants at Northwest. The merged company intends to recognize the Teamsters and AFA plans to petition for an election to give attendants a choice between the two unions.

AFL-CIO Organizing Director Charles McDonald urged affiliates to make experienced organizers available to the AFA at four Northwest sites—Seattle, Minneapolis, New York and Chicago. He also asked affiliates to provide volunteers to make phone calls, staff airport information centers and meet with Northwest and Republic employees to explain the advantages of a pro-AFA vote.



Mail call

A nationwide campaign the Teachers launched against South African apartheid brings AFT President Albert Shanker and Director Patrick O'Farrell and other officials of the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center to the front door of the South African embassy in Washington. They delivered the first batch of 2,000 letters from AFT members denouncing the detention of thousands of black workers and condemning the cruel system of apartheid. The AFT appeal will be circulated by teachers in communities across the country, with thousands of educators expected to join the campaign.

Economy in 'deep trouble' as fear of recession grows

Continued from Page 1

The White House has been talking about a 4-percent growth in the economy this year. Now it is expected to revise that figure downward to 3.5 percent—a rate that the AFL-CIO insists is still too optimistic.

Michael Evans, president of a Washington-based economic forecasting service agreed. He sees a growth rate in the second half of this year of only 2 percent. And that's his optimistic view. "There's a 30-percent chance that we'll have a recession" in the next six months, he declared.

Sandra Shaber, director of consumer economics for Chase Econometrics, acknowledged that "we're telling our clients of the risks of a weaker-than-expected second half and even of a recession arising."

Confidence lacking

And Nariman Behravesh, chief economist at Wharton Econometrics, said the economic news "certainly doesn't provide any optimism." He said Wharton has shaved its estimate of economic growth for the year from 3 percent to 2.5 percent.

Here are the figures that are causing such widespread concern:

- Under continuing assault from imports, production at the nation's factories, mines and utilities plunged five-tenths of 1 percent in June—the fourth decline in five months.

The Federal Reserve Board said the June decline left industrial production below the level of a year ago. Slumping oil drilling because of the worldwide drop in oil prices pushed mining output down 1.5 percent, while production of business equipment fell 1.1 percent, the output of construction supplies was down 1 percent and manufacturing fell five-tenths of 1 percent.

- The nation's industries operated at just 78.3 percent of capacity last month. The operating rate now stands 2.5 percent below where it was at the beginning of the year and 3.4 percent below its average over the past two decades.
- Retail sales rose a scant two-tenths of 1 percent last month, the Commerce Dept. reported. Without brisk automobile sales, spurred by price breaks and low interest rates designed to move inventories before the end of the model year, there would have been no change at all in the retail sales picture.
- Widespread pessimism about the economy was blamed on Wall Street for the steep slide in stock prices which sent the Dow Jones industrial average down some 140 points—a 7.4-percent plunge—in the past two weeks.
- Adding to the economic gloom, Office of Management & Budget Director James C. Miller III said the federal budget deficit for the current fiscal year—already expected to set an all-time record—will be some $10 billion higher than anticipated. Sluggish growth, he said, has bitten deeply into the government's revenues this year.
- In an effort to pump new life into a stubbornly sluggish economy, the Federal Reserve Board lowered its discount rate—the interest it charges on loans to financial institutions—from 6.5 percent to 6 percent, the lowest level in more than eight years. Most of the nation's major banks followed suit by lowering their prime lending rate from 8.5 to 8 percent.

The AFL-CIO said that, while a "welcome step" in the direction of making money more readily available for industrial expansion, the cut in interest rates may be "too little, too late" in reviving the lagging economy. "As long as workers' incomes aren't growing, demand remains sluggish and capacity is under utilized, not many corporations are going to invest in new plant and equipment, no matter what the interest rate," Cantor warned.

- Even the Labor Dept. report that the producer price index remained unchanged in June, and that it fell at an annual rate of 6.5 percent in the first half of the year, failed to produce many smiles in the business community.

The figures, most analysts agreed, reflect a slack, almost directionless, economy.

Building Trades raise ante in Toyota dispute

The AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. called on the Japanese embassy in Washington to head off an escalating dispute over the use of nonunion labor to build an $800-million Toyota auto plant near Georgetown, Ky.

Warning that the interests of the Japanese government and American workers are on "a direct and immediate collision course," BCTD President Robert A. Georgine urged the embassy to help resolve the dispute "in a manner that protects the legitimate interests of all concerned."

Georgine sharply criticized Ohbayashi Construction of Japan for selecting five nonunion general contractors and for presenting the Kentucky BCTD with a "totally one-sided" proposal giving Ohbayashi the "unrestricted right" to operate the project on an open-shop basis.

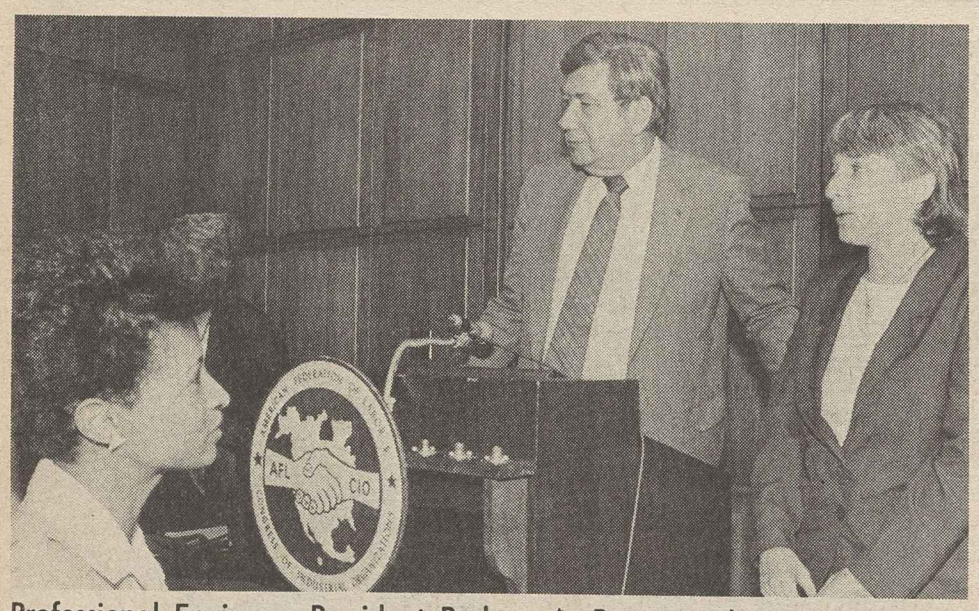
The department has joined a suit in Franklin Circuit Court in Kentucky challenging the legality of $200 million in tax breaks to lure Toyota to that state, Georgine said in a letter to First Sec. Toshiro Ozawa. The BCTD, he added, will follow up with a nationwide media campaign urging American consumers to "refrain from purchasing Toyota products."

Georgine cited what he called the "shocking contrast" between the way Japan and the United States treat each other's contractors. The Japanese have prohibited American firms from bidding on the Kansai International Airport project in Osaka, he said, while 23 Japanese firms obtained $1.8 billion in contracts in the United States in 1985.

Unionized American construction workers are capable of doing the job at the Toyota facility, the BCTD president said, pointing to their completion of the Honda plant in Marysville, Ohio, "ahead of schedule and under budget," their construction of a Mazda plant in Detroit and a Mitsubishi facility in Bloomington, Ind., and the agreement to build the joint General Motors-Toyota Saturn plant in Spring Hill, Tenn.

This isn't the first time that the BCTD has found itself at odds with the Japanese government over the choice of contractors. In 1984, the department protested the hiring of a nonunion firm to build an addition at the Washington embassy. At that time, Ozawa wrote to Georgine expressing hopes for "a mutually beneficial relationship between the AFL-CIO and the embassy."

Reminding Ozawa of that incident, Georgine cautioned that "there can be no mutually beneficial relationship" if the Japanese government doesn't intervene with Toyota to prevent "an all-out confrontation" over the construction policy for the Kentucky plant.



Professional Engineers President Rodney A. Bower and member Pamella Doviak sum up victory over Navy discrimination at news conference.

EEOC decision flags Navy after 5-year sex bias battle

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ruled that the Navy illegally discriminated against Pamella Doviak, a civilian engineering technician at the Portsmouth (N.H.) Naval Shipyard, when it refused to allow her to participate in a submarine sea trial.

Doviak, a member of Professional & Technical Engineers Local 4, won an overtime and back pay award and the right to participate in future sea trials. She was aided in her five-year battle against the Navy by the IFPTE and the Women's Equity Action League.

Doviak must go on the sea trials to meet her job responsibilities and to be eligible for future promotions, according to her supervisor at the shipyard. She brought her case to the EEOC after the Navy denied her complaint, claiming that Doviak, as a naval employee, was not protected by civil rights laws.

IFPTE President Rodney A. Bower applauded the commission's decision, pointing out that "the federal government cannot afford to waste the talent and training of employees" like Doviak, particularly "in these times of federal budgetary restraints and work force cutbacks."

Union watching

"The IFPTE will be watching" to ensure that the EEOC decision is carried out and that "common sense and justice prevail," Bower promised at a Washington press conference.

Doviak stressed that she and other women in the military were not seeking special or preferential treatment but the right "to do the jobs we have been trained for—all the jobs, including sea trials on submarines." The IFPTE estimates that about 60 women in the technician category and another 200 women in blue-collar jobs will be affected by the EEOC decision and will become eligible for the sea trials.

The EEOC decision confirmed the Navy's own finding that its action constituted sex discrimination.

Doviak had gone to sea on the USS Benjamin Franklin in 1981 to collect data and evaluate the technical work she had completed on the submarine while it was in the shipyard. She joined a crew of 120 persons, including about 40 civilians.

Return barred

Although the Navy concluded that the operation went smoothly and "no adverse effects" resulted from Doviak's participation, she was denied permission to join the USS Kamehameha for a similar operation in November 1982.

The Navy conceded that Doviak's gender was the sole cause of the decision to deny her participation in the sea trials, arguing that her presence would infringe on crew privacy and "impede the crew's readiness and other military abilities."

Although no crew members testified, the Navy insisted that Doviak's use of the toilet facilities "inconvenienced" the male crew and "compromised" their privacy.

But the EEOC investigation ruled that Doviak's earlier sea trial showed "no deleterious effect on crew efficiency and that her future embarkations would create only minor inconvenience." Further, the report noted, the Navy already had demonstrated it could accommodate Doviak with minimal infringement of crew privacy."

The next round of sea trials from the Portsmouth facility is scheduled for September, and so far, Doviak and another woman are included on the roster.

Congress clock ticks on key worker issues

Continued from Page 1

rules to require safe removal or abatement of asbestos in schools. It has cleared subcommittees in both the House and Senate.

The AFL-CIO has urged the House Appropriations Committee to cut off funds for the unit of the Office of Management & Budget that has delayed and weakened OSHA health and safety regulations.

Legislation to curb the use of polygraph tests in employment—a major labor goal—passed the House and cleared the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee with bipartisan sponsorship. Employer groups would like to keep it from the Senate floor and gut it with amendments if it is brought up.

Both the Davis-Bacon Act, with its prevailing wage protection for construction workers, and the counterpart Service Contract Act are under fire in the Senate.

The first big test will come when the massive Defense Dept. authorization bill comes before the Senate. Labor will urge deletion of a committee provision to exclude contracts of less than $1 million from the Service Contract Act. Nearly all government service contracts are below that amount.

There is a real possibility that an immigration reform bill that includes both employer penalties and a generous amnesty program for aliens already settled in the United States can be enacted if the House can agree on a pending bill.

Also on the possible list is a labor-backed parental leave bill to assure workers the right to take time off without pay to care for a baby.

A House-passed compromise housing bill includes features sought by the AFL-CIO as well as an "enterprise zone" concept the federation opposes. The battles will be refought in the Senate.

The Senate will soon take up legislation to impose sanctions on South Africa as a prod to elimination of apartheid, a measure the Administration is trying to stave off.

Copyright measure

For printing trades workers, the manufacturing clause of the Copyright Act is a jobs bill. Since 1891, it has required that books by American authors be printed in North America in order to receive full copyright protection. But the provision expired July 1, and it may be an uphill battle to revive it. When the law was last extended, Congress had to override a presidential veto to do so.

In terms of the congressional agenda, much of the floor time will be devoted to the budget and appropriations process, and almost every money bill will affect programs that are especially important to some group of union members.

Congress had been scheduled to recess in mid-August until after Labor Day, and then adjourn at the end of September to leave a month free for election campaigns that will involve the entire membership of the House and one-third of the Senate.

The Supreme Court decision voiding the automatic enforcement mechanism of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act left in place a fallback procedure for congressional action to carry out the deficit reduction timetable. If followed, it would cut into the planned August recess.

Inland Steel agreement brings profit sharing, seniority gains

Chicago—The Steelworkers won a profit-sharing plan and improved seniority and pension benefits in a new three-year agreement with the Inland Steel Co. In exchange, the USWA members agreed to a reduction in benefits of about 40 cents an hour and suspension of cost-of-living payments.

The Inland accord covering 14,000 workers is the fourth settlement reached by the USWA in its current round of negotiations with the nation's top six steelmakers. It was overwhelmingly approved by a 8,783 to 1,206 vote.

Under the new agreement, workers will receive a 10 percent share of pretax profits, with additional productivity bonuses in individual departments. The accord also sets restrictions on the contracting out of work, permitting the company to set up a small "mobile maintenance department" in exchange for job security for 2,700 maintenance workers over the three-year contract period. The USWA also agreed to a reduction in overtime pay.

Other gains include an additional week of vacation in the contract's last year, health care cost containment measures, a 401K savings plan and improvements in retirement and seniority benefits.

Meanwhile, the USWA's negotiations with the USX Corp., formerly U.S. Steel, are scheduled to resume shortly. The contract covering 45,000 USWA members expires July 31.

The union has begun a strike authorization vote among USWA members employed by the steelmaker.

Pension raiders reaped billions with flawed data

Continued from Page 1

don't get something for nothing. They earn it.

"A pension plan isn't a discretionary gift from the employer. It represents current wages withheld to pay a benefit on retirement. Since the money that employers pay into the fund has been earned by workers, they are the ones who actually pay the full cost of their pensions. So the pension credits should be an irrevocable payment which the employer cannot withhold or recapture—just as an employer cannot withhold or recapture wages."

In labor's view, employers are "breaking their pension promises and diverting what is rightfully workers' money to other uses"—underwriting corporate takeovers, expanding their operations, simply lining the pockets of corporate executives and stockholders, or, as Seidman charged, the scheme of United Airlines last year to "finance its effort to break the strike" of the Air Line Pilots and the Flight Attendants.

As if that weren't bad enough, he said, "the fact is that management concocted the notion that their pension plans were overfunded by relying on a temporary and unique economic situation of unusually high interest rates and rising stock market prices."

What management chose to ignore in developing these "fanciful assumptions," Seidman explained, was that interest rates and the stock market both were subject to "cyclical fluctuations, and that the high level of assets in the funds could not successfully be maintained."

Experts agreed with the AFL-CIO assessment.

Based on what has happened to interest rates, Dallas L. Salisbury of the Employee Benefit Research Institute said, "we could be looking at a . . . pension system that is not at all overfunded and could conceivably be slightly underfunded."

Blunt analysis

Royal Dellinger, deputy executive director of the PBGC, put it more bluntly. "In general," he said, "it was believed the plans were overfunded, in aggregate, by about $200 billion to $300 billion two to three years ago.

"Now, because of the decline in interest rates, a quick computation might suggest that, in the aggregate, there is an insufficiency."

The trouble is that, before the interest rate-stock market bubble burst—the cyclical swing about which the AFL-CIO warned—employers turned the pension funds into what Seidman called "their personal piggybanks," laying their hands on billions of dollars that are now lost to workers for all time.

What happens when management terminates a plan?

The target of corporate raids are usually the "defined benefit plans"—ones that spell out how many dollars a worker will receive per month upon retirement. Management uses some of these dollars to buy annuities that guarantee a continued payout at that level for workers already covered, then simply pockets the rest.

The employer then sets up a new plan. But it often is a "defined contribution plan"—one that obligates the employer to put so many dollars per worker into the fund each pay period, but that leaves the size of the payout to the whims of the financial market and the investment strategy of the employer who controls the investment.

Unions have invariably negotiated defined benefit plans because workers have no real retirement protection under defined contribution plans, Seidman explained.

A defined benefit plan usually recognizes service with an employer prior to the start of the plan and protects employees against inflation during their working lives by relating benefits to wages at the time of retirement.

Defined contribution plans, by contrast, ignore prior service, place the employee at risk since benefit amounts hinge on investment performance, and do not adequately protect workers against inflation.

"In other words," Seidman said, "changing pension programs nearly always undermines or eliminates provisions that guarantee workers better retirement protection."

Since the Reagan Administration is unwilling to crack down on its friends in the corporate board rooms, Seidman noted, it's up to Congress to deal with the growing pension fund abuses.

What's needed, he emphasized, is a law saying that sponsors can terminate an "overfunded" pension plan—providing they prove it really does have excess assets—only if they can prove that termination is necessary because of bankruptcy, insolvency or some other business hardship. If the termination doesn't meet that test, then any excess assets should be apportioned among workers and retirees.

Legislative remedy

A bill to achieve that goal was introduced in the House last year. Joint hearings were held by a Labor & Education subcommittee and the House Select Committee on Aging, but no action has yet been taken on it.

Seidman conceded it could take time for congressional drafting and consideration of legislation to deal with an "admittedly complex" problem. As a result, he said, "the wave of terminations will continue as unscrupulous employers continue their attempt to grab pension assets."

Therefore, Congress should enact "an immediate temporary moratorium" on the processing of termination applications by the PBGC, he stressed, until a law to deal with termination abuses is enacted.

EDITORIALS

Loud and Clear

CONGRESS SENT a strong and bipartisan message last December when it passed legislation to set a reasonable ceiling on job-destroying imports of textiles, apparel and shoes, coupled with a mandate to negotiate restraints on copper imports.

Despite the 255-161 vote in the House and the 60-39 margin in the Senate, President Reagan's Christmas present to America's workers was a veto message. The President announced a new study of import levels and said he was "deeply sympathetic about the job layoffs and plant closings."

The House agreed to put off a vote on overriding the veto until Aug. 6, time enough certainly to test alternatives to legislation.

The deadline is drawing near. The crisis has only worsened.

Congress sent a message when it passed the original bill. Unfortunately, neither the President nor the nations most responsible for the one-way flow of trade have paid attention to it.

Now the time has come for American workers to send a message to their representatives in Congress—a loud and clear message to vote on Aug. 6 to override the veto. An election year message, if you will.

Insulating Social Security

THE HOUSE Ways & Means Committee took a big step toward restoring confidence in the administration of the social security system.

It approved a double-edged bill to establish an independent Social Security Administration and prohibit tampering with the social security trust funds in order to meet temporary budget shortages.

Both are important. The provision for an independent agency no less than the ban on disinvestment of the funds the social security system will use to pay the earned retirement and health care benefits of America's workers.

The Social Security Administration should be insulated from political influences if it is to serve as the custodian of a program that is funded primarily from the payroll taxes paid by workers and their employers.

IF SOCIAL SECURITY offices are closed and its staff reduced, the only valid reason should be that they are no longer needed. We know that isn't the case, yet only congressional intervention averted the cutbacks. The danger has not been lifted.

An independent agency, clearly, would be less likely to run the brutal purge of the disability insurance rolls that the Reagan Administration carried out—again until Congress intervened.

Granted, independent status by itself will not solve all of the agency's problems. It will need the support of Congress and the resources to operate effectively. But independent status will help to restore depleted public confidence in the permanence of social security, and the morale of a still-dedicated staff.

Rush to Judgment

SUPREME COURT appointments are too important to be rushed through the Senate confirmation process, and Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Strom Thurmond does no favor to either of President Reagan's nominees to give the appearance of doing so.

The court will not reconvene until October, and there is more than adequate time in this session of Congress to allow the type of thorough scrutiny that a high lifetime appointment deserves.

Justice William H. Rehnquist deserves a careful review of his record before he is confirmed as the 16th Chief Justice of the United States. Certainly, the legal career of Judge Antonin Scalia should be subject to strict scrutiny before the Senate passes on his elevation to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court's decisions affect all our lives. The timetable set by the committee chairman would force a hasty and perhaps mistaken judgment. It is no reflection on either of the nominees to protest it.

Washington Window

South Africa's repression can't stop growth of unions

By Press Associates Inc.

Tyrone August, an official of the Media Workers of South Africa (MWASA), was in Europe when the government of South Africa arrested more than 900 trade unionists and thousands of others after declaring a "state of emergency" June 12.

August, who is 26, had left the country to attend a conference in Denmark of the International Federation of Journalists. He later traveled to Philadelphia to speak at the Newspaper Guild convention.

August became general secretary of MWASA in March after serving as the union's treasurer for five years. His 5,000-member union represents black journalists as well as printers, pressroom and circulation workers at English-language newspapers. No black journalists are employed by that country's Dutch-descendant Afrikaans-language press.

Before becoming a full-time union officer, August worked as a reporter for the Johannesburg Star, the country's largest circulation daily, and later as a copy editor for the City Press. August is classified by the caste system of the apartheid regime as "colored," or mixed race, which like "Indian" is a status conferring some minor legal and political rights. Blacks lack the most elemental democratic rights in a country where they outnumber whites more than 4 to 1.

Before returning to Johannesburg, August was interviewed by PAI.

Not-so-free speech

Although he was more than 10,000 miles from the repression that governs his country, August had to choose his words carefully because the South African government regards as subversion and treason, punishable by death, what is regarded in democratic societies as the normal exercise of free speech. For example, advocating "political" strikes or disinvestment is forbidden.

He described a black trade union movement that resembled the rise of the CIO in the 1930s—winning government legalization of the right to collective bargaining in 1979, strikes for union recognition by employers, sympathy actions by other unions, and general strikes.

Although only about 2 million black workers in a workforce of about 10 million are organized, the growing trade union movement is "very strong and effective," August said.

Indeed, recent one-day general strikes to demand an end to apartheid—one on May Day and another on June 16, the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising—brought most industry to a halt. Subsequently, two main white South African employer groups joined the 500,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in a unprecedented joint demand for an end to the state of emergency and the release of jailed trade unionists.

Auxiliary leadership

August said two former officials of his union were arrested in the recent sweep. But he said the government's apparent aim of putting a lid on union activism by arresting leaders and shop stewards wasn't achieved because the unions have built up wellknit structures of auxiliary leadership on shop floors.

The government on July 9 changed its Johannesburg area ban on indoor meetings to exclude trade unions. The regime said it had erred in banning the union meetings because "economic stability is dependent on sound labor relations." Again, labor's might was evident.

Nevertheless, most black unions are "very poor," August said. Scarce resources and the almost total censorship resulting from emergency decrees have forced many union publications, including MWASA's, to suspend operation.

The black trade union movement in South Africa is widely regarded as the last and best hope for the peaceful dismantling of the vicious apartheid system.

The government should heed the recent counsel of Gavin Relly, chairman of the nation's largest firm, who called on the Botha regime to release its political prisoners, abolish apartheid and end bans on political parties.

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

How One Worker Can Make A Difference

Although Congress is now back, both houses are scheduled to leave for a fall recess beginning on August 15, and ending on September 8. In the next few weeks your lawmakers will be making decisions on key legislation affecting workers and their families. A card or letter to your members of Congress on one or more of the following issues could spell the difference between victory or defeat in a fight to protect your rights, benefits or your health and safety.

Immigration Reform: Urge your Representative to support a practical immigration bill which incorporates strong employer sanctions, generous legalization procedures, anti-discrimination remedies, and protection against a massive foreign "guest worker" program.

Omnibus Trade Bill: Tell your Senator to work for inclusion of important deficit reduction measures in the Senate version, along with language for the protection of worker rights abroad.

Polygraph: This measure to protect workers' privacy should come to the Senate floor soon. Urge your Senator to work toward passage of S. 1815.

Tax Reform: Now that tax reform is going to conference, tell lawmakers to push for full deductibility of state and local sales taxes, fair treatment of federal and postal employee pension payments and preservation of the miscellaneous deduction that includes union dues.

August 6 Override Vote Scheduled

U.S. Textile Industry Crisis: Do You Know Where Your Congressman Stands?

Ask your Representative if he or she knows why, on July 15, the House Armed Services Committee felt the need to hold hearings determining whether the American textile industry could respond to the demands of an armed forces mobilization? Ask them if they know that the U.S. fiber, textile and apparel industry, now the most productive in the world and the country's largest manufacturing employer, could be extinct within ten years? Then ask them whether on August 6th, they plan to vote to override President Reagan's veto of the Textile and Apparel Trade Act?

In 1974 the United States was one of 43 co-signers of the Multi-Fiber Arrangement (MFA), designed to prevent the disruption of domestic textile industries by setting limits on rising imports. The U.S. agreed to a 6% annual import growth rate from most exporting countries.

Since 1981, the year the MFA was renewed, textile and apparel imports have doubled, now control over 50% of our market, and are growing at an average annual rate of 19%. Over 250 plants have closed and 388,758 American workers have lost their jobs since 1980. An independent study estimates that an additional 1,890,000 textile and apparel workers will lose their jobs by 1990 if the situation is not brought under control.

Last year, Congress tried to do just this. They passed the Textile and Apparel Trade Enforcement Act of 1985, which would force compliance with existing trade agreements for textiles and, in addition, would provide relief for the shoe and copper industries. This vital measure would:

* Fix import levels where they would have been if the MFA and other trade agreements had been properly enforced,
* Tie import growth to the growth of the domestic market,
* Direct the President to negotiate voluntary restraint agreements with regard to the importation of copper,
* Hold (non-rubber) shoe imports to 60% of the market, and
* Grant preferential trade status to poorer, less developed export nations.

A two-thirds majority vote in both the House and the Senate is needed to overturn a Presidential veto. If the House votes to override on August 6, it is expected that the Senate will schedule a vote before the beginning of the August 15 recess. Contact your Representative and both of your Senators, and make sure they will vote to save American jobs.

House Judiciary Committee Approves Employer Sanctions

Action Expected Soon On Immigration Reform Bill

For more than two decades, the U.S. has suffered from an inability to control large-scale illegal immigration across its borders. On June 25th, the House Judiciary Committee approved a bill which may help to remedy the situation. Although it must still be reviewed by several other committees, the measure could reach the full floor before mid-August.

The immigration reform bill, H.R. 3810, goes a long way toward resolving a number of difficulties which had kept legislation at an impasse for the last three years. The bill includes employer sanctions which would discourage unauthorized immigrants from coming to the U.S. looking for work; it makes an appropriate offer of legal status to those who have become settled and contributing members of their communities; and it also contains a grievance mechanism for citizens and legal residents who may be discriminated against by employers out of a misplaced fear of sanctions.

The Judiciary Committee also adopted a compromise section concerning the importation of aliens to do agricultural work. The Schumer compromise (so known because of the key role played by Rep. Charles Schumer, D-NY), which was negotiated between committee members representing the interests of the industry and farm workers, has two parts. First, it makes an existing program for bringing in temporary foreign farm workers more flexible for the growers' use, but it also puts worker protections into the statute. Second, the compromise establishes a new program under which growers may obtain seasonal foreign farm workers for a fixed number of years, but it also gives these workers legal protection by giving those who qualify the status of permanent resident alien.

The Senate passed its own version of immigration reform (S. 1200) in September 1985, which is less generous with regard to legalization and contains no anti-discrimination remedies. However, the Senate bill's most serious flaw is that it contains an almost unrestricted agricultual "guest worker" provision. If H.R. 3810 passes the House, these differences will have to be reconciled in conference.

Kennedy Amendment Would Save Service, Construction Wages

Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) was unable to keep language harmful to this nation's service employees from being included in the fiscal 1987 defense authorization bill. A motion, introduced by the Senator would have removed all anti-worker language from the bill while it was still under consideration by the Senate Armed Services Committee. The motion was defeated, and the bill, S. 2199, should reach the full Senate in the next few weeks.

Once on the floor, Senator Edward Kennedy and other concerned legislators will again offer a motion to strike these anti-worker provisions from the bill.

In its present form, the measure would wipe out wage rate guarantees for hundreds of thousands of service workers employed in federally funded work.

Although most service contracts are relatively small, S. 2199 would raise the dollar limit on contracts covered under the Service Contract Act (SCA) from $2,500 to over $1,000,000.

This means that a majority of service employees, mostly women and minorities, would lose their job protections, because almost 90% of D.O.D. contracts would be totally exempt from SCA coverage.

The bill also contains a similar, but less damaging provision, which hurts contracted construction workers. The bill would raise the threshold for the Davis-Bacon Act's construction contract protections from over $2,000 to over $250,000. Although Davis-Bacon has been a favorite conservative target for the last several years, this is the first time attacks have been extended to service employees.

AFL-CIO news

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MEMO FROM COPE

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Kirkland hits Reagan 'hypocrisy' on apartheid

By Gene Zack

Outraged by the Reagan Administration's refusal to crack down on South Africa's "racist regime" and visibly moved by the evidence of brutality against black unionists, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland reiterated labor's call for "strong and effective economic sanctions" against the Pretoria government.

Kirkland, just back from a four-day mission to that racially torn country, displayed for a crowded Washington press conference one of a series of photos showing the scars borne by one of the union leaders tortured while in police custody.

In the face of the "sheer hatred and brutalistic instincts" of the white minority government, he declared, America must reject President Reagan's "hypocritical argument" that sanctions would harm black workers without bringing about the dismantling of apartheid.

Kirkland accused Reagan of "shedding crocodile tears" over the plight of black workers while pursuing a policy that in effect supports "a vicious system of racism that exploits" those workers.

South Africa's unions are "aware of the adverse impact" that sanctions could have on black workers, he declared. "They are willing to pay the price because to them, freedom is worth any price."

At the request of the South African unionists, Kirkland conveyed their plea for sanctions to Sec. of State George Shultz. He will deliver a similar message to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which is considering legislation, opposed by the Administration, to crackdown on the Pretoria government.

The message he gave to Shultz, Kirkland said, was that unless the United States acts "forcefully and persuasively" by enacting tough measures, this nation will not only be unable to play "any role in ending apartheid," but also will be "perceived as being in league with the regime that has imposed inhumane conditions" on workers.

"Time and events have overtaken 'gradualism,'" he asserted. South Africa's workers will not be content any longer with "temporary measures and little reforms that continue to make apartheid comfortable for the white minority."

What they want, Kirkland declared, is an end to the "police state," the dismantling of "the basic evil of apartheid," and "constructive change" to a democratic system that will give millions of black South Africans a voice and a vote in their own future.

Kirkland went to South Africa as part of a delegation of world union leaders under

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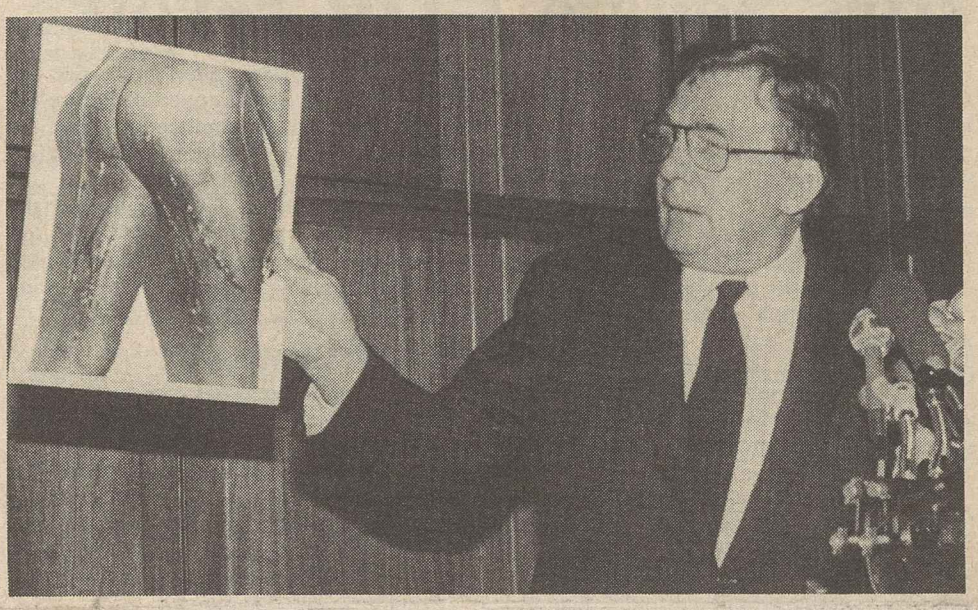

After his return from a "protest mission," Lane Kirkland displays pictorial evidence of a South African union leader tortured by police.

Senators pressed on trade reforms

By David L. Perlman

The AFL-CIO called for Senate action on legislation to bring down the nation's job-destroying trade deficit and questioned the timing of President Reagan's call for a new round of international trade talks.

Federation Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue told the Senate Finance Committee that its first priority should be the trade reform bill the House passed last May by a 295-115 vote.

The House bill, now awaiting Senate action, would mandate a 10-percent annual reduction in the nation's trade deficit with countries that use unfair tactics to penetrate U.S. markets or freeze out American goods. If negotiations fail, the reduction would be enforced through import sanctions.

Donahue stressed in his testimony the trail of plant closings, bankruptcies and recession-level unemployment that are the direct consequences of the Reagan Administration's stubborn commitment to free trade. This year's trade deficit is running ahead of last year's record pace, he noted, and agricultural imports have exceeded exports for the first time in the nation's history.

Against this backdrop, Donahue testified, Administration proposals for a new round of international trade negotiations can only be viewed as an attempt to derail the comprehensive trade reform bill the House passed. The time for new trade talks, he said, is after effective legislation is in place.

Donahue sharply challenged the Administration's "blaming the victim" assertion that the nation's industrial decline is the result of inefficiency and high wages.

"The shoeworker knows she is not overpaid at $6 an hour," he retorted. "The

Continued on Page 5

Veto volley

A big majority of Americans wants Congress to override President Reagan's veto of the bill Congress passed last year to control imports of textiles and clothing, a public opinion survey found.

The House vote is scheduled for Aug. 6, and the poll showed 66 percent of the public supporting the import curbs in the bill and backing the veto override. The poll, conducted by Mathew Greenwald & Associates and the Government Research Corp., found only 17 percent opposing override of the veto.

It showed that four out of five Americans believe job losses in textiles and apparel have been caused by foreign countries subsidizing their industries and putting limits on what the United States can sell to them. Nearly as many believe jobs have been lost because the United States has been "too lenient" in its trade negotiations.

Voters will take the position of their congressmen into consideration in deciding whom to support in November, the poll found.

Price hikes slice purchasing value of workers' pay

Consumer prices shot up in June and real earnings dropped, digging a deeper economic hole for American workers and their families.

The five-tenths of 1 percent jump in prices was the sharpest one-month increase since November 1985, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported, and was equivalent to an annual inflation rate of 5.7 percent.

Rising prices overwhelmed a two-tenths of 1 percent increase in average hourly earnings last month, BLS said, driving down the purchasing power of workers' paychecks by three-tenths of 1 percent. There was no change in the number of hours worked.

Since June 1985, real earnings have advanced a scant two-tenths of 1 percent. A 2.1-percent increase in average hourly pay in the 12-month period was eroded by a 1.3-percent inflation rate and a six-tenths of 1 percent drop in average number of hours worked.

As usual, there were big gains in the growing service sector. Real earnings for the finance, insurance and real estate industry were up a healthy 4.5 percent over a year ago, while the buying power of pay-

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Economic growth slips to post-recession low

The nation's economy, plagued by record trade and budget deficits, slipped into low gear during the second quarter of this year to sputter along at a sluggish 1.1-percent annual growth rate.

It was the worst performance since the fourth quarter of 1982 when the Reagan Recession shrank economic growth to six-tenths of 1 percent.

The AFL-CIO charged that the weak economy was the result of "gross mismanagement" by the Reagan Administration.

"The outlook for the months ahead is grim," Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald warned. "The Administration has done nothing to stem the avalanche of imports, nothing to improve exports of manufactured goods or farm products, nothing to stimulate economic recovery and nothing to put the brakes on the soaring federal deficit it has created through its wrong-headed budget priorities."

Even though the Federal Reserve Board has cut its discount rate—the interest it charges financial institutions—and major banks have cut the prime rate they charge their best customers, "interest rates are still too high" and thus inhibit economic expansion, Oswald declared.

"For months, the White House has been telling the American people that the economy is enjoying a strong recovery," he declared. "This report, along with all of the other data that has emerged in the last several weeks, absolutely refutes those claims."

Oswald said the figures provide "compelling evidence" that the economy won't achieve the 4-percent growth rate the Administration predicted for 1986.

The Commerce Dept. reported that the economy grew at a 2.4-percent rate during the first half, meaning it would have to expand at a 5.6-percent clip in the next six months to reach the Reagan forecast.

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Bartered confirmation votes put Manion on federal bench

A 49-49 tie vote in the Senate saved President Reagan from an embarrassing defeat and assured the confirmation of Daniel A. Manion to a lifetime appointment as a federal appeals court judge.

The tie defeated a motion to reconsider the Senate's earlier vote to confirm Manion. But Vice President George Bush, in his constitutional role as presiding officer of the Senate, exercised his right to cast a tie-breaking vote to make the final count 50-49.

Last month's controversial vote on confirmation was headed for a 47-47 tie with Bush in the chair when Senate Democratic Leader Robert Byrd cast a strategic vote for confirmation in order to have the parliamentary right to move for reconsideration of the vote. Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole blocked reconsideration until he could muster the votes to defeat the motion.

The two Republican senators from Washington state, Slade Gorton and Daniel J. Evans, provided the vote switches that resulted in Manion's confirmation.

Gorton dropped his initial opposition to Manion after the White House promised to follow his recommendation on an appoint-

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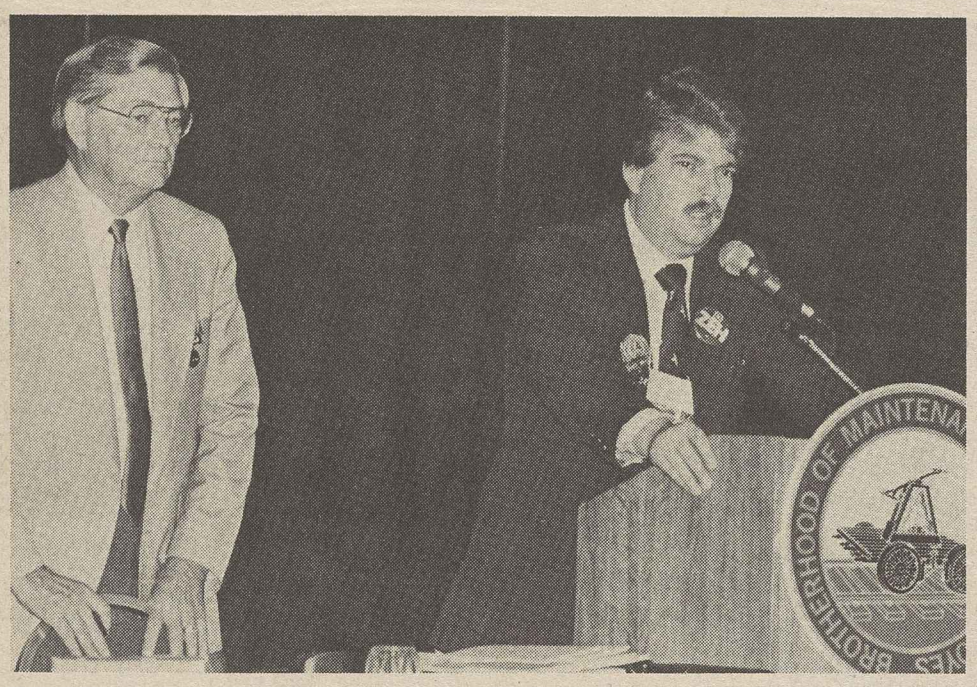

President-elect Geoffrey N. Zeh of the Waymen addresses convention. At left is outgoing President Ole Berge.

Zeh succeeds Berge

Rail Waymen elect new leadership slate

Kansas City—Delegates to the Maintenance of Way Employees convention elected Geoffrey N. Zeh to succeed Ole M. Berge as president of the 61,000-member railroad union.

The 610 delegates also acted to improve the union's legislative program and to extend a special strike fund assessment.

Zeh, the incumbent secretary-treasurer, defeated BMWE Research Director R.P. Bramlett for the top post by a vote of 42,145 to 15,927. M.A. Fleming, chairman of the BMWE's Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe system federation, was elected secretary-treasurer 40,072 to 18,405 over Roger L. Bobby, administrative assistant to the outgoing president. The new four-year terms begin Sept. 1.

Zeh, 43, who served four years as secretary-treasurer, was appointed as general counsel and research director for BMWE in August 1975, after having been legal counsel for several rail unions. He is a member of Lodge 1664 of the Nickel Plate-Wheeling & Lake Erie Federation.

Fleming, 40, began his union career as a local chairman in the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe system in 1969, moving up to assistant chairman in 1973 and to the general chairman post in 1980.

Berge, 64, was named president emeritus, and B.L. Sorah Jr., a past secretary-treasurer was named secretary-treasurer emeritus.

In his convention address, Berge warned that "just about every federal agency you can name" is issuing decrees and taking actions against workers, especially union workers.

Unions under assault

He pointed out that railroad unions—including the BMWE—haven't been immune to the "sock it to 'em" process. He cited the Administration's plan to "kill" railroad retirement, its "twisting" of railroad deregulation "to the detriment of workers and to the financial enhancement of the railroads," and its "unfair" delays in the BMWE's current two years of national contract mediation.

While the convention was in session, two crucial rail issues reached critical dimensions—the union's national contract dispute and its fight with Guilford Transportation Industries. In the dispute with major rail carriers, President Reagan created an emergency board, establishing a 60-day cooling off period.

BMWE Vice President William LaRue told delegates of recent actions in the two-year effort to get a new contract with Guilford's Maine Central Railroad and Portland Terminal Co. Federal courts reaffirmed BMWE's right to picket other carriers.

James J. Kennedy Jr., executive assistant to AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, reminded delegates that many rail carriers are watching the Guilford "experiment very closely." He pledged the federation's support, stressing that "if you hang together and all railway labor gets totally back together again, the entire labor movement will stand by you and we will overcome, because we're united, because we're right."

Key resolutions

In key convention action, the delegates called for:

- Studies on services to Canadian members, including a separate publication, as well as research, legal counsel, grievance, arbitration and legislative programs.
- Increasing the amount of dues set aside each month for state and provincial legislative action from 40 cents to 80 cents.
- Extending the $5 monthly special assessment for a strike benefit fund until the 1990 convention. The assessment was due to expire Sept. 1.
- An increase in the union initiation fee from $25 to $100.
- Establishment of legislative boards in each state and province.
- A broadening of the constitution and by-laws conditions for eligibility for election.

Delegates also stressed that the union use "every conceivable means" to end contracting out of maintenance of way work by the railroads, supported government funding for Amtrak and ordered the printing of the union's constitution and bylaws in Spanish, in addition to the present English and French versions. Referred to the president's office were collective bargaining goals including a four-day workweek, and wage, health and welfare benefit, safety and job security improvements.

In other action, the delegates re-elected Vice Presidents LaRue of Downington, Pa.; S.A. Hammons of Moberly, Mo.; B.L. Hall of Bluefield, W.Va.; F.H. Funk of Minneapolis; C.F. Foose of Aurora, Colo., and A. Passaretti and R.Y. Gandreau of Ottawa.

Reagan attack on sanctions stirs Senate GOP revolt

President Reagan left Senate Republicans on a frail political limb by rejecting economic sanctions against South Africa and relying on moral pressure to end apartheid and achieve a multi-racial political democracy.

In the Senate as in the House, the bipartisan consensus is that moral persuasion alone is no longer a viable option.

Last year, Reagan was able to head off final passage of a mild sanctions bill by including some of its less controversial provisions in an Executive Order—principally a ban on importation of Krugerrand gold coins and a restriction on U.S. bank loans to the South African government.

But the House voted last month to impose a trade embargo and require U.S. firms to stop doing business in South Africa within six months—measures comparable to sanctions imposed on Cuba and Libya.

The Senate had been expected to choose a more gradual application of economic pressure, with a final version worked out in conference. But even within the Republican leadership, there was virtually no support expressed for Reagan's do-nothing request.

Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) expressed disappointment with Reagan's speech on South Africa and said the President "needs to do more."

Stronger criticism came when Sec. of State George P. Shultz appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee to defend the Administration's opposition to legislative sanctions against South Africa.

Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.) likened the Administration's position to those who opposed civil rights legislation in the United States by warning of the risk in moving "too fast" to bring about change.

No time for silence

Shultz angrily rejected the analogy, insisting that punitive sanctions would weaken the ability of the United States to influence developments in South Africa. But Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kan.) told him that "the time for quiet persuasion has passed" and expressed "keen disappointment" in Reagan's position.

Congressional Democrats chose Rep. William H. Gray III (Pa.), a black minister who heads the House Budget Committee, to respond to Reagan.

To the President's claim that sanctions will hurt South African blacks, Gray responded: "Blacks have suffered for years, not because of sanctions but because of apartheid."

He called for a new policy toward South Africa "that clearly disassociates us from apartheid and calls for the complete dismemberment of that system, not cosmetic reforms."

Kirkland renews demand to dismantle apartheid

Continued from Page 1

the auspices of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The delegation was headed by ICFTU General Sec. John Vanderveken and included President Ernst Breit of the West German Trade Union Federation, General Sec. Norman Willis of the British Trades Union Congress and International Affairs Director Kaare Sandegren of the Norwegian Trade Union Council.

It was not a fact-finding mission, Kirkland declared, because free trade unions were already well aware of the brutal conditions existing in South Africa. It was, instead, a "protest mission," to convey labor's views to the government and to let that nation's trade unionists know "they are not alone, they are not forgotten."

And the message the delegation brought back, he added, is that "our brothers and sisters in South Africa want basic, constructive change" and are "willing to pay the price in the short run to achieve their long-run goals."

Blistering indictment

The ICFTU leaders—harassed by troops in a black township near Johannesburg and prevented from making their views known while in South Africa because of harsh government rules muzzling the news media—issued a blistering indictment of the white-minority government when they arrived back in London.

"There is a pattern of unjustified arrest often followed by systematic brutality and torture that amounts to a massive violation of human beings and human rights," the delegation asserted.

The union leaders saw firsthand "the physical evidence in the scarred bodies of the released detainees," they said, which documented the "genuinely shocking" treatment of those arbitrarily imprisoned under the strict state of emergency imposed by the Pretoria government.

Blockaded by troops

The ICFTU officials were subjected to the heavy handed rule that has characterized the state of emergency. Following a visit to a men's hostel for migrant workers in one black township, the union leaders were surrounded by 100 armed soldiers and their path was blocked by several military vehicles.

After being held under military guard for some time, they were finally allowed to leave. But they were accosted by another army unit and warned that they needed government permission to visit any other black townships.

TUC's Willis said the incident gave the delegation "a little flavor of what it's like to be black and living in those townships, with no redress against uniformed people holding weapons."

Willis expressed indignation over conditions in the hostel where black workers are forced to live apart from their families who, under South African law, must remain in their tribal homelands.

"Those conditions are for animals—they're kennels, not homes," the TUC official asserted.

Although they were repeatedly denied permission to visit detained trade union officials, and although the emergency law forbids disclosing the identity of those in custody, the ICFTU delegation was able to obtain the names of at least 269 imprisoned unionists.

"The detentions have caused great suffering to families and have damaged" the capacity of unions to continue to function, they declared. But despite the hardships, "the trade union idea is now firmly embedded in South African life and it cannot be uprooted."

The union officials stressed that unions in South Africa "remain an irreplacable vehicle for the pursuit of the interests of working people" and are "a real protection to black people and the main force for constructive, peaceful change."

In stark contrast to President Reagan's contention in his much-publicized White House speech that sanctions would harm the black majority without ending apartheid, the union leaders painted a far different picture.

There is a willingness on the part of "the victims of apartheid to endure further suffering" in order to transform South Africa's political, social and economic structure, the ICFTU officials reported.

Plea for action

"Again and again the delegation heard an authentic plea for hard-hitting action against the South African regime," they declared. "The casualties of the inhumanity of apartheid have the right to prescribe the remedy and their message to the world is clear—freedom at all costs, and action now."

Although Reagan's address had been preceded by what the White House said was a monthlong "reassessment" of relations between the United States and South Africa, it contained no new initiatives.

The speech had been intended originally to serve as the centerpiece for an announcement that Reagan would name the first black American as the nation's ambassador to Pretoria in a last-minute attempt to blunt the drive for sanctions that is gaining momentum on Capitol Hill.

Changed plan

That plan was scuttled, however, after serious questions were raised about his prospective nominee, Robert J. Brown, a North Carolina businessman who served in the Nixon White House. These included questionable dealings with a reportedly corrupt Nigerian figure and his involvement in a controversial Small Business Administration loan.

In addition, it was disclosed that Brown played a key role in union-bashing efforts by one of his clients, Cannon Mills Co., to defeat efforts by the Clothing & Textile Workers to organize 10,000 workers at 11 mills in Kannapolis, N.C. last fall.

Deprived of the public relations gimmick of the Brown nomination, Reagan kept up his drumbeat of opposition to sanctions. They would, he said, be a "historic act of folly" and would "destroy America's flexibility, discard our diplomatic leverage and deepen the crisis."

But the President's plea that Congress "resist the emotional clamor for punitive sanctions" generally fell on deaf ears. Some of his own party's leaders in the Senate indicated they would defy the White House and press for tough measures against the Pretoria government.

Woodworkers vote on pact to end strike

Portland, Ore.—A strike by some 7,500 members of two unions against Weyerhaeuser Co. continued into its sixth week as one of the unions voted on a tentative settlement. Meanwhile, 1,400 timber workers at Willamette Industries went on strike July 21.

The Woodworkers' 6,500 members at Weyerhaeuser are voting on a contract package that provides improvements over one they voted down earlier by a four-to-one margin. The IWA is scheduled to release the results of the vote on the same day that Weyerhaeuser has threatened it would begin hiring strikebreakers.

The other union, the Lumber, Production & Industrial Workers, a division of the Carpenters, is waiting to see the results of the IWA vote before putting a similar offer to its members. IWA and LPIW have coordinated bargaining through their U.S. Forest Products Joint Bargaining Board.

The contract offer, which is being recommended for approval by the IWA negotiators, has a $4.30-an-hour rollback in wages and benefits, but the profit-sharing plan proposed earlier was modified.

The profit-sharing plan will be based on a mill-by-mill basis. When profits exceed 5 percent, a third of the additional profit will go to the workers and be added into the wage base. When the wage base has increased $1.20 an hour, the workers' share of the profits will drop to 10 percent, to be distributed quarterly, and not added to the wage base.

Independent audit

The tentative accord also calls for establishment of a joint labor-management profit-sharing committee at each mill and gives the union the right to bring in a third party to look at the company's books.

The profits at the company's 22 mills vary, so the rollback will be steeper for some workers than others. Only those workers at four of the mills will sustain the full rollback.

A key issue resolved in the union's favor was the company's demand to promote or layoff workers on a competency basis, rather than by seniority. The competency clause now abides by seniority. Another major issue was the firm's push to contract out its logging operations, which would have cut 3,300 jobs. The company agreed to keep 2,300 loggers on the job.

Meanwhile, at Willamette Industries, some 600 members of IWA's western council on July 21 rejected its latest offer by a five-to-one margin. A day later, 800 LPIW members rejected the same offer by a two-to-one ratio. That proposal called for a $2.90-an-hour pay and benefit cut with no provision for recouping the lost wages.

Timber workers at Champion International Corp. and Boise-Cascade Corp. remain on the job after rejecting similar rollback demands.

Federal job safety agency names new top assistants

Frank White and Candace Strother were appointed top assistants to the head of the Occupational Safety & Health Administration, John A. Pendergrass.

White, who served as an associate solicitor for occupational safety, will handle OSHA's regulatory activities and enforcement.

Strother, deputy director of Labor Sec. William Brock's transition team, will be responsible for administration, budget and personnel.

Union panel spells out the impact of NLRB delays on workers. From left: Vincent Gonzalez, a Transit Union business agent; Missouri AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Donald Owens and Sidney Meyer, attorney for a Teamsters local.

NLRB members responding to criticism of the board at House subcommittee hearings are, from left, Marshall Babson, Wilford Johansen and Chairman Donald Dotson.

Dotson apologizes to bosses

Unions assail NLRB foot-dragging

Union witnesses testified at House hearings that they're getting a runaround from the National Labor Relations Board on unfair labor charges against employers. But a letter from NLRB Chairman Donald R. Dotson to a group of business executives earlier this year showed him concerned and apologetic at what he termed "prosecution of employers."

Dotson's letter to the Business Roundtable was disclosed during hearing by a Government Operations subcommittee headed by Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.).

In it, Dotson complained that the office of NLRB General Counsel Rosemary Collyer, a Reagan appointee, "continues to litigate trivial matters" and conduct investigations "with an eye toward prosecution of employers."

Dotson suggested also that the business community has been overly complacent and "outhustled" in the selection of NLRB members by the White House. Appointees, he said, should have "dedication to the values and principles espoused by the President as they apply to labor policy."

Some people "who pose to speak for the interests of business," Dotson suggested, "are in fact pursing their own agendas or are simply inept."

Under questioning by Frank, Dotson claimed he didn't intend any criticism of Collyer or any other Reagan appointee on the board.

Union witnesses who testified at the oversight hearings on the operations of the NLRB made clear their belief that the problem was too little action against employers who violate federal labor law, not too much.

Vincent Gonzalez, business agent for the Springfield, Mass., local of the Transit Union, pointed to an unfair labor practice charge against Springfield Transit Management Inc. that dates from June 1981 and still remains unresolved.

Five-year delay

An administrative law judge ordered the company to restore pay cuts and bargain with the union, but management appealed and the case is still pending.

He told the subcommittee that the "paralysis" of the NLRB in dealing with employers who defy the law "harms employees, weakens the union and makes a mockery of the guarantees of the nation's labor law."

Don Owens, secretary-treasurer of the Missouri AFL-CIO, cited a similar delay in a case involving a Machinists organizing campaign at Davlin Engineering in St. Louis. And Sidney Meyer, an attorney for a Teamsters local in New York, protested the NLRB's reluctance to seek an injunction against a clearcut violation of federal labor law by an employer with a "long history" of past violations and contempt proceedings.

Dotson said in his prepared testimony that the NLRB has reduced its case backlog by 21 percent over the past fiscal year and he anticipates further progress if the labor board is maintained at full strength.

Mary Cracraft appointed to Labor Board

The White House announced the appointment of Mary Cracraft, a Kansas City attorney, to the National Labor Relations Board. Her appointment, if confirmed by the Senate, will bring the NLRB back up to its full five-member strength.

Cracraft, 39, was named to succeed Patricia Diaz Dennis, who left the NLRB last month to become a member of the Federal Communications Commission. She was appointed to fill out the remaining weeks of Dennis's term and to a full five-year term thereafter, starting Aug. 27.

Cracraft was a field attorney for NLRB Region 17, at Kansas City, Kan., from 1977 to 1981. Since then, she has been in private practice as an associate with the law firm of Gage & Tucker in Kansas City, Mo.

After receiving her law degree from the University of Missouri in 1975, Cracraft served as a law clerk to a Missouri Supreme Court judge and as a research staff attorney for the Missouri Court of Appeals. She received a bachelor of science degree from the University of Missouri in 1968.

Arbitrary retirement rules held unfair to older workers

Workers should not be forced to retire solely because of their age, the AFL-CIO said in a letter endorsing a proposed amendment to the Age Discrimination in Employment Act.

AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert McGlotten wrote Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.) that workers should have the right to retire but not be compelled to do so "because they have reached some arbitrary age." Heinz is chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging and a sponsor of the bill, which also has been introduced in the House.

The legislation would eliminate mandatory retirement at any age, with a few exceptions.

McGlotten noted that the legislation would not have a significant impact on employment opportunities since most workers do not wish to stay on the job after they become eligible for retirement. In fact, some 70 percent of workers retire before age 65.

"Workers should be judged on their abilities and not because they have reached some arbitrary age," McGlotten asserted.

"Society has too often attempted to relieve unemployment problems by denying older people the opportunity work," he pointed out.

Discrimination banned

The original 1967 law barred discrimination in employment or forced retirement for nearly all workers between 40 and 65 except for a limited group of occupationally designated exceptions.

A 1978 amendment raised the age limit to 70, exempting high-level executives over 65 entitled to pensions over $27,000 at the time of their mandatory retirement. The mandatory retirement age for most federal civilian employees was lifted entirely. In 1984, the pension threshold for executive exemptions was raised from $27,000 to $44,000.

McGlotten said any changes in the law should make plain that private organizations may impose qualifications for candidates that could bar persons over 65 from holding a policymaking elective office.

The AFL-CIO's view, he said, is that in a democratic institution, "the electorate and not the government should set the basic eligibility rules."

Low growth rate poses danger of another recession

Continued from Page 1

Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige acknowledged that a growth rate of that magnitude in the second half of the year seems unlikely, adding that the outlook isn't "as good as I would have thought six months ago."

He wasn't the only Administration official to concede that the figures are grim.

Chairman Beryl Sprinkel of the Council of Economic Advisors acknowledged that the second-quarter numbers "reflected sluggish performance," and White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan called the numbers "disappointingly low."

Budget Director James Miller said the Administration would have to revise its economic projections downward from the 4-percent mark.

While all of the Administration spokesmen expressed optimism that the situation would improve next year, a few economists—including former CEA Chairman Alan Greenspan—warned that chances of another Reagan Recession are rising.

Baldrige wouldn't rule out such a possibility, but said that "the odds are pretty small."

In a separate report, the Commerce Dept. said new orders for durable goods rose an estimated $2.1 billion in June. The 2.1-percent improvement was the first since January. Much of the rise resulted from a 13.7-percent gain in new Defense Dept. orders. Excluding military purchases, new orders rose only 1 percent last month.

Two New England states raise pay floor

Labor scored minimum wage gains in two New England states as Rhode Island and New Hampshire set new wage floors of $3.65 an hour. The federal minimum wage of $3.35 an hour has not been adjusted since 1981, the last year of an increase adopted during the Carter Administration.

Rhode Island adopted a two-step plan to to reach the $3.65 rate effective July 1, 1987. The measure calls for an immediate increase of 20 cents, bringing the state's minimum wage to $3.55 an hour, with another 10-cent increase set for next July.

In New Hampshire, the State AFL-CIO won the increase over the protests of the state's Business & Industry Council. The hourly minimum rises to $3.45 next January, with additional annual 10-cent increases that will bring the minimum wage to $3.65 in January 1989.

Other changes in New Hampshire's wage-hour law require restaurants, hotels and small busineses to pay employees overtime for work above the standard 40-hour workweek.

The new provisions will affect workers in the state's tourism industry who are not eligible for overtime pay under federal labor protections. Firms operating less than seven months a year remain exempt from the state overtime requirements.

Shortcount of jobless undercuts federal aid

Federal programs to help the jobless are often underfunded because "unreliable" Labor Dept. statistics grossly understate the extent of unemployment, the House Government Operations Committee charged.

Allocations of federal dollars for a wide range of programs—including the Job Training Partnership Act, urban development action grants, employment services, emergency food and shelter, revenue sharing and public works—are based on local area unemployment rates.

But the funding decisions are fatally flawed, the committee said in a report based on a study by its Employment & Housing Subcommittee, because "discouraged" workers and those forced to take part-time jobs because full-time employment isn't available are excluded from the unemployment count.

It's a "Catch-22" situation, AFL-CIO economist Mark Roberts said.

"Discouraged workers and people in involuntary part-time status would be eligible for assistance under JTPA," Roberts declared. "But they aren't counted in the official unemployment rates that determine funding for that program.

"In other words, the people who may need job training the most are totally ignored when the government decides whether to spend money on the program, how much to spend and where to spend it."

On a national level, Roberts pointed out, the number of unemployed averaged 8.3 million in 1985—a jobless rate of 7.2 percent. But there were an additional 1.2 million discouraged workers, representing another 1 percent unemployment. And nearly 5.6 million workers—5.2 percent of the labor force—were in the involuntary part-time category.

Taken together, 15.1 million Americans were either unemployed or underemployed, creating a blended rate of 13.4 percent, Roberts asserted. "Obviously the problem is much more severe than the Administration has been willing to concede. And the failure to present a true figure means that the government is underfunding programs that could help alleviate the problem."

Distorted numbers

If the figures are skewed at the national level, they are even more distorted at the local level, the committee report said. The basis for determining local area unemployment is the number of workers drawing unemployment compensation, coupled with a statistical formula that is supposed to take into account workers not covered by jobless insurance.

But, the report said, there is an "inherent . . . margin for error" in gathering jobless data in individual job markets. The statistical samples are small, and the smaller the sample, the greater the chance that the figures are going to understate the extent of joblessness.

Bureau of Labor Statistics Commissioner Janet Norwood conceded as much in testimony before the subcommittee earlier this year. The report quoted her as saying:

"Many of the areas for which data are needed are quite small and are subject to large relative error. I understand the need for local area data but I am concerned about the policy determinations that are often made as if there were no errors associated with small area estimates."

The U.S. Conference of Mayors told the subcommittee headed by Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) that a survey of 25 urban areas showed that "the official unemployment rate does not reflect the actual unemployment problem" because of the failure to include discouraged workers, the underemployed, those who have exhausted unemployment benefits as well as young people.

Other population groups like the transient, homeless and high school dropouts and minority youth with no previous labor force attachment "present difficult outreach problems in measuring them in the unemployment rate," according to the panel's report.

In rural areas, the committee said, Labor and Agriculture Dept. officials agree that the current method for measuring joblessness is "flawed" and does not provide an accurate measure of the downturn in the farm economy. A man is considered employed, for example, if he works one hour a week on his farm; his wife is counted as employed if she works 15 or more hours a week on the farm, even if she doesn't get paid.

Differing conditions

Norwood told the subcommittee that, because "conditions of rural life differ in important respects from those in urban areas . . . the concepts and definitions used in our national survey may not be fully appropriate for the rural economy."

Rep. Jim Lightfoot (R-Iowa), a subcommittee member, agreed. "The rural labor force has a greater number of self-employed workers who, despite the lack of earnings, are counted as fully employed," he said. "The official unemployment rate does not truly state the extent of unemployment in many rural counties."

Because of the understating of jobless figures in both urban and rural America, the report asserted, the federal government "should not use these statistics as a trigger for funding programs in local areas, particularly when the official unemployment figure is a target below which no money is deemed necessary."

Saluting the Speaker

Retiring House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill accepts 1986 Murray-Green-Meany award, the AFL-CIO's highest tribute for humanitarianism and service to the nation's working men and women. The award, a memorial to past leaders William Green, Philip Murray and George Meany, includes a bronze medallion and a $5,000 grant. Making the presentation are, from left, Community Services Director Frank Emig, Legislative Director Robert McGlotten and James Kennedy, executive assistant to the AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer. O'Neill has served in the House since 1953.

House panel bars funding for OMB's regulatory unit

A House Appropriations subcommittee voted to cut off funding for the regulatory review unit of the Office of Management & Budget in a labor-supported move to end OMB interference with federal agencies that administer laws to protect workers and the public.

Under the Reagan Administration, OMB has become an ally of industries that have sought to weaken or delay occupational health and safety standards. Its Office of Information & Regulatory Affairs (OIRA) has sought to impose "political ideology" on the regulatory process, the AFL-CIO charged in a letter to the Appropriations subcommittee.

Subcommittee Chairman Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.) said the appropriations bill would bar OMB from shifting funds from other activities to replace the $5.4 billion eliminated from the regulatory unit.

"Members of the subcommittee consider OIRA to be a rogue agency, out of effective control by Congress," Roybal said.

Apart from the funding dispute, the controversial regulatory unit must be reauthorized by Congress in order to continue to function. The Senate Government Operations Committee has approved a bill that would reauthorize the unit as part of a general reorganization of OMB, but there has been no such action in the House.

Roybal told reporters that his subcommittee's action in eliminating the $5.4-million budget item for the OIRA operation has the support of the chairmen of the three House committees most directly involved—Government Operations Chairman Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), Energy & Commerce Chairman John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) and Appropriations Chairman Jamie L. Whitten (D-Miss.).

Careful review

Their view, he said, is that Congress should take "a long, hard look" at what OIRA has been doing "before we decide whether or not we want to reauthorize any of its functions" and the degree of congressional oversight that would be needed.

He cited a recent House Investigations subcommittee report that OIRA circumvented congressional directives that were intended to protect public health and the environment. The probe found that the unit allowed favored interests "to plead their cases in secret meetings" and "sought to exercise veto power over agency decisions."

City workers vote on accord as Philadelphia strike ends

Philadelphia's blue-collar city workers—members of State, County & Municipal Employees District Council 33—reached a tentative two-year settlement 48-hours after they ended a 20-day strike. But AFSCME District Council 25 members in Detroit continued their walkout that began July 16.

The 12,000 workers voted July 20 to return to work, after a common pleas court judge had ordered the union's 2,500 sanitation workers and 850 health care providers back to work.

The proposed 10-percent pay package is similar to one ratified earlier by AFSCME District Council 47, which represents 2,500 of the city's white-collar workers. Council 33's members will get a 4-percent pay raise on Aug. 15 and a 6-percent increase on Jan. 1, 1988.

In addition, the union will reach parity with the police and fire unions on health and welfare funding as the city's monthly contribution will increase from $220 to $291.

Payments to the health and welfare fund were a key issue in the contract dispute even after an appellate court recently upheld the union's charge that the city has shortchanged the fund. It was ordered to repay $15.9 million. The city will be permitted to audit the union's health and welfare fund annually.

The union has set a ratification vote for Aug. 3.

In Detroit, 7,000 members of 17 AFSCME locals remain on strike and 5,000 other unionized city workers are honoring picket lines.

AFSCME District Council President James Glass said a "contract settlement was only inches away" on July 22 when the city negotiators "abruptly left the bargaining table with the union and the state negotiator present." The two sides were ordered back to the table the next day by Wayne County Circuit Judge Sharon Finch.

Finch, who has twice rejected the city's plea for a back-to-work order for "essential" employees, said hearings would resume on the city's request if no settlement was reached.

The city, meanwhile, filed briefs with the Michigan Court of Appeals, seeking enforcement of a state law prohibiting municipal strikes. Judge Finch had rejected the city's argument that all workers must return to avoid irreparable harm to the city. "I'm not going to issue a restraining order without proof, without evidence," she said.

Focus on wages

The key issue in the Detroit strike is wages. In the last three-year contract, AFSCME members got pay increases totaling only 2.4 percent. The 17 unions "are pressing for justice and equity in this contract," Glass said, in seeking a 26-percent increase over three years. "We feel that prosperity has returned to this city and we deserve to share in it," he added. The city currently has a $52-million budget surplus.

A news blackout was imposed by state mediator Charles Jamerson, who had earlier sought to arrange a meeting between Glass and Mayor Coleman A. Young to help resolve the strike. Glass said he would welcome such a session, but Young refused to take part.

In a related issue, Detroit AFL-CIO President Tom Turner strongly criticized city Election Board Director Ed Wilson's call for National Guard troops to protect non-union clerks the board said it needs to hire to prepare for an Aug. 5 primary. Turner called Wilson's request "despicable."

PBS schedules Labor Day telecasts

Two documentaries presenting a special look at workers and organized labor will be aired on public televisions stations by the Public Broadcasting System following the Labor Day weekend.

"The Global Assembly Line" takes viewers on a tour from closed factories in United States to modern-day sweatshops in the Philippines and examines the problems workers face around the globe. The documentary will be broadcast on Sept. 2 at 10 p.m. EDT.

In the Philippines, the film's producers gained access to production zones where young Filipino women make blue jeans and computer parts to be shipped to America. The young women recounted their long hours in the high-tech sweatshops, where workers often are locked in factories for days at a time.

A second film, "the Women of Summer" will air Sept. 3 at 10 p.m. EDT. The documentary tells the story of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, a pioneering education program for blue-collar working women, as seen through the eyes of its graduates attending a 50-year reunion.

The summer sessions brought 1,700 women to the Bryn Mawr College campus near Philadelphia from 1921 through 1938, and the film documents the school's achievements, as graduates of the school continued their educations to become teachers and community and labor organizers.

Both documentaries received underwriting funds or post-production support from the Labor Institute for Public Affairs, the federation's television and production unit. LIPA is urging union members to publicize the broadcasts in their areas and urge local public stations that have not yet scheduled the films to include them in Labor Day programming.

At centennial convention

Bakery union adopts new dues provisions

Las Vegas, Nev.—The Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers approved a request by local unions to raise their dues and paved the way for the international to increase its per capita tax if financial needs arise.

Delegates to the union's 100th anniversary convention authorized locals to increase dues by $1 per month next Jan. 1, with another $1-a-month increase Jan. 1, 1989. The resolution permits the international president to grant exceptions on a local-by-local basis. Mininum local dues currently are $12 a month.

The convention approved the executive board's proposal to hold the line on the per capita payment at $5.75 a month, but empowered the board to raise the payment $1 after January 1988. If a per capita increase becomes necessary, local dues will rise by a similar amount.

In his keynote address, President John DeConcini told the nearly 600 delegates that 95 percent of the union's members have made gains at the bargaining table without having to accept either give-backs or two-tier proposals.

Because the union is able to pay health benefit premiums for strikers whose coverage lapses, to make emergency payments to strikers experiencing hardship and to pay full strike benefits to workers honoring another union's sanctioned picketlines, no employer has been successful in "breaking the union," DeConcini declared.

However, he pointed out, more than 200 plant closings in the four years since the last convention have cost the jobs of 15,000 members. To fill the gap, DeConcini announced, the union is mobilizing a special task force for intensive organizing activities at targeted sites.

To back up this effort, delegates approved resolutions calling on locals to form their own organizing committees and pledging assistance from the international in these efforts.

In an address to the convention, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue declared that critics are wrong when they insist that "times are changing and the labor movement can't cope with change."

"Change is our business," Donahue asserted. "Change is precisely what we're all about."

He assailed the Reagan Administration's failed policies that have adversely impacted workers and their families and cited a string of recent labor victories in Congress as evidence that "the tide is beginning to turn."

Underscoring the BCT's continuing commitment to political action, the convention reaffirmed support for its national political action fund and voted to create state and local funds for political education and contributions to candidates in non-federal elections.

Election results

Delegates unanimously re-elected DeConcini, Sec.-Treas. Rene Rondou and Executive Vice President Graydon E. Tetrick to four-year terms.

Convention speakers included Sec.-Treas. Richard Mercier of the Canadian Labor Congress, Executive Director Benjamin Hooks of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Flight Attendants President Linda Puchala, Sec.-Gen. Dan Gallin of the International Union of Food & Allied Workers Associations, President Norman Hill of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, President Robert Harbrant of the AFL-CIO Food & Allied Services Trades Department, AFL-CIO Region VI Director David Stickler, Executive Director David Wilhelm of Citizens for Tax Justice, retired AFL-CIO COPE Director Al Barkan, and BCT President-emeritus Dan Conway.

On the last day of the convention, Stuart Kaufman, author of separate histories on the Bakery & Confectionery Workers and the Tobacco Workers, presented bound copies of each book to the executive officers.

At Senate hearings, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue calls for steps to curb the trade deficit. He is flanked by Research Director Rudy Oswald, left, and Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten.

Senate pressed for action on stalled trade reform bill

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semiconductor worker knows he was efficient, but was still replaced by foreign production."

He scoffed at President Reagan's claim that free trade "generates more jobs" and leads to "high standards of living."

The "free and open" markets that Reagan defends don't exist, Donahue said. You won't find them in Japan, the European Community, Brazil, Taiwan or Mexico, he stressed.

"Where are the jobs this policy claims to generate?" Donahue asked. Unemployment continues to hover around the 7-percent level. He noted that 1985 was the fifth successive year under the Reagan Administration's trade policy that the jobless rate was 7 percent or higher. In the decades since World War II, he noted, there have been only four other such high-unemployment years.

Auto Workers President Owen Bieber and two key sponsors of the House bill—Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) and Don Pease (D-Ohio)—also pressed the need for legislation at the Senate hearings.

Gephardt is the principal architect of the bill's formula for reducing the trade imbalance and Pease sponsored its labor rights section that would define violation of internationally recognized worker rights as an "unreasonable" trade practice, subject to retaliation by the United States.

Donahue told the Senate Finance Committee that the AFL-CIO welcomes this provision of the House bill. He urged also that any country that fails to comply with such basic standards as freedom of association, a safe workplace and a ban on child labor should be denied most-favored-nation trade advantages.

Worker exploitation

Bieber noted in his testimony that a government which condones exploitation of its workers is providing a subsidy to its manufacturers just as if it were making cash payments.

Urging the need for the deficit-reduction mandate of the House bill, Bieber said the one-way flow of automobiles and auto parts was responsible for $45 billion of the trade deficit since 1980. For workers, he said, it has meant "lost jobs, lost income, lost savings, lost health insurance and lost hope for a better future."

In a related area, a Senate subcommittee heard union and industry representatives press for stronger remedies against unfair "dumping" of subsidized foreign goods on the U.S. market.

Price hikes slice purchasing value of workers' pay

Continued from Page 1

checks in services went up 1.8 percent. There were modest advances of eight-tenths of 1 percent in manufacturing and two-tenths of 1 percent in wholesale trade.

Earnings were down a sharp 1.1 percent in the mining and oil industry because of falling energy prices. The government reported a 1-percent drop in real earnings in retail trade and a decline of two-tenths of 1 percent in construction.

The upward movement in the consumer price index was paced by a 3.1-percent increase in the cost of gasoline in June following a 2.5-percent rise the previous month. However, thanks to the loosening of the stranglehold that the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries once held on world oil prices, they were still 22.2 percent below the level of a year ago.

Consumers paid 1.4 percent more for utilities last month, and 5.7 percent more than they did a year ago, due largely to increases in local telephone service costs. The June boost in the monthly "access fee" more than offset declines in rates for long-distance phone calls.

Natural gas and electricity prices shot up 2.7 percent after a two-month decline while home heating oil prices moved down another 1.8 percent.

Medical care costs continued to surge. They advanced seven-tenths of 1 percent last month and were 7.5 percent higher than in June 1985.

Shirley Dennis picked for Women's Bureau

Shirley Dennis, a state housing and community affairs administrator, has been nominated to head the Women's Bureau at the Labor Dept. Dennis, 48, must be confirmed by the Senate. She would replace Lenora Cole-Alexander, who stepped down on Feb. 28.

The Pennsylvania Republican has served as secretary of the Department of Community Affairs since 1980 and on the state's economic development and human resources committees. Earlier, she was housing director for the Urban League of Philadelphia.

Long-term pay decline

More bad news for working families

Even though inflation has been running at a moderate pace, the combination of a stagnating economy and creeping price increases adds up to bad news for the average American family.

Real earnings—the actual purchasing power of workers' wages after adjustment for inflation—declined 10 percent since 1978, AFL-CIO economist Anne Draper pointed out. Eight years ago, the average weekly paycheck bought $189.31 worth of goods and services; last year, it was worth only $170.42 in the marketplace, and the decline continues.

The figures stand in sharp contrast to the situation three decades ago, when workers were sharing some of the fruits of a bustling economy.

In the 1950s, real average weekly earnings rose 2.5 percent per year and climbed another 1.7 percent annually in the 1960s. Although a decline set in during the 1970s, workers still managed to improve the purchasing power of their paychecks by two-tenths of 1 percent each year.

Since then, steady erosion of the economy has forced workers to take a sharp cut in purchasing power.

"The American dream of economic security has turned into a nightmare," Draper said. "Workers and their families are losing the struggle to keep their heads above water, and there's no lifesaver in sight."

A number of factors—all of them the result of Reagan Administration economic policies—have contributed to the deepening problem that workers face, she emphasized.

Declining picture

They include the continued decline of higher-paying manufacturing jobs under the onslaught of imports and the resulting shift to lower-paying jobs in the service industry, a shorter workweek because of economic stagnation, and a significant number of people who want to work full-time but who have to settle for parttime jobs.

"All of these elements leave working people behind the economic eight-ball," Draper asserted. "And the situation has been aggravated by the fact that many workers have lost their cost-of-living adjustments which were supposed to provide some hedge against inflation."

Since the Administration seems unlikely to change its policies, she said, Congress must take the lead in rescuing workers and their families from the continued erosion of their standard of living.

Erosion of real wages

The average weekly wage was nearly one-third higher in 1985 that it was in 1978, yet America's workers actually are worse off today than they were eight years ago.

After taking inflation into account, real wages—what workers can buy with the dollars they earn—eroded steadily during that period. Last year, the average worker's paycheck bought 10 percent less than it did in 1978.

Here's how paychecks and real wages compare:

Average gross weekly earnings

Year	Current dollars	1977 dollars	Percentage loss
1978	$203.70	$189.31	
1979	219.91	183.41	- 3.1%
1980	235.10	172.74	- 8.8
1981	255.20	170.13	-10.1
1982	267.26	168.09	-11.2
1983	280.70	171.26	- 9.5
1984	292.86	172.78	- 8.7
1985	299.09	170.42	-10.0

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Steelworkers study impact of LTV crisis

The Steelworkers are closely monitoring the bankruptcy proceedings of LTV Corp., USWA President Lynn Williams said in stressing that the union "will protect our members' rights" under the settlement reached with the company in April.

The nation's second-largest steelmaker filed for protection from its creditors in U.S. Bankruptcy Court in New York, blaming a decline in steel orders and shipments and a sharp falloff in oil and gas revenues. LTV has steel and energy units and a highly profitable aerospace and defense-related operation.

The company's petition to reorganize under Chapter 11 of the federal bankruptcy code makes it the second major producer to seek relief in the hard-hit steel industry. Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp., the country's seventh largest steelmaker, filed for bankruptcy in April 1985.

Williams said more than 30,000 union members are working or temporarily furloughed at 24 LTV plants, with another 61,000 retired workers receiving pensions. The USWA has filed as a creditor in the bankruptcy proceedings and is meeting with LTV officials to ensure that the existing contract is honored.

The union has objected to LTV's announcement that it may end health insurance coverage and life insurance payments for all retirees.

The company also plans to terminate one of its pension plans covering about 11,000 steelworker retirees and 4,000 salaried workers.

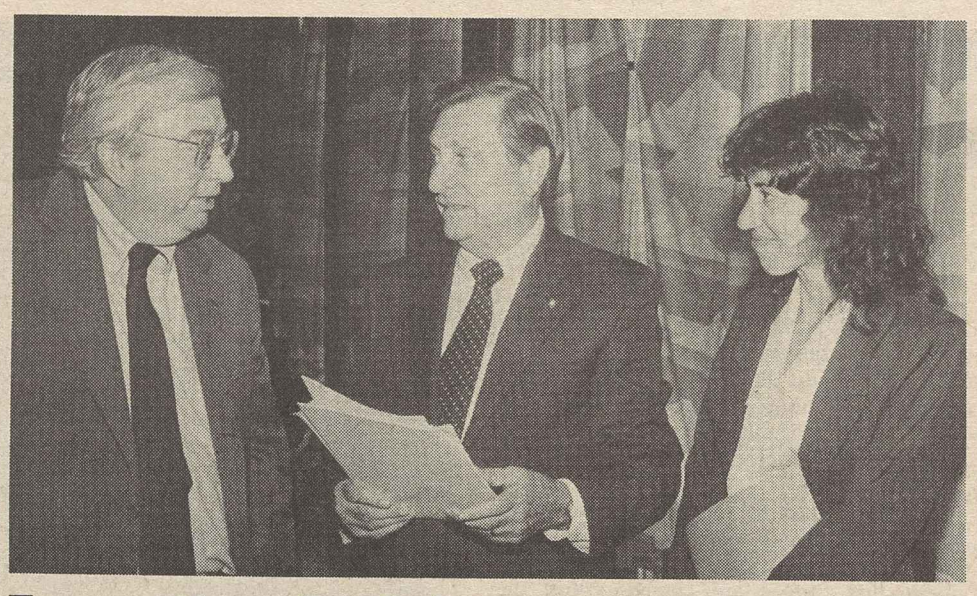
Burden on PBGC

Under federal law, pension payments must be assumed by the government's Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., and PBGC officials have expressed concern that LTV's underfunding of its pension plans would mean "an enormous financial burden" for the agency.

Williams said the bankruptcy action underscores the union's stance that only major federal involvement "will turn around the disastrous course" set for the nation's steel industry.

"The critical problems of LTV can be directly related to the increasing penetration of foreign steel and the failure of the President's voluntary restraint agreement program," he charged, but so far, "the Administration has been silent."

The House has adopted a trade measure to stem the tide of steel and other imports and address the nation's trade concerns.



Investing in jobs

Ways to encourage the prudent investment of pension funds in such job-generating activities as unionized construction projects are discussed by President John Joyce of the Bricklayers, chairman of the Executive Council's Committee on Union Investment Funds; Floyd H. Hyde, the new chief executive officer of the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust, and Meredith Miller, assistant research director of the Service Employees.

Pennsylvania acts to curb rise in cost of health care

Harrisburg, Pa.—A landmark health care cost containment measure backed by the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO cleared its final hurdle and was signed into law by the governor.

The legislation, which was adopted unanimously by the state legislature, establishes a cost containment council empowered to examine the cost and quality of medical care offered by Pennsylvania hospitals and health care providers and give that information to health care purchasers. The plan was supported by the Health Care Alliance, a coalition of labor and business representatives.

Pennsylvania AFL-CIO President Julius Uehlein hailed the plan as a "leap forward" in containing health care costs and said the program can serve as a model for the entire country.

The plan should result in health care cost savings of at least $1 billion a year, the State AFL-CIO and business analysts estimate, with competition and price negotiations resulting in savings of 10 to 30 percent in the state's $15 billion health care industry.

While Pennsylvania currently is experiencing an oversupply of health care providers, unions and other groups have not been able to take advantage of the "buyers' market" and negotiate lower rates because they lacked information on costs and quality of individual providers, the state federation pointed out.

In the past, unions had to rely on cost figures, like average charge per hospital bed, that could not be verified and were often used by employers to limit health care options for workers. Now, health care purchasers, especially large group purchasers, can buy the best possible value in medical coverage and make their decisions based on complete information, the state federation said.

The State AFL-CIO also had sought a tax on Pennsylvania hospitals and a new business tax to give poor citizens access to better quality medical care, but that provision was defeated. Instead, the legislators agreed to fund a $400,000 study of the problems of indigent care and instructed the cost containment council to develop a legislative plan addressing the health concerns of the poor within 18 months.

Other provisions of the cost containment plan include:

- Audit procedures to verify information submitted by hospitals.
- Comprehensive reports on health care costs and quality published quarterly.
- Restricted access to cost and quality data for insurers, who must obtain the information through union representatives.

Manion gets confirmed on 49-49 standoff

Continued from Page 1

ment of a lower-level federal judge in his home state. Evans had voted against Manion's confirmation and Gorton took political heat in his re-election campaign for what his critics saw as a surrender of principle.

On the rerun, Evans joined Gorton in voting against reconsideratin of the Manion confirmation vote—using the argument that it was a procedural matter and that the vote on confirmation had already taken place.

Even then, the illness of Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) left the Republican leadership one vote short. But "senatorial courtesy" prevailed and Arizona Democrat Dennis DeConcini withheld his vote to offset Goldwater's absence.

The AFL-CIO had opposed Manion's appointment and urged the Senate to reject his nomination.

In another area, Congress sought to deal with the after-shock of the Supreme Court's ruling that it can't leave enforcement of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction law to the comptroller general, who is considered part of the legislative branch of government.

Budget cutback

The fallback provision of the law was that across-the-board budget cuts needed to stay under deficit ceilings would be achieved by a resolution passed by the House and Senate that would require the President's signature—or a veto override.

That's what the House and Senate did in a bill that wrote into law the 4.3-percent cuts in most current-year appropriations that were nullified by the Supreme Court decision.

With the fiscal year ending on Sept. 30, there was only scattered opposition and the legislation cleared Congress in a single day, by a 339-72 margin in the House and by voice vote in the Senate.

Meatcutters challenge Oscar Mayer lockout

Chicago—Oscar Mayer Food Corp. locked out nearly 700 Food & Commercial Workers and is hiring scabs to replace UFCW members who rejected management's "final offer" of a 10-month agreement freezing wages and benefits.

Members of UFCW Local 100 voted down the Oscar Mayer offer 367-146, with many criticizing the short-term contract sought by the company, the union said. The contract expired May 31.

After negotiations for a new agreement stalled, more than 600 UFCW members were laid off in mid-June. Oscar Mayer disputed the workers' claims for unemployment compensation, but the state Dept. of Employment Security ruled that the union members are eligible for benefits.

The local wants to coordinate negotiations with Oscar Mayer operations in Davenport, Iowa, and Madison, Wis., which employ more than 2,300 UFCW members. Those agreements expire Aug. 31. Local 100 also wants guarantees that work moved to other sites after the layoff would be returned to the Chicago plant.

Revisions mar value of VDT study

The Communications Workers charged the White House Office of Management & Budget with making changes that will damage the credibility of a proposed study of some 2,000 BellSouth Corp. female video display terminal operators to determine the adverse effects of VDT use on pregnancy.

The planned study, to be conducted by the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health, recently received conditional approval from OMB. Those conditions concerned removal of questions relating to fertility and stress problems.

At recent House hearings, CWA protested OMB's sidetracking of the study of reproductive risks among female VDT operators. CWA Executive Vice President Barbara J. Easterling noted that OMB's objections paralleled those of BellSouth and took strong exception to a letter that a BellSouth official sent to OMB last November outlining the firm's objections.

Tainted study

Easterling said the letter expressed concern that the study "will not achieve NIOSH's principal goal, which is to allay public and employee concern over the possible effects of VDTs." As CWA sees it, she testified, the purpose of the study is to develop the facts and follow the evidence to wherever it leads.

David E. LeGrande, CWA director of safety and health, said that BellSouth has been a reluctant participant in the study almost from its inception in late 1983 when NIOSH decided to study 2,000 of the company's female VDT operators and a like number of non-VDT female workers at AT&T, who will be used as a control group.

LeGrande explained that although the NIOSH proposal from the beginning has provided for allowing the use of medical records, both the reviewers for BellSouth and OMB stressed that use of medical records should be a component of the study.

"It's more than coincidental that the reviewers for both groups each missed the fact that the proposal already provides for medical records use," LeGrande said. "I believe OMB basically was told what direction to take by BellSouth and then used its letterhead to sign on to it."

He added, "Will the exclusion of the 70 to 80 questions dealing with fertility, stress and musculo-skeletal problems have an adverse effect on the study? The answer is a resounding 'yes.'"

LeGrande said that the consensus on NIOSH's peer review panel is that "too bad those questions can't be asked. It will reduce the credibility of the study and the ability to draw certain conclusions."

Painters win $1 million in Atari layoffs

San Jose, Calif.—Workers at Atari Inc., who lost their jobs when the high-tech computer firm moved most of its operations to Hong Kong in 1983, will share $1 million in a settlement reached between Atari and the Painters.

Teaming up with the Employment Law Center, a San Francisco-based legal aid group, the union filed a class action suit in Santa Clara County superior court on behalf of more than 500 workers, charging that Atari "wrongfully and without notice laid off approximately 537 employees."

The out-of-court settlement agreed to by Atari awards each worker $1,100—about four weeks' pay—and pays attorneys' fees of $390,000.

Most of the laid-off workers are Chinese, Vietnamese and Hispanic immigrants, who make up the largest share of the low-paid, unskilled and semi-skilled workforce in Silicon Valley.

The union had charged that Atari illegally terminated 537 workers during an organizing drive begun in 1982 by Glaziers Local 1621, an affiliate of the Painters. Atari reacted quickly to the union's campaign, the union said, meeting with small groups of employees and making both oral and written promises that no layoffs were planned.

Permanent 'furloughs'

Just a few months later, more than 500 workers were permanently furloughed in February 1983, the first in a series of layoffs throughout Silicon Valley. The union charged that Atari had terminated the employees because of the organizing campaign and filed unfair labor practice charges against the company.

But a regional attorney for the National Labor Relations Board refused to issue a complaint against Atari, citing the company's claim that the decision to relocate its operations was made before the union's drive began.

The union filed the class action suit in August 1983, citing state employment laws that make fraud and misrepresentation by companies illegal and require employers to give their workers a reasonable notice of planned layoffs.

Early in the proceedings, the court ruled that Atari had a legal obligation to give its workers some amount of notice prior to the terminations and would continue the hearing to determine how much notice was appropriate, the Employment Law Center said in a summary of the case.

Painters Organizing Director William J. Brown said the lawsuit sends a message to firms like Atari "that unions intend to represent those employees seeking representation whatever the outcome of the election campaign."

EDITORIALS

A Message to America

I HAVE BEEN asked by the leaders of the black trade union movement of South Africa to convey a message to the American people and our government. They want strong and effective economic sanctions imposed on South Africa's racist regime.

They are well aware of the adverse impact such sanctions could have on the black workers of South Africa. But like the workers of Poland and Chile, the victims of oppression in the Soviet Union and the followers of Martin Luther King, they know that freedom is worth any price.

The President seems not to understand this brave spirit. His speech only laid bare the hypocrisy and bankruptcy of "constructive engagement." It is a policy of inaction that alienates our real friends and sustains in Pretoria the deadly illusion that apartheid can be sustained by force.

Our delegation heard grim accounts of brutal beatings and torture inflicted on detained black trade union leaders, whom we were not permitted to visit. They know the meaning of sacrifice. They are living the reality of apartheid while the President, vainly courting their tormenters, counsels endless patience.

As requested by our South African brothers and sisters, I have conveyed these views to Sec. of State Shultz and I will present them to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

—AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland at Washington, D.C., news conference, July 24, 1986.

Tax Justice

AMERICANS ARE concerned about fairness in taxes, and they look with favor on a progressive tax structure, in which persons with the highest incomes are taxed at the highest rates.

That's the conclusion of recent Roper public opinion polls taken both before and during Senate consideration of tax reform legislation. It runs counter to the prevailing view in the Reagan Administration and among many members of Congress that there is popular support for a nearly flat-rate tax, with the upper bracket rate drastically reduced.

More than three-fourths of those polled were of the opinion that high-income families and large corporations pay too little taxes. Only 20 percent thought the top tax bracket, now 50 percent, should be dropped as low as 35 percent. Sixty-six percent thought it should be higher.

That last figure is especially pertinent since a congressional conference committee is now trying to reconcile the House bill carrying a 38 percent top rate with the Senate's 27 percent maximum.

The AFL-CIO has urged the House and Senate conferees to assure a progressive tax structure by adopting the four-step rates of the House-passed bill and the Senate-passed elimination of the existing preferences for capital gains income.

That's what most Americans want also, it turns out.

Price of Neglect

SCORES OF domestic industries and millions of American workers have been left defenseless against an onslaught of imports spurred by foreign government practices and the vagaries of U.S. economic policy.

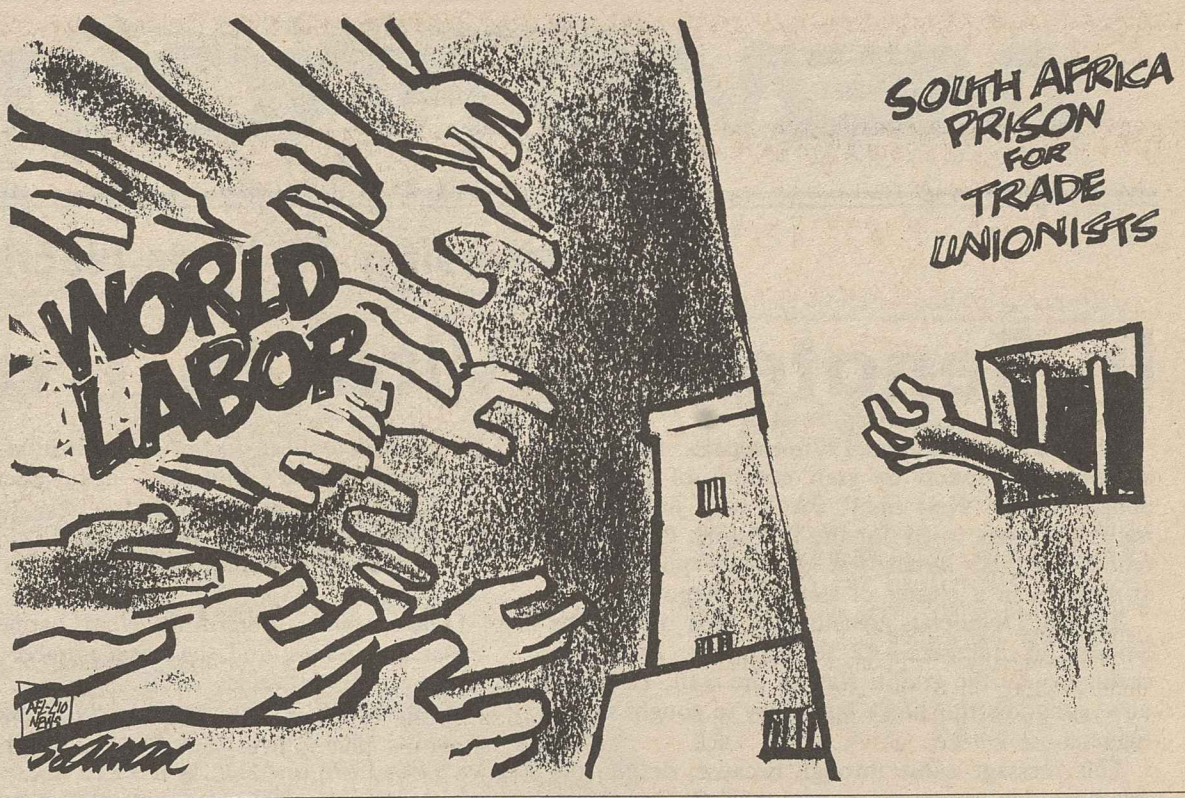
The Maine shoemaker, the Ohio machinist, the Kansas farmer, and even the so-called high-tech worker in the Silicon Valley have all learned the lessons of international commerce—not from textbooks but from lost jobs, lost income, lost dignity and devastated communities in every part of the United States.

The mystical dream world of "free trade," of which this Administration stands enchanted, is a world that never was and never will be.

Where are the free and open markets on which President Reagan bases his trade policy? Are free and open markets defined by quotas, stringent inspection requirements, discriminatory standards, export subsidies and incentives, industrial targeting programs, buy-national policies?

Trade is, by everyone except the United States, guided and regulated by national objectives.

—AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue before Senate Finance Committee, July 23, 1986.



Washington Window

House-Senate conference holds fate of tax reforms

By Press Associates Inc.

The most sweeping changes in the nation's tax code in a half-century are being hammered out by House-Senate conferees and are likely to be enacted and signed into law in the coming weeks.

In general, both the bill passed by the House last December and that passed by the Senate in May go a long way in restoring equity to a loophole-riddled tax system. Both bills would remove most low-income workers from the tax rolls, reduce the tax bills of a majority of middle-income wage earners, and close loopholes that enable wealthy individuals and profitable corporations to pay little or nothing in taxes.

However, the two bills differ in some important respects. How these differences are resolved by the congressional conference committee will determine how far tax reform will go to ease the burden on middle-income wage earners and put corporations and the rich back on the tax rolls. The House bill is fairer to wage earners in most, but not all, respects.

Both bills contain some provisions harmful to workers. They would limit the current deduction for such work-related expenses as union dues, safety clothing and tools and would fully tax unemployment insurance benefits.

Contrasting provisions

The House bill would cut individual tax bills more than the Senate bill—an average of 9.1 percent compared to 6.4 percent. To make up the lost revenues, the House bill would close enough loopholes to provide $160 billion more from corporations, according to the latest estimates, over the next five years.

The Senate bill is more generous to business and would raise $100 billion over the five-year period by curbing corporate tax breaks. Corporations would pay less under the Senate plan mainly because plant and equipment depreciation would be made even more generous.

Further, the Senate was far more generous than the House to certain business interests, including timber, oil and gas, banks, insurers and defense contractors. Also, the Senate lowered the top corporate tax rate from 46 percent to 33 percent compared to the House's 36 percent.

The Senate bill's tax rates—27 percent and 15 percent—are more generous to high-income individuals and less "progressive" than the House bill's rates—38, 35, 25, and 15 percent.

Despite the Senate plan's lower rates, millions of middle-income taxpayers would lose deductions for consumer loans, state and local sales taxes, and contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts.

Curbing capital gains

On the other hand, the Senate bill is more equitable than the House version in curbing two tax advantages enjoyed by the wealthy. The Senate proposal would eliminate the existing preference for capital gains income and would prohibit the use of paper losses from "passive" investments to shelter income.

Just as the House-Senate conferees were sitting down to negotiate, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce argued that the Senate bill's generous capital depreciation and low tax rates were needed for "economic growth." The Chamber said the Senate bill's capital gains rate should be reduced.

Meanwhile, Citizens for Tax Justice released its latest findings on corporate tax avoidance that showed 130 of the nation's largest and most profitable corporations not only avoided any federal taxes in at least one year between 1982 and 1985, they also shared $6.1 billion in tax rebates during that period.

For all the 250 leading companies in the survey, the average tax rate over the past four years was a mere 14.9 percent because they were able to use tax loopholes to avoid the 46 percent rate called for in the present tax code, the study revealed. Had these companies paid the full rate on profits totaling $388 billion, they would have paid $120.5 billion more than they did.

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MEMO FROM COPE

Reversing 10-Year Election Trend

In Senate: It's Vital to Trade Up, not Down

Ten years ago, in the 1976 elections, the ultra-conservative putsch to grab control of the U.S. Senate began. "New right" PACs were just spreading their wings to fly for the first time. Candidates who met their litmus test of issues purity were nominated in a cluster of states by Republicans.

Though Democrats actually held their own in the Senate, in numbers—62-38 going in, the same coming out—the graffiti was on the wall: There's a new gang on the block and they're tough street-fighters.

This message came through because, despite the numbers, key progressive, pro-worker Democrats got wiped out in California, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming and Indiana. Only in New Mexico did Democrats regain the lost seat six years later, in 1982.

In 1978, four Democratic-held Senate seats fell to right-wingers—in Colorado, New Hampshire, Iowa and Minnesota—and in 1980, when the GOP picked up a net of 12 Senate seats, 10 of its 15 newcomer winners were patrons of, and assisted substantially by, "new right" PACs.

The 1980 elections handed Republicans a 53-47 Senate margin. In 1982 and 1984 Senate elections gains and losses by each party cancelled one another out, and 53-47 remains the GOP advantage today.

If the 10-year Democratic trip from a 62-38 bulge to a 47-53 deficit is not turned around this year, long-term GOP Senate control appears probable. For this year, the biggest class of GOP first-termers faces the voters—and it's the group most heavily larded with rightists.

This is the class—with plenty of help, of course, from its GOP right-wing precursors—that ripped Medicare and Medicaid, and education aid and low-interest college loans, and nutrition and child care programs. It's the class—again abetted by its GOP seniors—that has failed utterly to come to grips with trade arrangements that have wiped out more than 3.5 million jobs since it's been on campus.

The numbers determine what happens in the Senate on issues, and the basic number is the 15-seat over-all shift since 1976.

Each switch of *one* seat actually translates into a potential shift of *two* votes on most key issues. Take 15 away from one side, add 15 to the other side—which is substantial—and you have a true shift of 30 votes, which is overwhelming in a 100-member institution.

A bunch of those seats have got to come back this year, as mentioned above. Give these Class of 1980 right-wing incumbents a second term, and the likelihood is they'll be in office when the next millenium begins.

How costly has rightist take-over of the Senate been? Well, it made possible enactment of the Reagan program of tax cuts for corporations and the rich, retrenchment of important people-helping programs, soaring defense spending without taxes to pay for it, killer deficits at home and in trade abroad, a base unemployment rate of seven percent.

The over-all price is apparent in the voting performance shown in the accompanying chart. It includes most, but not all, of those Republicans elected to the Senate for the first time in elections between 1976-84, and still in it. At least 13 of the 21 included have, or had, close ties to "new right" organizations. Based on their voting records, the others might just as well be tied to the "new right." (Chart includes Sen. John East (R-N.C.), who died recently.)

The toll shows up more glaringly by contrasting the AFL-CIO voting record of the winning rightists and the progressive senators they replaced. For example, the 90 percent "right" record of Utah's Ted Moss became the 90 percent "wrong" record of Orrin Hatch. Minnesota's Muriel Humphrey's 85 percent "right" turned into Rudy Boschwitz's 85 percent "wrong." From Idaho, Frank Church's 80 percent "right" shifted to Steve Symms' 98 percent "wrong."

On issues that are important to working people, their families and the country, it's a bad trade when you lose someone who's *with* you better than eight or nine out of 10 times and pick up someone who *isn't* more than eight or nine out of 10 times.

Maybe 1986 Senate elections will trade up rather than down.

Here We Go Again, Gang. . .1 Vote Counts

There it was, primary election night in Stark County, Ohio. Jackson Township Trustee Patty Miller lost her bid for nomination to run for county commissioner to Canton Councilman Robert Capestrain by 31 votes out of 70,253 total votes cast. A later tally, including absentee ballots, shaved her deficit to 26 votes.

This qualified her for a free recount because it brought her within 0.5 percent of her opponent's total. In the recount she gained enough votes for victory.

Her margin? Five votes.

Does one vote count? Ask Patty Miller.

1976-84: How Senate Fell . . . Year by Year

State	Republicans Elected	AFL-CIO Voting Record Right	Wrong	% Wrong	Democrats Defeated	AFL-CIO Voting Record Right	Wrong	% Right
GOP Class of '76								
Utah	Orrin Hatch	17	146	90%	Frank Moss	124	15	90%
Wyoming	Malcolm Wallop	15	150	91%	Gale McGee	107	26	80%
Indiana	Richard Lugar	18	151	89%	Vance Hartke	114	17	87%
GOP Class of '78								
Colorado	William Armstrong	1	123	99%	Floyd Haskell	71	23	75%
New Hampshire	Gordon Humphrey	8	117	94%	Tom McIntyre	130	28	80%
Minnesota	Rudy Boschwitz	20	112	85%	Muriel Humphrey* (filled husband's seat)	11	2	85%
GOP Class of '80 (up this year)								
Alabama	Jeremiah Denton	9	81	90%	Don Stewart	23	11	68%
Alaska	Frank Murkowski	18	70	80%	Mike Gravel	108	25	81%
Florida	Paula Hawkins	28	59	68%	Richard Stone*	55	62	47%
Idaho	Steve Symms	2	84	98%	Frank Church	171	42	80%
Indiana	Dan Quayle	9	82	90%	Birch Bayh	172	11	94%
Iowa	Charles Grassley	15	78	84%	John Culver	99	10	91%
New Hampshire	Warren Rudman	18	73	80%	John Durkin	91	11	89%
North Carolina	John East**	3	80	96%	Robert Morgan	41	68	38%
Oklahoma	Don Nickles	2	90	98%	(Replaced Henry Bellmon (R), who retired)			
South Dakota	James Abdnor	23	71	76%	George McGovern	159	20	89%
Washington	Slade Gorton	19	74	80%	Warren Magnuson	230	19	92%
Wisconsin	Robert Kasten	18	74	80%	Gaylord Nelson	177	27	87%
GOP Class of '82								
Nevada	Chic Hecht	2	47	96%	Howard Cannon	168	86	65%
California	Pete Wilson***	4	41	91%	John Tunney***	61	12	84%
GOP Class of '84								
Kentucky	Mitch McConnell	2	19	90%	Walter Huddleston	140	55	72%

* Open seat ** Retiring *** Seat captured by S. I. Hayakawa (R) who beat Tunney (D) in '76. Hayakawa stepped down after one term.

AFL-CIO news

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!
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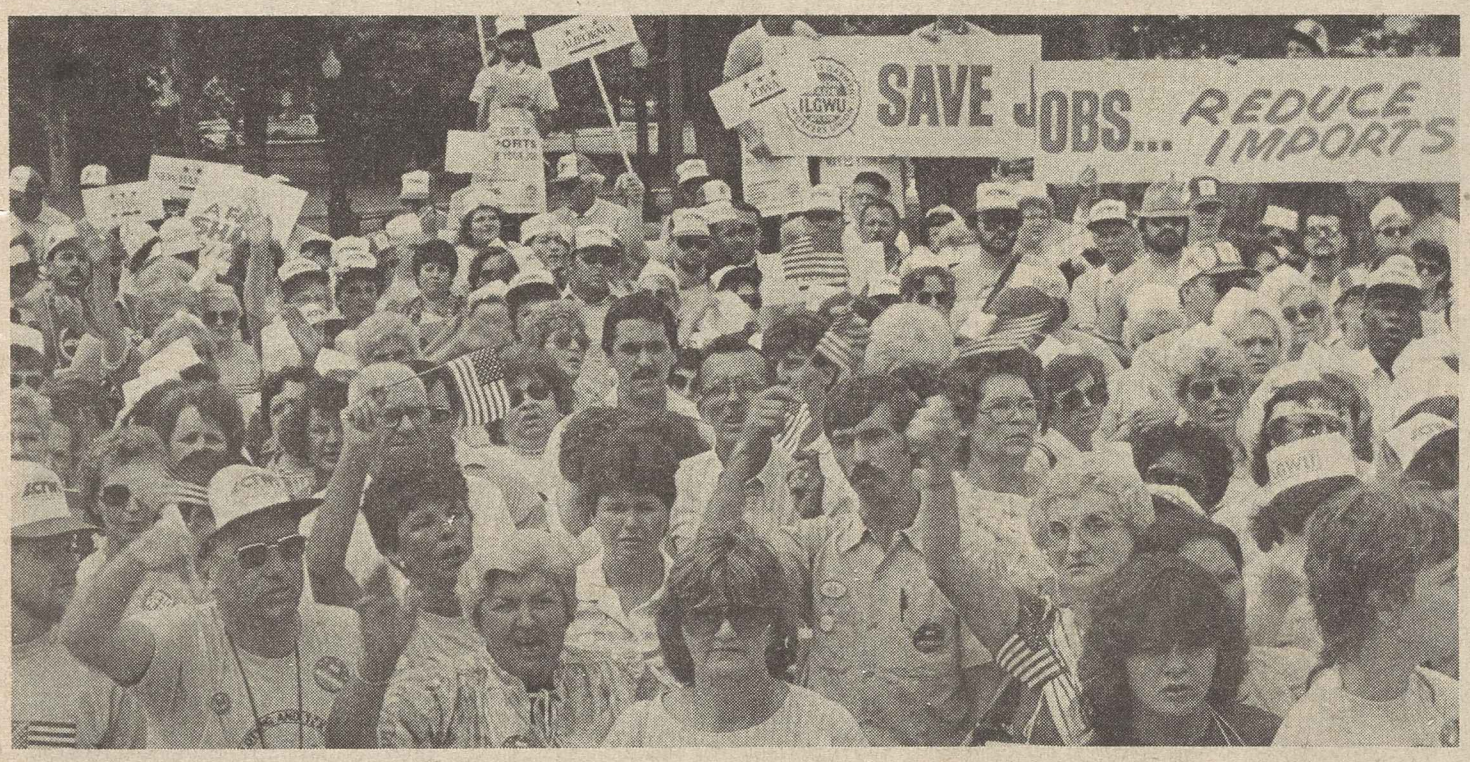
Trade deficit rages unchecked



Union members from textile plants and garment shops rally at the U.S. Capitol to save their jobs.

Workers threatened with job losses call for override of import curb veto

By David L. Perlman

Union apparel and textile workers brought a powerful "Save Our Jobs" message to Congress, arriving in a caravan of buses and carrying petitions from import-threatened plants and shops across the country.

Its goal is a two-thirds vote in the House and Senate to override President Reagan's veto of the labor-backed bill to roll back imports of clothing, textile and shoes. The goal seemed unattainable when Reagan vetoed the legislation last Christmas. But with the trade deficit still worsening, House support for the Aug. 6 override attempt is on the rise.

That's why the Clothing & Textile Workers and the Ladies' Garment Workers mounted a joint grassroots lobbying effort in cities across the country, culminating in a colorful march and rally on the steps of the U.S. Capitol.

The 1,500 members of the ILGWU and ACTWU, who came mostly from nearby states, brought with them bundles of petitions collected in more distant localities, along with photos of endangered workplaces.

They sang union songs and "America the Beautiful." They carried their message on placards and their blue T-shirts asked Congress to "give America a fighting chance." They took snapshots of each other, of the Capitol, of the representatives and senators who came out to greet them.

Cross section of America

As in the shops where they worked there were more women than men. Some were black, some Hispanic—and some, including a contingent from New York's Chinatown were Oriental. There was a sprinkling of retirees, proud to carry the petitions collected by union members in distant states.

The congressional leaders who came to address them seldom had such enthusiastic audiences.

They shared the indignation of House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. at the White House scheme to sharply hike South Africa's textile exports to the United States. They responded to Senate Majority Leader

Continued on Page 3

Imports push first half gap to $84 billion

By Gene Zack

The nation's foreign trade deficit continued to rage out of control, hitting an all-time high of $83.9 billion in the first six months of this year—21 percent above the $69.2-billion deficit for the same period in 1985.

The Commerce Dept. said the trade deficit was running at an annual rate of $168 billion—far above last year's record-smashing $148.5-billion trade shortfall. Exports have declined 2 percent from the levels recorded in the first half of 1985, while imports have shot up 6.8 percent.

The AFL-CIO accused the Reagan Administration of "hiding its head in the sand" while American jobs continue to disappear under the onslaught of foreign-made goods.

Government economists estimate that every $1 billion shortfall in trade wipes out 22,500 American jobs.

"The President and his advisers cling to the illusion that some magical economic forces will reverse the decline" in the U.S. trade picture, said Federation economist Mark Anderson. "That hasn't happened, it isn't happening and it won't happen" until effective trade reforms are implemented.

The rising trade deficit is "compelling evidence" that the Administration was wrong in relying on a decline in the value of the dollar on world markets to improve the trade picture, he said. The U.S. dollar has dropped 30 percent against major foreign currencies since last fall without either slowing imports or improving the sale of American goods abroad.

What's needed, Anderson declared, is "strong congressional action," including

Continued on Page 3

The White House has negotiated a new trade accord with South Africa to increase U.S. textile imports. Story on Page 13.

Kirkland tells Senate

South Africa unions back sanctions

The black trade union movement in South Africa is "united in favoring the imposition of tough sanctions" that will force the white minority government to end its racist apartheid policies, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told Congress.

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the eve of its deliberations on sanctions legislation, Kirkland denounced the "violence, exploitation and degradation" inflicted on black workers and the attempts to render their unions powerless in the fight to bring about social and economic reform.

Some 300 trade union leaders have been jailed, he explained, as part of a determined effort by the Pretoria government to "intimidate" the emerging black trade union movement "by jailing some of its leaders and forcing others into hiding."

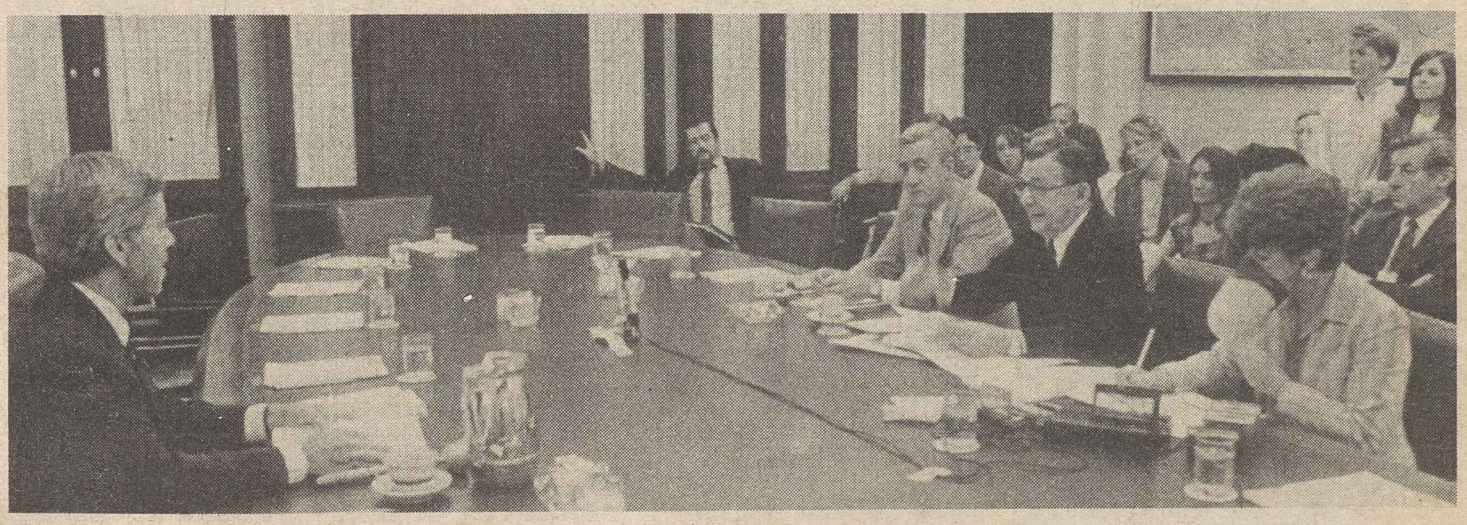
Leaders disappear

Under the state of emergency, Kirkland explained, police have extraordinary powers to roundup anyone whose conduct they suspect "may endanger public safety." Detainees "simply disappear," he said and are held without charges and given only limited access to their lawyers and held incommunicado from their families.

An "iron curtain" descends on these victims of "state lawlessness," he insisted, and behind that protective front police are able to "torture and abuse" prisoners at will.

South Africa's trade unions, he told the committee, "represent the best hope for the peaceful dismantling of apartheid" and its replacement with democratic rule. These unions are on "the cutting edge of change," Kirkland asserted. They are, he added, "the backbone of the new South Africa" be-

Continued on Page 13



Only a total economic crackdown will force South Africa to end apartheid, Kirkland tells Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar at hearings on imposing stiff sanctions.

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8/2/86

Letter Carriers President Vincent Sombrotto takes time off from the union's convention to play the cymbals with an NALC band.

Convention sets goals

Letter Carriers primed for privatization fight

St. Paul, Minn.—Political action, labor solidarity and social justice topped the agenda at the Letter Carriers 55th biennial convention.

In his keynote address, NALC President Vincent R. Sombrotto vowed that the union would continue fighting Reagan Administration efforts to "privatize" the U.S. Postal Service.

Predicting that the Administration would lose out in its drive to turn the mails over to profit-making private enterprise, Sombrotto told the more than 5,200 delegates: "I guarantee that there will be a postal service long into the 21st century."

He reported on the continued growth of the union, which now has 287,000 members, reminding the convention of the union's responsibility to "not only protect the rights, interests, goals and aspirations of letter carriers, but also to serve on the cutting edge of the fight on behalf of all workers."

That message was underscored by AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, who urged delegates to continue NALC's tradition of active involvement in the political process by helping candidates who support labor's agenda of "social justice, progress in the workplace and progress in the nation."

Donahue also praised the union's vigorous support of labor's boycott of Shell Oil, whose management has been particularly discriminatory toward black South African miners, and reported on Federation President Lane Kirkland's recent mission to South Africa.

Message to Reagan

The letter carriers responded by sending a telegram to President Reagan calling for a total embargo on trade with South Africa's "repressive, morally repugnant regime."

In other actions, the convention:

- Pledged $10,000 to the Farm Workers to support their campaign against the use of poisonous insecticides and to assist in the fight for trade union rights which are under fire from California Gov. George Deukmejian (R).
- Voted to provide $500 a month to each of six families involved in the long strike at the Geo. A. Hormel Co. plant in Austin, Minn.
- Created a new position of director of health and safety to underscore NALC's growing concerns about the lack of government attention to on-the-job hazards faced by letter carriers.
- Saluted members whose support of COLCPE, the letter carriers' political action fund, helped put it in first place among all postal and federal union PACs in 1985.
- Presented awards to branches for organizing successes and for raising funds for the Muscular Dystrophy Association.

Workshops focused on such issues as local union publications, the NALC's grassroots legislative program, the government's employee involvement process, the health plan and union retirees.

Top officers re-elected

Delegates unanimously re-elected Sombrotto, Vice President Lawrence Hutchins, Sec.-Treas. Richard P. O'Connell and 13 other officers by acclamation with contested positions to be decided by mail ballot of the entire membership.

The convention also approved a constitutional amendment raising officers' salaries for the first time since 1978, giving them increases that parallel percentage raises rank-and-file members have won during the past eight years.

Convention speakers included Communications Workers President Morton Bahr, Mine Workers President Richard Trumka, Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez, Senators Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) and Quentin Burdick (D-N.D.), and Representatives William Gray (D-Pa.), Frank Horton (R-N.Y.), Martin Sabo (D-Minn.) and Bruce Vento (D-Minn.).

Meeting concurrently with NALC's convention was the 40th biennial convention of its auxiliary, whose 500 delegates heard Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio) encourage spouses to become even more politically active, to guard against Administration budget cuts and to join the fight against the Reagan Administration's privatization of the government services.

Unionized workers fare best in hourly wages and benefits

Collective bargaining in the first six months of 1986 produced average wage gains of 1.2 percent in the first year and 1.9 percent over the life of the agreement. Unionized workers still earn 30 percent more an hour than their nonunion counterparts.

Although the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that wage increases negotiated thus far this year were roughly half the size of previous raises, the AFL-CIO said the picture is distorted by the way the government compiles and analyzes its statistics.

BLS limits its data to increases in base wage rates and fringes, Federation economist John Zalusky pointed out, and does not take into account the growing trend toward lump-sum bonus payments in lieu of wage increases, profit-sharing plans and stock ownership concessions.

"All have a substantial value to the workforce that is not reflected in BLS data," Zalusky said. "To the extent that these benefits are not included in the government's data, the report becomes less and less relevant."

One-third of all contracts negotiated in the first half of this year contained up-front lump-sum payments, he explained, while profit-sharing was a major element in steel industry settlements and stock ownership plans were key to new contracts in the auto and telephone industries.

Retraining set-asides

A significant number of union agreements also require management to set aside money for retraining plans and other programs, but BLS does not include them in its compensation measurements, he said.

The government said that 59 percent of the workers received increases in base wages during the first six months of this year, down from 74 percent a year ago.

In a separate report, BLS said that union members received pay increases averaging 2.5 percent between June 1985 and June 1986, compared with a 4.1-percent increase for nonunion workers.

But Zalusky said an analysis of government statistics showed that total compensation for union members continues to far outstrip that of nonunion members.

The average union member receives $17.85 an hour in total compensation—$11.84 in wages and $6.01 in benefits—he said. By contrast, the nonunion worker receives only $12.60 an hour—70 percent of what the unionized worker gets. This includes $9.37 in wages and $3.24 in benefits.

United attendants win $38-million settlement

Chicago—Flight attendants won a $37.9-million back pay settlement from United Airliness to end a 16-year-long court battle over the forced termination of more than 1,700 attendants solely because they were married.

The agreement also calls for rehiring at least 475 attendants who lost their jobs between July 1965 and November 1968 because of United's "no marriage" rule. An additional 400 already have been rehired.

They will receive seniority as if they had been hired between Apr. 17, 1983 and Mar. 18, 1984, making them junior to some of the carrier's current 12,000 attendants. The rehires who remain with United at least three years will get full seniority from their original date of hire for pension purposes.

The case has been to the U.S. Supreme Court three times for rulings certifying the attendants' right to bring a class action suit, for guidelines on how the hearings were to be conducted, and most recently in 1984 when the high court refused to hear the attendants' argument that they were entitled to full seniority.

The Flight Attendants originally represented 30 individual claimants who pressed discrimination charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1975. When the class action suit expanded to its present size in 1980, the union withdrew to intervenor status.

ITU schedules referendum on plan to merge with CWA

The Communications Workers and the Typographical Union have agreed on a merger plan which, if approved by the ITU membership this fall, could result in a banding together of CWA's 650,000 members with the ITU's 75,000 by the end of the year.

ITU members will vote in a mail ballot referendum beginning Oct. 1, with the votes to be tallied Nov. 19. Merger would become effective 15 days after certification of the ballot results.

The ITU executive board approved the merger by a vote of 3 to 1, with Sec.-Treas. Thomas Kopeck voting against the merger proposal. He has previously backed an unsuccessful merger attempt with the unaffiliated Teamsters.

ITU President Robert S. McMichen supported the merger, saying it would satisfy all the requirements his union had set out in seeking a merger partner.

"We are very much in tune in terms of our jurisdictions and the merger agreement has the added plus of allowing us to lower our members' international union dues by two-thirds, while still retaining our identity, democratic procedures and control over our own affairs," he said.

CWA's top leaders have unanimously endorsed the merger, which does not require membership approval. CWA President Morton Bahr noted that "CWA's employers and ITU's employers are increasingly becoming one and the same. We owe it to both unions' members to close ranks."

New section planned

The merger plan would create a Printing, Publishing & Media Workers sector within CWA, with McMichen and the four other top ITU officers retaining their positions during the four-year transition period from 1987-1990.

After 1990, the division would have three officers—president, secretary-treasurer and vice president.

Delegates to the ITU convention, which begins Aug. 9 in Hershey, Pa., will discuss the merger and can make a recommendation on it, but are not empowered to block the referendum vote, the ITU said.

If the proposal is approved, the ITU headquarters will remain in Colorado Springs, Colo., for a "reasonable period of time" before shifting to the CWA's headquarters in Washington.

Rich get richer, Congress study shows

A mere one-half of 1 percent of American families own more than one-third of all the wealth in the nation, the congressional Joint Economic Committee reported.

For the "super-rich," the period between 1963 and 1983 was one of enormous growth in terms of the share of the American economy that they controlled. It rose from 25 percent to 35 percent in the 20-year span.

JEC Chairman David Obey (D-Wis.) called the trend "disturbing." The study "is proof that the rich get richer," he asserted, and it "makes sheer mincemeat of the notion that this country needs more incentives for rich folk."

Obey warned that the Reagan Administration's proposal to lower the tax rates on the wealthy and to give them further financial incentives would "perpetuate an increase in the concentration of wealth" in just a handful of American families.

In the report, titled "The Concentration of Wealth in the United States," the JEC's majority staff painted a picture of an America comprised of the "super rich," the "very rich," the "rich," and "everybody else."

Key findings

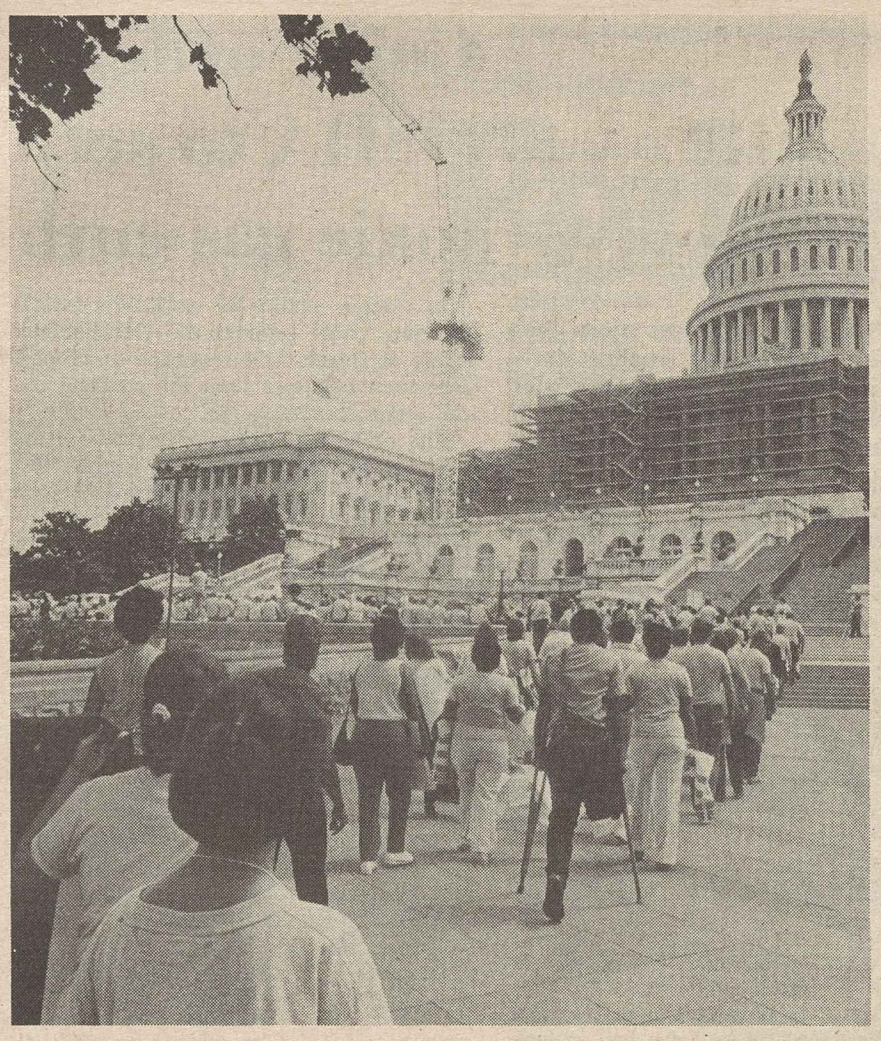
Based on a survey of consumer finances conducted in 1983 by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan for the Federal Reserve Board, the study showed:

- At the top of the heap were 420,000 households with an average wealth of nearly $8.6 million each.
- The next one-half of 1 percent—another 420,000 families—had $1.7 million worth of assets each.
- The 7.5 million "rich" families comprising the next 9 percent of American households each averaged $419,600.
- In the "everybody else" category were the remaining 90 percent of American households—75.5 million families with average assets of only $39,500, including their homes, cars, furniture, appliances and money in checking and savings accounts.

Adding the top three categories together, the study showed that 10 percent of American households held nearly 72 percent of the nation's net wealth, including almost 94 percent of unincorporated business assets and nearly 90 percent of all personally held stock.

The remaining 90 percent of households owned about 28 percent of the wealth held by American families. Almost all of it was in home equity; virtually none of it was in corporate stock or commercial real estate, the committee said.

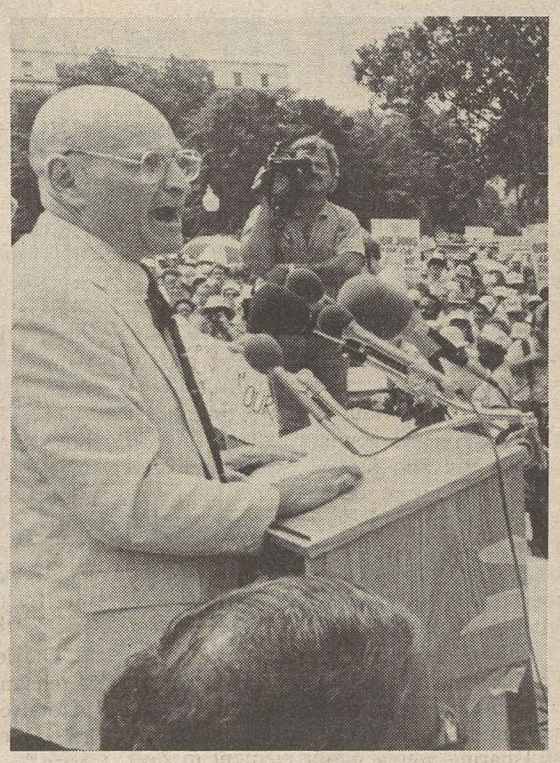
There could be "dire consequences" growing out of this concentration of wealth in the hands of a relatively few families, the report warned. Similar conditions, it pointed out, helped bring about the Great Depression half a century ago.



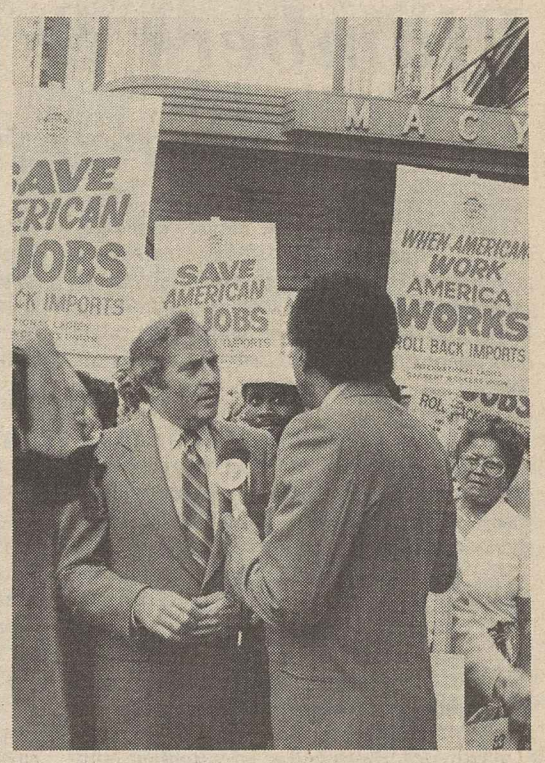
March to the Capitol to petition Congress.

Union members show their pride with American flags made in the U.S.A.

The clothesline display carries the message.



ACTWU's Jack Sheinkman addresses the two-union rally.



At earlier New York City demonstration, ILGWU's Jay Mazur briefs media.

Workers rally for override of Reagan import veto

Continued from Page 1

Robert Byrd with shouts of "right on," and gave loud applause to the many members of Congress from both parties who spoke or were introduced by ILGWU Vice President and Legislative Director Evelyn Dubrow and ACTWU Legislative Director Elizabeth Smith.

Jay Mazur, the ILGWU's newly elected president, and ACTWU Sec.-Treas. Jacob Sheinkman, sounded the veto-override message their members had brought to Washington.

"It's tough fighting all those overseas governments that subsidize their industries and exploit their workers," Sheinkman said. "It's tougher still to fight our own government."

But, he stressed, "with fair rules and a fighting chance, American textile, shoe and apparel workers can compete with workers anywhere."

Mazur said thousands of garment shops and textile mills have closed and many others are threatened as a result of imports.

"America doesn't need more unemployment, more families in poverty, more people on welfare, or more people losing their homes," he declared. "There are nearly 2 million workers in the U.S. directly engaged in the production of clothing and the fiber and textile that it takes to make clothing. The veto must be vetoed," he urged.

"Veto," chanted the crowd. Later, they scattered to the offices of congressmen and senators, bringing petitions from their home states and adding their personal message.

Some who came could testify first-hand to the conditions the vetoed bill seeks to overcome. One busload came from Meadville, Pa., where ACTWU Local 8 once represented 750 workers at the Avtex Fibers plant, which made synthetic fiber until it closed last March.

Some of the former Avtex workers have found minimum-wage jobs. Some are still unemployed, but a Catch-22 in the trade adjustment assistance program keeps them from getting the added benefits Congress made available for persons displaced by imports.

The catch is that their job loss resulted from the decrease in American-made clothing caused by imports, not by imports of the fabric they manufactured.

Charles Stinson, who came to the rally from Front Royal, Va., knows just what the problem is. He and his wife are long-time employees of the Avtex plant in Front Royal. Their jobs are on the line also in the veto override attempt.

Wage issues stall Detroit settlement

Detroit—The 7,000 striking State, County & Municipal Employees overwhelmingly rejected a tentative three-year contract settlement with the city, sending their walkout into a third week.

AFSCME District Council 25 President James Glass, in announcing the vote results, said "the membership has spoken loud and clear."

Glass called for the dispute to be settled by an outside arbitrator. City officials, however, refused to agree to binding arbitration.

Wages are the key bargaining issue and the city's proposal would have provide a 5-percent raise and a $500 bonus the first year, a guaranteed 2.5-percent increase the second year, and no guaranteed pay raise in the third year. A formula, however, tied to the city's financial health could provide increases up to 6 percent in each of the final two years.

Bargaining resumed July 30, two days after the city's proposal was voted down. The city's negotiators had failed to show up at a meeting called a day earlier by state mediator Charles Jamerson. The union said that some local issues remain on the bargaining table besides wages.

$84 billion in first half

Trade deficit rages unchecked

Continued from Page 1

Senate passage of trade legislation similar to that voted overwhelmingly by the House earlier this year and an override of President Reagan's veto of the Textile & Apparel Act.

The government released the dismal trade figures just 24 hours after Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul A. Volcker warned Congress that the fallout of continued foreign trade deficits of the magnitude recorded thus far this year could push the faltering economy to the brink of another recession.

Volcker told the House Banking Committee that the trade deficit has been the main drag on economic growth for the past two years. "The longer that persists, the more difficult and dangerous situation we are in," he declared.

"The key to the economic outlook and growth for more than a year is going to be what happens in the trade balance," Volcker said.

"If we don't see a reversal in that sector in the next year, many more questions will have to be asked because I don't think we can depend on consumer spending and housing forever."

The Federal Reserve chairman said trade was "a very vulnerable point in the economy," citing in particular the continuing "severe strains" on the manufacturing sector because of imports.

Manufacturing woes

The Commerce Dept. report underscored this problem, showing that the manufacturing trade deficit between January and June was 30 percent higher than for the same period a year ago.

Meanwhile in the first half of this year, exports declined slightly while imports grew 12 percent.

Volcker pointed out that the trade deficit has pushed the country's overall debt held by foreigners up at a rapid pace as dollars to pay for imported goods flowed into the hands of foreign investors. As a result, he said, "our financial market becomes more and more hostage" to the deepening trade crisis.

In June alone, imports increased 5 percent to $33.2 billion, the government said. It reported a 9.8-percent increase in exports to $19.1 billion, but $2 billion of that resulted from the sale of gold to Japan—an action that temporarily pushed the deficit with that country down to $3.7 billion from the $5-billion level reported the previous month.

While ministers from the Oil Producing & Exporting Countries were meeting in Geneva to discuss ways to prop up petroleum prices, the trade report provided evidence that oil imports were making a significant contribution to the deficit. They amounted to $3.1 billion last month, up from the $2.5-billion level in May.

The United States ran a $3.75-billion deficit with Western Europe in June. The month's deficit with Canada was $1.9 billion while the trade shortfall with Taiwan hit $1.3 billion.

For the second month in a row, the United States imported more agricultural goods than it exported. The June deficit in farm commodities was $71.2 million. The decline was blamed on sharply deteriorating sales this year of U.S. grains in overseas markets.

New jobs and lost jobs

President Reagan's first Labor Day message in 1981 committed his Administration to "jobs, jobs and more jobs." A new study by the Senate's Democratic Policy Committee compares the "new jobs" created during the first five-and-one-half years of the Reagan Administration with the lost jobs.

It found that nearly 2.5 million of the 9.7 million new jobs under Reagan provided only part-time employment, and that the number of unemployed Americans was half a million higher than when the President took office.

Even counting the part-timers, the rise in employment was less than during the shorter period of the Carter presidency.

Most significant, the study found, was the loss of 1,365,000 manufacturing and mining jobs between January 1981, when Reagan took office, and June 1986. The job loss came in the relatively well-paid industrial sector; the job gains were in the lower-paid service sector.

In terms of manufacturing employment, only one state did better during the 1980-85 period than during the Carter Administration. Pennsylvania, Illinois, New York and Ohio each lost more than 100,000 manufacturing jobs. Many smaller states lost larger proportions of their industrial jobs, such as West Virginia which had 23.5 percent of its manufacturing jobs and 32.3 percent of its mining jobs wiped out.

Even in service employment, the Senate Democratic study noted, job growth slumped under Reagan. The average annual gain in service employment was 1.8 million jobs under Reagan, down from the 2.1 million average in the Carter years.

Plumbers & Pipefitters press drive to counteract open-shop contractors

Las Vegas, Nev.—Four major challenges face the Plumbers & Pipefitters—regressive government policies, high unemployment, increased competition from open-shop firms and recovery from wage and other concessions made in recent years—Presi-Marvin J. Boede told the union's 32nd convention.

"All of these areas are related and are the direct result of an ailing economy and an anti-union, anti-worker attitude that places profits ahead of human values and individual dignity," Boede declared.

He told the nearly 3,500 delegates that recession in the construction industry and "unprecedented" assaults on unions from both business and government have "combined to undermine job opportunities and the rights of workers to bargain collectively."

Adding to the burdens of plumbers and pipefitters, Boede asserted, has been the decline of basic industries in the face of "overwhelming" increases in imports.

To combat the situation, Boede announced intensified organizing activities, including a stepped-up drive to win representation rights for workers in maintenance, in-plant service, quality control and instrumentation.

Training costs

And to blunt the open-shop, Boede said, apprentices taking part in recently established scholarship programs will be required to sign legally binding agreeements pledging to repay all training costs if they leave the union for open-shop employment within five years after completing the course.

On the political front, he told delegates, members have responded enthusiastically to establishment of the union's Political Education Committee and their contributions are supporting candidates "who share our views and are willing to work with us." The fund was created, Boede said, because "it has become obvious that developments in the political arena have a direct impact on our jobs, our wages and our working conditions."

Boede, who was named president by the executive board in October 1982 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Martin J. Ward, was elected unanimously to a five-year term. Charles J. Habig was elected secretary-treasurer, a post he has held since the retirement of Joseph A. Walsh in May 1985.

Election results

The convention also elected W. Eddie Moore as assistant general president, Louis H. Stine as assistant secretary-treasurer, and vice presidents James V. Hart of Brooklyn, N.Y., Donald F. McNamara of Detroit, Thomas C. Payne of Atlanta, Edward F. Brabec of Chicago, Joseph L. Arsenault of Fairbanks, Alaska, and J. Russel St. Eloi of Toronto.

President Robert A. Georgine of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. lashed out at the Reagan Administration's determined assault on organized labor, charging that it regards collective bargaining as something "that should be weakened or done away with."

"Not since the days of Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover have we had in high places so many bitter enemies of the labor movement," Georgine declared.

He assailed the Reagan Administration for making the National Labor Relations Board "a mouthpiece for management," forcing the Federal Mediation Service into "early retirement," and turning the Labor Dept. into a "subsidiary" of the Commerce Dept., "run by people nominated by the most right-wing politicians in government."

One of the most serious threats the nation faces, Georgine asserted, is an industrial base "almost destroyed by short-sighted, greedy management"—the same group that "has been working for years to destroy the collective bargaining system and the trade union movement."

Court orders OSHA to set toxic gas curb

In a major victory for workers, a federal appellate court ordered the Occupational Safety & Health Administration to adopt a short-term exposure limit for ethylene oxide, a cancer-causing gas.

The ruling by a three-judge panel of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia should have an effect on future OSHA regulatory decisons.

It stems from a combination of cases on OSHA's ethylene oxide standard, issued two years ago. EtO is used in manufacturing and in hospitals, and has been linked to increased risk of cancer, genetic damage and reproductive hazards.

In the case brought by the State, County & Municipal Employees, Service Employees, Hospital & Health Care Employees and the Public Citizen Health Research Group, the court held that OSHA's refusal to issue a short-term limit was "unlawful," and told OSHA to issue a short-term limit or fully explain why it isn't necessary.

AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee welcomed the court decision, stressing that "thousands of health care employees need protection from the effects of the gas."

Workers at risk

Hospital workers are often subjected to short-term bursts of the gas while sterilizing surgical instruments and other items. While OSHA reduced the permissible exposure limit to EtO from 50 parts EtO per million parts air, down to 1 ppm in 1984, it refused to limit short-term exposures.

The suit by the unions and the health research group also charged that the White House Office of Management & Budget illegally interfered in OSHA's regulatory actions. That court action was supported by five members of the House.

Although the court did not rule on OMB's role, it was clear that OSHA's last-minute decision was influenced by the White House office.

Service contract rule

Labor assails wage-busting move

Proposals to scuttle the Service Contract Act would rip apart a safety net that is still very much needed by some of America's lowest-paid workers, union and public witnesses told a House Labor Standards subcommittee.

Subcommittee Chairman Austin J. Murphy (D-Pa.) agreed. An Administration-backed amendment to the prevailing wage law that has been added to a pending Defense Dept. bill by the Senate Armed Services Committee would virtually repeal the law, he charged, and put the federal government back in the business of "wage-busting."

The Service Contract Act is modeled after the Davis-Bacon law, which requires payment of area prevailing wages and benefits on federally funded construction. In the service sector, the largest group of workers covered are employed by firms hired for such functions as cleaning government buildings and providing food services.

Service Employees Sec.-Treas. Richard Cordtz, who testified for the AFL-CIO as well as his own union, said the law should be strengthened, not weakened. Even with its protection, he said, hundreds of thousands of service workers earn only bare "survival pay" when employed on government contracts.

94 percent excluded

The Senate committee amendment, he stressed, would exclude 94 percent of service contracts by exempting those under $1 million or involving fewer than 25 workers.

The losers would be primarily women, blacks and Hispanics, Cordtz testified, "those in our society who need economic justice the most." Even with the law, he noted, the average hourly wage last year under food service, janitor and security guard contracts was in the $5-to-$6 range.

Gutting the Service Contract Act would amount to substituting the minimum wage for the local prevailing wage.

James G. O'Hara, who as a Democratic congressman from Michigan was a principal author of the 1965 law and its 1971 updating, came back to Capitol Hill to testify to the abuses that led Congress to extend the prevailing wage principle to firms government agencies hire to provide various services.

He cited the evidence that congressional hearings of that era compiled showing a pattern of awarding government service contracts to firms paying the lowest wages and providing the fewest benefits. If they were able to gain improvements in wages and benefits, the service contract would be taken over when it was next put out for bids by a firm basing its labor costs on the minimum wage, O'Hara said.

Jack Curran, legislative director of the Laborers, told the subcommittee that the act has enabled workers to achieve through collective bargaining such basic benefits as paid vacations, comprehensive health insurance, a pension plan and job training opportunities.

"Take away this law," he said, and service contract workers "will be knocked right back to rock bottom."

Those seeking repeal of the law cite the cost to the government of paying prevailing wages and benefits. But Curran noted that military installations sometimes spend much more than the small amounts involved to challenge wage determinations under the law. One example he cited involved an Air Force base in Oklahoma that brought in an array of lawyers and procurement officials to seek to reduce the rate for 12 hospital workers covered by a Laborers' contract from $5.68 an hour to $4.94.

When it comes to debarring contractors who have deliberately underpaid service contract workers, Curran said, "procuring agencies and the Dept. of Labor drag their heels. But they are quite diligent when it comes to time to try to depress wages."

Lax enforcement

Frank O. Bateman Jr., business agent of Operating Engineers Local 387 in Norfolk, Va., told the subcommittee that employers have found they can violate the law with impunity because of lax Labor Dept. enforcement. Even if eventually forced to make a back pay settlement, Bateman testified, no interest or penalty is imposed and the employer has gained by the delay.

The subcommittee also heard Richard Rowe, president of an association of service contractors, testify that small employers want the law preserved because it has enabled them to keep qualified workers by providing pay and benefits that meet area standards. The quality of services would invariably suffer if contractors had to pay subpar wages in order to do business with the government, he testified.

Air Line Employees have stake in merger

A story on the pending Northwest Airlines-Republic Airlines merger which appeared in the July 19, 1986, issue of the AFL-CIO News failed to clarify the stake the Air Line Employees have in the decision on labor protection provisions.

ALEA, an affiliate of the Air Line Pilots, represents 6,500 clerical, office, fleet and passenger service employees at Republic and participated actively in the Transportation Dept. process which culminated in an administrative law judge's finding that labor protections be adopted as a condition of merger.

If the acqusition of Republic by Northwest is approved, ALEA will be involved in National Mediation Board elections to determine the designated bargaining representative for these service employees at the merged airline. The Railway & Airline Clerks currently represent 4,500 employees in the same classification at Northwest.

Union-basher denied low-interest state loan

Madison, Wis.—A printing company that used anti-union tactics to bust a local union of the Graphic Communications Union has been denied a low-interest loan by the state Housing & Economic Development Authority.

Labor unions and sympathetic state representatives mounted a drive to oppose the loan to the Straus Printing Co., citing the company's "vicious" tactics in stalling negotiations with members of GCIU Local 507. The Straus workers voted to strike the printer in 1983 and remained off the job for eight months while Straus operated with scabs.

Straus requested the $630,000 loan to renovate its plant here and buy new equipment. But the Dane County AFL-CIO and State Rep. David Clarenback (D) testified that the loan could reduce the number of jobs as the printer automated his operation. The loan application was rejected by a vote of 8-2.

Clarenbach hailed the decision as "an important precedent establishing the principle of social responsibility to workers."

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JOBS and FREEDOM

Still a Long Way to Go for America's Black Workers, Black Families

By Richard Womack and Markley Roberts

In support of civil rights and economic justice, thousands of black and white Americans from the civil rights movement, church groups, and labor unions carried banners with the message "Jobs and Justice" in the great civil rights March on Washington in 1963.

It was—and it remains—a key message for all Americans. Economic justice and civil rights are closely related.

Progress toward full employment and progress in the civil rights arena are inextricably intertwined. As a nation, as a people, we must pursue both at the same time.

In this quest for full employment and social justice, the American labor movement and the civil rights movement share the same vision.

With many of the same interests and the same goals, the AFL-CIO and its affiliated labor organizations and the nation's major civil rights organizations can raise a powerful voice and wield a powerful influence for economic and social progress.

Unfortunately, in spite of legal, political, social, and economic progress since 1963, many black Americans still suffer heavy burdens of discrimination and low economic status.

The Reagan Administration's economic and social policies help big business and help the rich. These Reagan policies are unfair to most black workers and black families as well as being unfair to the "Middle America" majority.

And the Reagan Administration is continuing its direct attack on civil rights provisions and enforcement.

As a result, most black workers and most black families are worse off now than they were before the Reagan Administration took office.

Civil Rights

A good job that pays a worker a decent living wage continues to be the best route for black workers and their families to move into the economic and social mainstream of American life.

The AFL-CIO has a long record of strong support for action on issues of economic and social justice, including full employment and civil rights and equal employment opportunity. The strong Title VII equal employment opportunity section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 exists because of strong support from the AFL-CIO and its affiliated organizations.

The federation has consistently and unwaveringly supported affirmative action to eliminate remaining barriers to equal access to jobs, promotions and other employment opportunities.

The drive for civil rights and equal employment opportunity over the past 25 years has by no means eliminated discrimination—but it has produced substantial progress for some black workers and some black families.

Unfortunately, the Reagan Administration has been making war against the body of civil rights laws and programs begun in 1941 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the first of many fair employment practices requirements designed to bring black workers into a place of equality in our society.

The Reagan Administration continues to resist and weaken and undermine civil rights achievements of the past by failure to enforce the laws, by court action and administrative action, by budget cuts and politicization of civil rights agencies, by appointment of persons who do not believe in the mission of the civil rights agencies and by failure to throw the prestige of the Presidency into the ongoing moral struggle for equal employment opportunity, affirmative action, and the full range of progress still to be achieved in the civil rights arena.

Federal agencies, including the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Office of Federal Contract Compliance, and the civil rights division of the Justice Department should have a commitment to their missions.

The Commission on Civil Rights has been politicized and emasculated. It must be returned to its rightful place as the civil rights watchdog for the nation. And the Reagan Administration's Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights should be replaced with someone who believes in civil rights.

The Reagan Administration should stop its constant search for ways to weaken the nation's civil rights laws and, instead, should commit itself to enforcing these laws vigorously and effectively.

A program to achieve equal opportunity and social and economic justice should include strengthening understanding and communication at the national and local levels between labor, civil rights and women's rights organizations.

Building bridges between labor, the black and Hispanic communities, and the women's movement helps to assure, whenever possible, a united front as the nation moves ahead on issues of equality.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women play an essential role in building and strengthening the labor movement as they increase the involvement of minorities and women in their unions and in their communities. To successfully stave off the onslaught against civil rights, women's rights and labor's rights, cooperation and coordination must exist between these communities.

Affirmative Action

Despite the fact that the Civil Rights Act is more than 20 years old, many barriers to equal access to jobs, promotions and other employment opportunities still remain. Effective affirmative action plans are as necessary now as those plans were in 1964 to ensure that minorities and women take their rightful places in our economic system and to achieve equality and harmony among the races.

The Reagan Administration's record on affirmative action is deplorable. The Administration is leading the reactionary effort in the courts to end affirmative action and is taking steps to weaken Executive Order 11246. This order forbids government contractors from discriminating in employment and requires them to engage in affirmative action. The Administration seeks to use the civil rights laws to thwart the full political and economic participation of women and racial minorities in our society rather than as a means of furthering that goal.

The AFL-CIO has often stated its unwavering support for affirmative action and condemns the Administration's efforts to end such programs. While Title VII protects bona fide, nondiscriminatory seniority systems that provide important protection to all workers regardless of race or sex, the Civil Rights Act also permits workers in free collective bargaining to negotiate affirmative action plans, including plans that modify such seniority systems.

The 1984 Supreme Court decision in the Stotts case endorsed the position long held by the AFL-CIO that bona fide nondiscriminatory seniority systems are legal under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act as amended. These systems provide valuable and needed protection for all workers regardless of race or sex.

Richard Womack is director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights and Markley Roberts is an economist in the federation's Dept. of Economic Research.

The right of a union and an employer to negotiate a just and effective affirmative action program has been validated by the 1979 Supreme Court decision in United Steelworkers of America vs. Weber.

On July 2, 1986, after the Supreme Court ruled on standards governing affirmative action, the AFL-CIO declared:

"The AFL-CIO is pleased that the Supreme Court, after many years of delay reflecting the complexity of the legal issues, has acted to clarify the standards governing affirmative action. In so doing, the Court has sought to strengthen enforcement of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act in a way that recognizes the interests of current employees who have committed no wrong.

"The labor movement supports affirmative action that is consistent with federal law. Like other segments of society, we have been divided over what the law permits. Now that the Court has spoken, we will redouble our efforts to assure both vigorous enforcement and complete compliance."

The AFL-CIO has called for affirmative action programs which move minorities and women forward toward equal employment opportunities through energetic recruiting, counseling, hiring, training, upgrading and promoting.

The labor federation has also urged its affiliates to cooperate with our traditional civil rights allies in continuing and vigorous efforts to preserve and advance affirmative action and to advance the cause of affirmative action through collective bargaining.

Blacks in the Labor Force

About 30 million black Americans make up 12 percent of the nation's 240 million population. In mid-1986 there were close to 13 million black workers in the civilian labor force. Of these, 6 million were adult men, 6 million were adult women and close to 1 million were teenagers.

The 13 million black workers were 11 percent of the labor force of 118 million.

Why is the black share of the work force smaller than the black share of the population?

One part of the answer is the younger age structure of the black population. Thirty percent are under 16 years of age and therefore not included in the potential labor force, as measured by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. By contrast, only 24 percent of the general population are under 16 years of age.

Another part of the answer is discrimination in employment which shows up in the lower labor force participation rate for black Americans. This rate tells us what proportion of a population group is actually in the labor force—either working or looking for a job.

You are not in the labor force if you are not working for pay or profit and you are not looking for a job or if, after looking for work, you stop looking for a job because there are no jobs available, because no one will hire you.

In this case, you become what the Bureau of Labor Statistics calls a "discouraged worker" and you are not counted in the official unemployment report.

Many black families live in areas where no jobs are available and where public transportation to jobs is not available. This makes for serious discouragement about looking for a job, which in turn leads to dropping out of the labor force, to "hidden unemployment."

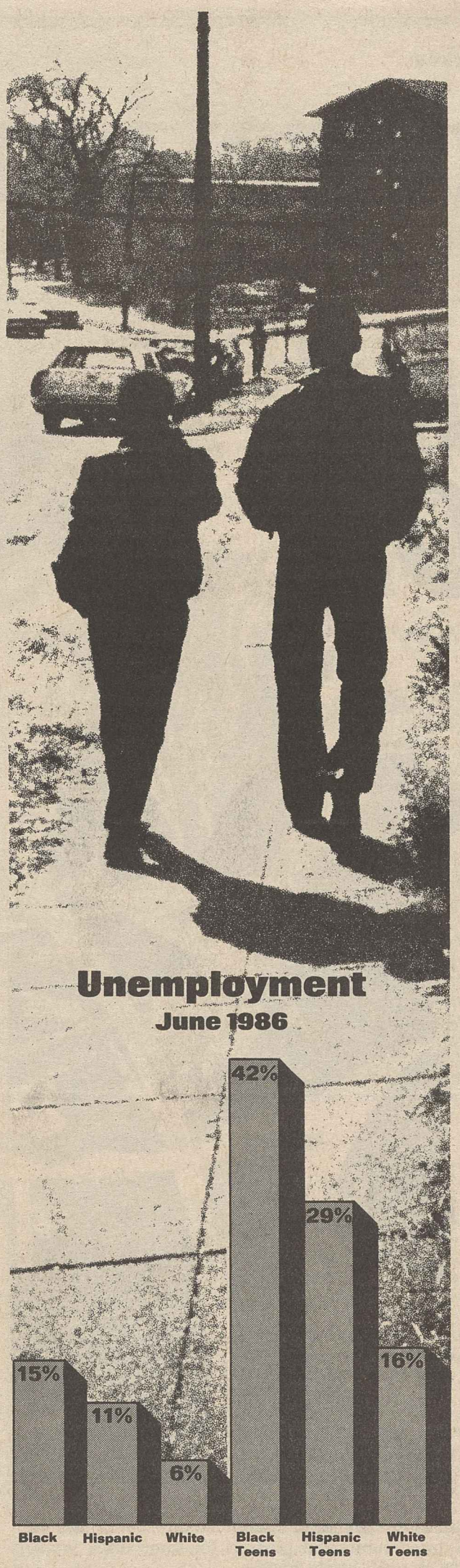
In spite of much higher unemployment rates for black workers, labor force participation by black workers is much the same as that of white workers.

Labor force participation by adult black men is 75 percent—while white men have a 78 percent participation rate. This disparity reflects a number of factors. One certainly is discrimination in employment, which leads to discouragement and dropping out of the work force.

Other factors include the lack of jobs as the result of misguided trade policies, de-industrialization, and lack of job and skill training.

Black women have a 59 percent participation rate—a higher rate than the 55 percent rate for white women. This may reflect an employer preference for black female employees to meet equal employment opportunity targets. It also reflects serious economic pressures on black women, both married and single heads of households, to bring in family income. However, labor force participation by black women would be even higher if more day care facilities were available for their children.

The disparity in labor force participation is much wider for teenagers. White teenagers have a 58 percent participation rate. But the rate for black teenagers is only 45 percent. This low participation rate represents a high degree of discouragement by black teenagers about their job prospects. If black teenagers had the same labor force participation rate as white teenagers and were counted as job seekers, another 130,000 black teenagers would be added to the present 400,000 officially jobless black teenagers.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

High Black Unemployment

For millions of jobless black workers and their families, the American dream is a nightmare.

Black unemployment is at depression levels.

It is a disease that withers human potential.

It is a disease that destroys the hopes and aspirations of millions of black workers to enter the mainsteam of American life, to make their contribution, to earn a decent living for themselves and their families.

Persistent high unemployment stirs up urban unrest, fosters dependency, encourages crime, raises teenage pregnancy and health problems, and increases the need for social programs.

For the last 30 years, the unemployment rate for blacks in the labor force has been at least twice the general jobless rate.

In mid-1986, when the official unemployment rate was over 7 percent, the jobless rate for black workers was over 15 percent. In the Reagan recession year 1982, when unemployment hit one out of 12 white workers, joblessness hit one out of six black workers.

The total number of workers officially unemployed was 8.6 million in mid-1986 and of this total 1.9 million were black. Although blacks make up 11 percent of the workforce, they are 22 percent of the unemployed.

In fact, the black share of total unemployment is even higher because black workers suffer from discrimination in employment. As a result of this discrimination, black workers have a bigger than proportionate share among "discouraged workers"—where unemployment is hidden—and among involuntary part-time workers who are not counted in official unemployment. One survey of discouraged workers found that one out of four were blacks.

Unfortunately, the Reagan Administration economic policies brought on the massive 1981-1983 recession which raised the nation's unemployment rates to the highest levels since the Great Depression of the 1930's—and keeps unemployment at high recession levels, hitting black workers with particular severity.

Reagan Administration policies are contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Economic Growth Act of 1978.

As a result, millions of discouraged and jobless black workers are denied an opportunity to work and earn for themselves and their families a fair share of the American dream. This is a massive waste of human resources—an outrageous human tragedy.

Black Teenage Unemployment

For most young black job-seekers, the employment situation is a catastrophe.

Joblessness is bad enough for adult black men and women who see one out of every eight unemployed. For black teenagers there is a 41 percent unemployment rate. Two out of every five black teenagers in the labor force are jobless.

During the 1981-83 Reagan recession, black teenage unemployment went over 50 percent. If those not in school and not in the labor force were added to the 400,000 officially unemployed, black teenage unemployment would be 30 percent higher.

In a National Bureau of Economic Research report on "The Black Youth Unemployment Crisis," Richard Freeman and Harry Holzer note that official unemployment numbers fail to show that joblessness is more severe among inner-city, poverty area youths than among other blacks and that it is most severe among those out of school.

Discrimination as well as economic conditions contribute to black youth joblessness.

Among the factors related to worsening black youth unemployment over the last 20 years, Freeman and Holzer say, are:

- State of the local labor market
- Discriminatory employer behavior
- Growth of the female labor force
- More welfare households
- Dropping out of school
- Opportunity to get income from crime
- Slow economic growth and frequent economic downturns.

Perceived discriminatory behavior by employers seems to affect the performance of young blacks on their jobs as well as their ability to become employed. Youths who claim that their employers discriminate are more likely to be absent from their jobs. Also, low wages and low job status affect rates of absenteeism and job-leaving among black youth. Spotty work histories caused by unattractive jobs, low wages and high turnover rates make employers even more reluctant to hire black youth.

One interesting finding was that church-going by black youths is associated with better school attendance, more employment, and less "socially deviant activity." Freeman and Holzer speculate that "the church (a major social institution in the black community) might be doing things that will help these youths advance in society" such as job-referral networking and providing references for young job-seekers.

A youth subminimum wage has been proposed by the Reagan Administration to solve the black youth unemployment. But this approach ignores two key points.

(1) Inflation has so eroded the value of the $3.35 per hour federal minimum wage that it could not possibly be a bar to hiring black youths. In fact, fast-food establishments must now pay far above the minimum to recruit young workers. (In 1986, it would take a $4.45 minimum wage to match the buying power of the minimum wage when it was raised to $3.35 in 1981.)

(2) A wage-subsidy program in 1978-1980 with the U.S. Labor Dept. paying all wages and

benefits for disadvantaged teenagers was a dismal fiasco. If private sector employers are reluctant to hire black youths at no cost, it is hard to believe that more youth jobs will be created simply by a youth subminimum wage.

All workers—black and white—suffer from America's slow economic growth and slow job-creation, restrictive economic policies, job-destroying trade policies, changing industrial and occupational structure, lack of adequate employment and training policies, and unwillingness to put into effect job-creating industrial policies. But black workers, and particularly black youth, suffer a disproportionate amount of joblessness and economic loss from discrimination and from wrong-way economic policies.

Low-Wage Jobs and Industries

The jobs in which black workers are employed cover a wide range of industries and occupations. But they are less likely than white workers to be in the higher paying occupations, particularly managerial and professional specialty jobs.

There is a concentration of black workers in lower-paid service occupations. One out of every four black workers is in a service job, whereas only one of every eight white workers is in a service occupation.

One of every four black workers is a machine operator, factory worker, truck or bus driver, or laborer. And one of every four black workers is in a sales or clerical job. For whites, it's one out of seven in these occupations.

Only one in seven black workers is a manager or professional worker, whereas one in four white workers is a manager or professional.

One of 11 black workers is employed as a craft, precision production, or repair worker. This compares with one of every eight white workers in this occupational category.

Industry distribution data for 1985 show almost 4 million black workers in service industries. This confirms the evidence from the occupational distribution. Black workers are employed disproportionately in hospitals, nursing homes, private household service, laundry and dry cleaning establishments—all relatively low-wage industries.

Two million black workers are employed in manufacturing, mostly as machine operators, drivers, cleaners, and laborers. Trade and technology changes have brought big job losses in manufacturing, especially in higher paying durable goods manufacturing where black workers have made solid progress in the past.

There are 1.4 million black workers in low-wage retail trade, mainly in sales and service.

Another 1 million black workers are employed in transportation and public utilities, a half-million in construction, another half-million in finance, insurance, and real estate, and 700,000 in federal, state, and local government. Very few black workers still earn a living from farming. Only 175,000 black workers were employed in agriculture, according to a BLS industry survey, but the BLS occupation survey shows there must be another 100,000 self-employed black farmers. The day is long gone when most black Americans worked on the farm.

Black Union Members Earn More

A higher proportion of black workers than white workers belong to unions.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics found that 24 percent of employed black workers were union members in 1985, while 17 percent of employed white workers belonged to unions.

Of the 2.4 million black union members, 1.4 million were men and 1 million were women. Union members constituted 21 percent of all employed black women and 28 percent of all employed black men.

Black union members make significant economic gains from their union membership—46 percent higher earnings than non-union black workers and 11 percent more than non-union white workers. Black men union members earned 45 percent more than non-union black men workers. And black women union members earned 40 percent more than their non-union counterparts.

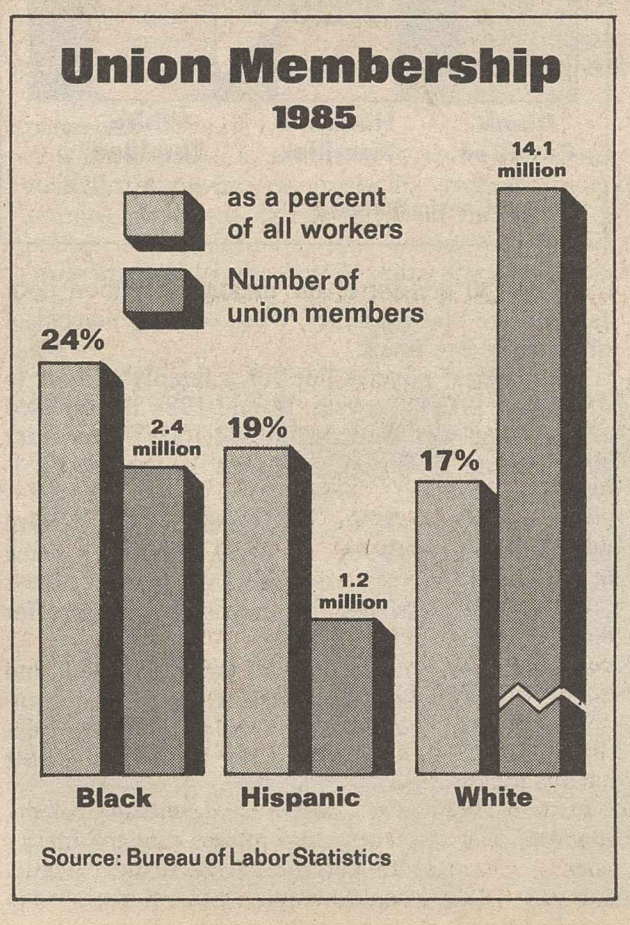
Falling Income in Black Families

Black family incomes have long been lower than family incomes for the rest of the population.

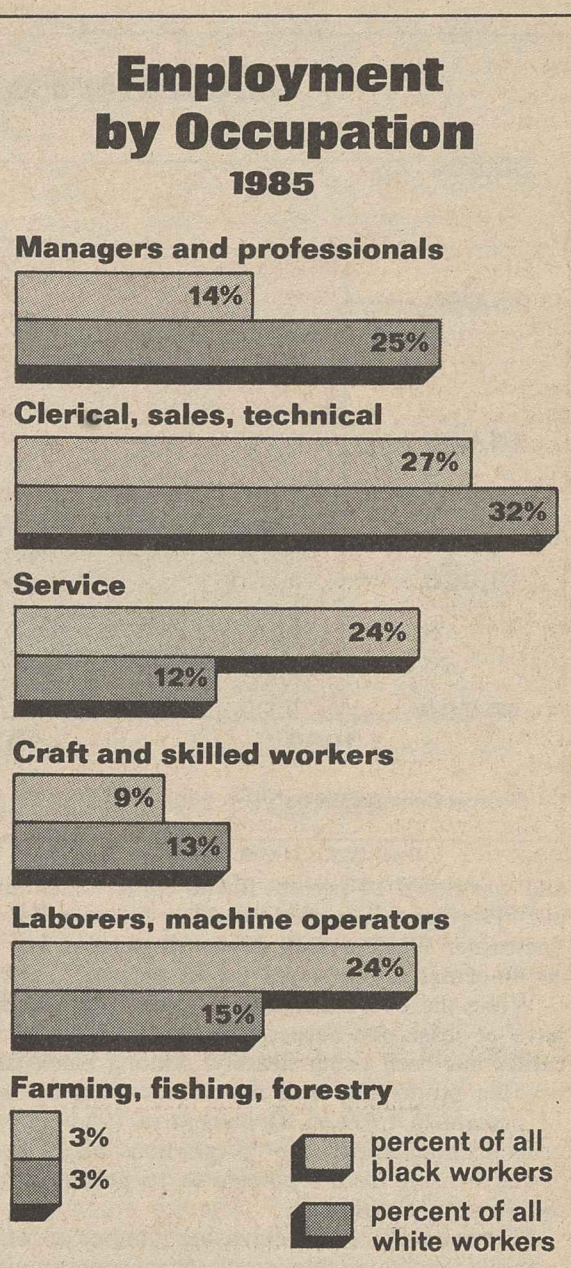
And the six years of the Reagan Administration have seen a sharp drop in the buying power of black family income.

The Census Bureau reports that the nation's 7 million black families had 1984 median income of $15,400. This black family "median income"—half the families above and half below—was 58 percent of the $26,400 median income for all 63 million American families.

When family income from 1979 to 1984 is measured in 1984 dollars adjusted for inflation to keep the dollars' buying power from changing, we find that black family income dropped 6.8 percent—from $16,600 in 1979 to $15,400 in 1984 dollars. During this same period, median income for all American families in 1984 dollars dropped 5.7 percent—from $28,000 to $26,400. These depressing numbers on the income of American families make a harsh commentary on the economic policies of the Reagan Administration.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Employment by Industry 1985

	Black	White
Total, 16 years and over	10,501,000	93,735,000
Percent	100	100
Agriculture	1.8	3.1
Mining	0.3	1.0
Construction	4.5	6.8
Manufacturing	19.9	19.4
Transportation and public utilities	9.0	6.8
Wholesale and retail trade	15.8	21.3
Finance, insurance, and real estate	5.2	6.7
Services	36.9	30.4
Public Administration	6.6	4.4

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

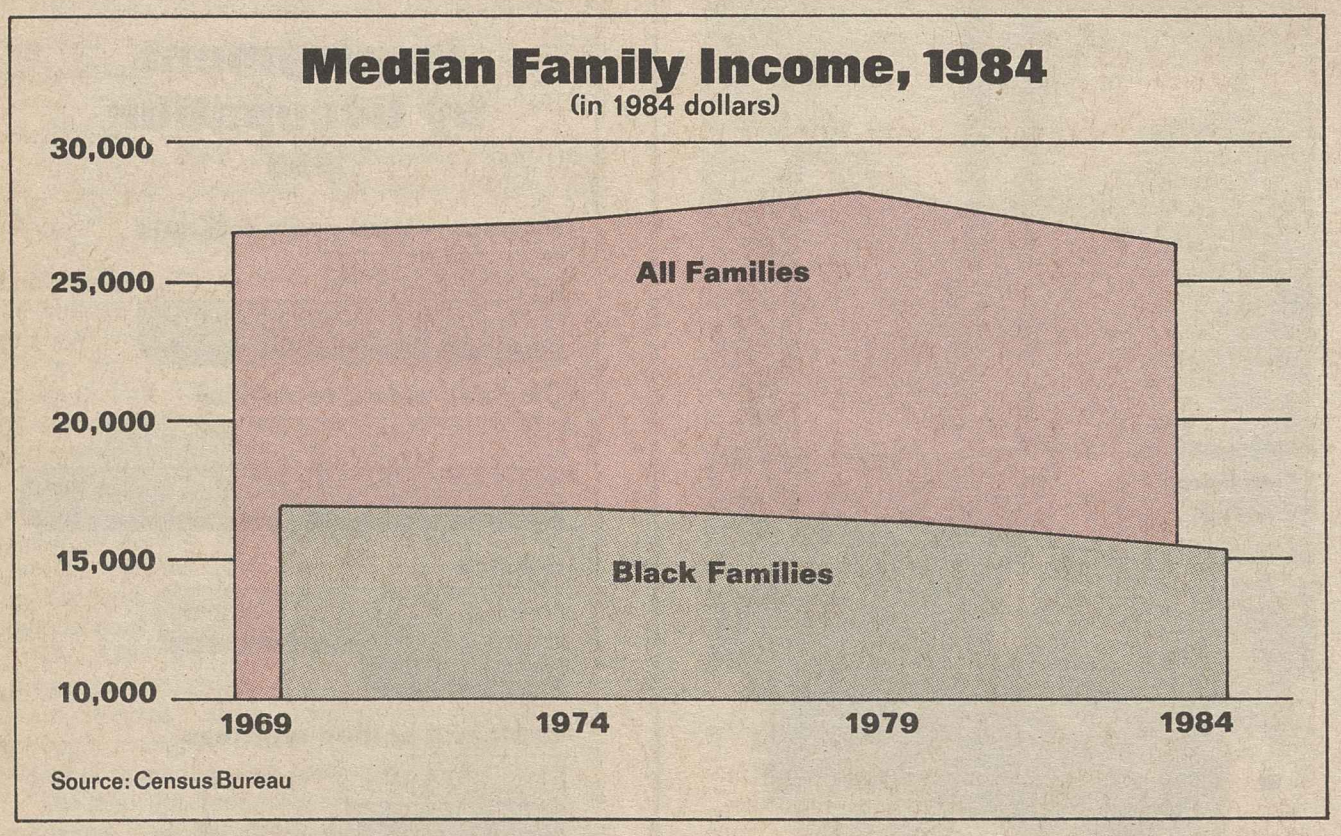
Two-Earner Families

It is not surprising that two-earner, three-earner, and four-plus-earner black families have bigger family income than one-earner and no-earner black families. What is surprising is the big 15-year income gains from 1969 to 1984 in dollars of constant buying power for these black families at the same time that income for one-earner and no-earner black families was dropping.

Two-earner black family median constant-dollar income went up by 15 percent from 1969 to 1984 while median income for all two-earner families was going up only 6 percent.

By contrast, median income in dollars of constant buying power went down for one-earner and no-earner black families.

Income in constant dollars for one-earner black families was down 6 percent from 1969 to 1984



and was down 14 percent for no-earner black families. During this period, median income for all one-earner families was down 12 percent but for all no-earner families was up 33 percent.

While the overwhelming majority of all families have at least one earner, the percentage with no earner has been rising steadily. Among black families, the proportion with no earners went up from 11 percent in 1969 to 21 percent in 1984. For the general population the proportion also nearly doubled, rising from 8 percent to 15 percent during the 15-year period.

This rise reflects the increasing number of retired workers, less favorable employment opportunities, and the increased proportion of female-headed families created by divorce, desertion, separation, widowhood, and unwed mothers.

Family Income Gains and Losses

If the 1969-1984 black family income figures are broken down by type of family, it becomes clear that the only gains in real income were for married couple families where the wife was in the labor force. For such families there was an 11 percent gain in "real income" measured in inflation-adjusted dollars of constant buying power. This far exceeded the 5 percent gain for all families of married couples with a wife in the labor force.

But real income losses for other types of black families were considerably bigger than the losses of similar families in the general population. For example, a black married couple with wife not in the labor force suffered a real income loss of 9 percent over the 15-year period. And a black family headed by a women with no husband also suffered a 9 percent real income loss during this period.

Family Structure

Black families headed by a women with no spouse have increased very significantly as a proportion of all black families. In 1969 they constituted 28 percent of all black families with black married couples representing 68 percent and male-head, no spouse families 4 percent of the 5 million black families.

By 1985, black families headed by a woman with no spouse had risen to 44 percent, black married couple families had dropped to 51 percent, and male-head, no-spouse families were 5 percent of the 7 million black families.

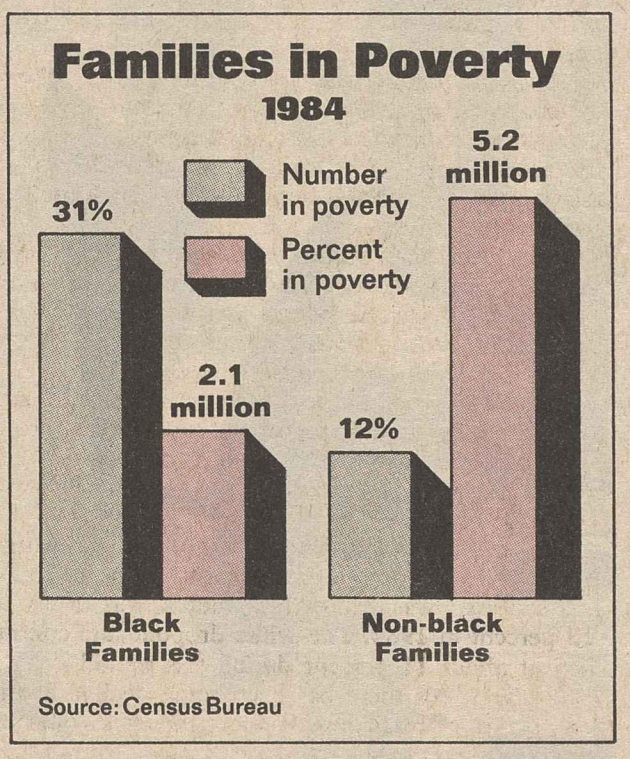
During this 15-year period from 1969 to 1984, among all American families the proportion of female-head-no-spouse families rose from 11 to 16 percent and the proportion of married-couple families dropped from 87 to 80 percent.

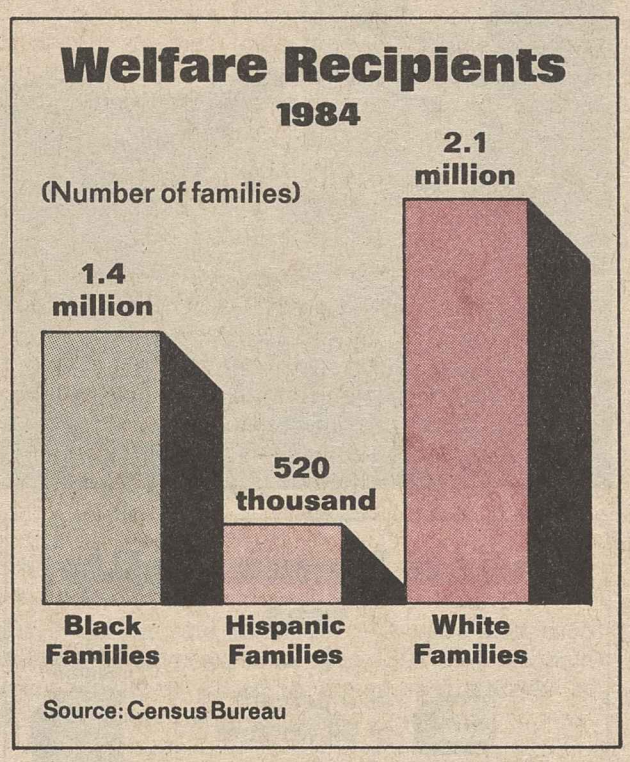
Among married couple families, the proportion with a working wife increased sharply. By 1984 nearly two-thirds of black married couples had working wives as did more than half of such families in the general population.

Black Families in Poverty

Poverty hits both white and black—but one of every three black families is poor while one out of nine families in the general population is in poverty.

With 33 million Americans in poverty—including one of every four children—and city officials reporting a sharp rise in hunger and homelessness, the Reagan Administration nevertheless is demanding more big cuts in programs that help the poor, the downtrodden, the needy, the hungry. These cuts will push more Americans into poverty and will worsen conditions for those already poor.





About 30 percent of the nation's 7 million poor families are black families, while only 11 percent of all families are black.

The official poverty line for a familiy of four in 1984 was $10,600 a year. In mid-1986 the updated poverty line was estimated at $11,100. The poverty line income is higher or lower if the family is bigger or smaller.

The poverty rate for all families in the general population from 1969 to 1979, including black families, fell from 9.7 percent to 9.2 percent. There was no change in the 28 percent poverty rate for black families.

But the poverty rate for all families—black and non-black—went up from 1979 to 1984. For families in the general population the poverty rate went up from 9.2 to 11.6 percent. For black families the poverty rate went up from 28 to 31 percent.

The sharp rise in poverty in the 1980s—and a worsening of the plight of those already poor—reflects a variety of factors, but key factors include Reagan Administration economic policies that produced massive, double-digit unemployment in the 1981-1982 recession. Joblessness has continued on a high plateau for the last two years.

Reagan Administration social policies have also contributed to the rise in poverty. Cutbacks in equal employment opportunity enforcement and in income maintenance programs such as unemployment insurance, social security, and welfare programs have also raised the incidence of poverty, especially among black families.

Poverty increased from 1979 to 1984 for all families with a working head of household, even when the worker had a full-time job—and so it was for the black families, too, at three times the rate of increase for families in the general population.

One out of 12 black families was in poverty in 1984 even with a family householder working full-time all year. Raising the federal minimum wage would help these families of the working poor. If the black family has a working household head who did not have a full-time, year-round job, the odds on the family being in poverty go up to one in five.

And if the black family is headed by a female with no spouse, the odds on the family being in poverty jump to one out of two.

The increase in female-headed, no-spouse families in poverty was not unique to black families. At the same time that female-head, no-spouse black families in poverty were increasing 24 percent from 1979 to 1984, the number of non-black female-head, no-spouse families in poverty were increasing by 39 percent.

Social Welfare Programs

Social programs help people in need. These programs protect, maintain, enhance our nation's basic human resources, our people, our children.

It is illogical and wrong to assume that social welfare programs aimed at helping people in need are less worthy than programs that subsidize and enrich business.

Unfortunately, the Reagan Administration continues its massive attack on social programs which provide income, food, and urgently needed services to jobless workers, elderly people in need, and other poor, disadvantaged, hungry, needy people.

Social welfare and social insurance programs such as unemployment and disablity compensation, social security, Medicare and Medicaid, food stamps, school milk, school lunch, veterans' benefits, and federal loans for college students have important human resource benefits in addition to their humanitarian aims.

So also the nation's welfare programs are an investment in human resources, in addition to their humanitarian purpose of helping people in need.

When most people talk about welfare they are talking about Aid to Families with Dependent Childen. Most of these families getting AFDC support are female-head, no-spouse families with dependent children.

Contrary to a widespread misapprehension, more white families than black families are getting AFDC and other welfare assistance. A 1984 survey by the Census Bureau found more than 2 million white families getting welfare assistance and less than 1.5 million black families getting such aid.

To gain some perspective on the size of this program, recognize that in 1984 the federal government spent $225 billion on social security and medicare benefits for the elderly, another $20 billion on medicaid for needy people unable to afford medical care, and $8 billion on AFDC welfare payments to needy families with children. All of these programs in 1984 already had suffered from big budget cuts pushed by the Reagan Administration.

Poverty among children in America has been rising sharply. About 20 percent of the nation's children—14 million—are growing up in poverty. There are 7 million children on AFDC. Even for those getting AFDC support, the level of AFDC payments is often so low that many who do get these payments still do not get out of poverty.

The federal government provides more than half the AFDC funds, but state governments under general federal guidelines administer the program and set eligibility standards and benefit levels. This results in big differences in treatment. Only five states had AFDC payments reaching 70 percent of the poverty level in 1984. In most states, AFDC payments were less than half the poverty level. And in seven states the payments were less than one-quarter of the poverty level.

The Joint Center for Political Studies points out that "many years' worth of research has yielded no evidence that welfare benefits contribute significantly either to the dissolution of intact families or to a growth in the number of out-of-wedlock births."

About 30 percent of AFDC families received payments for less than a year, according to the

Joint Center report, and more than half had been on the AFDC rolls for less than four years. Less than 8 percent had been on the AFDC rolls steadily for 10 years.

A 1985 Los Angeles Times survey found that 80 percent of the poor would prefer to earn their living rather than get welfare payments. Adequate day care facilities would help make this possible. And 90 percent of the poor said the best way for the government to deal with poverty is to give poor people job training or create government jobs for them, rather than simply give them more money.

Wealth of Black Families

Wealth—as distinct from income—is an important measure of economic well-being, and wealth is distributed more unequally than income.

You are rich if you have $1 million in assets, even if you don't have any income, or if you have only a small income.

A 1986 report from the Census Bureau shows a 12 to 1 ratio of white family wealth to black family wealth.

Median net worth in 1984 was $39,100 for white households, $3,400 for black households, and $4,900 for Hispanic households.

One-third of black households and one-fourth of Hispanic households had no net assets, while only one in 12 white households had no assets or was in debt.

The biggest disparity in personal household wealth was in financial assets which include cash, checking accounts, savings accounts, stocks, bonds, and mutual funds.

Black Business

Those who advocate black-owned business and black entrepreneurship as the ladder to higher levels of economic well-being for black Americans are really calling for the triumph of hope over experience.

Opportunities for black business and black entrepreneurs have symbolic significance as ladders for upward mobility—but the reality which emerges from available information on black business offers very little hope for economic progress to most black Americans.

A Census Bureau survey of minority-owned business in 1977 found only 2 percent of the adult minority population were business owners in contrast to 5 percent in the general population. But these minority owners were primarily self-employed and had average self-employment income of $7,200 in 1980.

A 1984 survey by the Small Business Administration found 118,000 business with black owners. Of these black-owned businesses, 56 percent were sole proprietorships. Ninety percent of sole proprietorships had less than $100,000 in business income and 54 percent had less than $10,000 in annual income. There is no comparable information on income of black-owned businesses that are corporations.

About 50 percent of all black-operated businesses are in service industries and another 20 percent are in retail trade.

Measures of minority business performance are fragmentary, according to the 1985 Small Business Administration report, which noted that minority businesses in manufacturing, construction, and wholesale trade "are more vulnerable to business fluctuations such as the 1980-1982 recession"—the Reagan recession—"because they carry heavier burdens of long-term debt" than their non-minority business counterparts.

The Reagan Administration's fiscal 1987 budget called for abolishing the Small Business Administration and abolishing all minority enterprise small business investment corporations, loan guarantees, and management assistance services for minority enterprise.

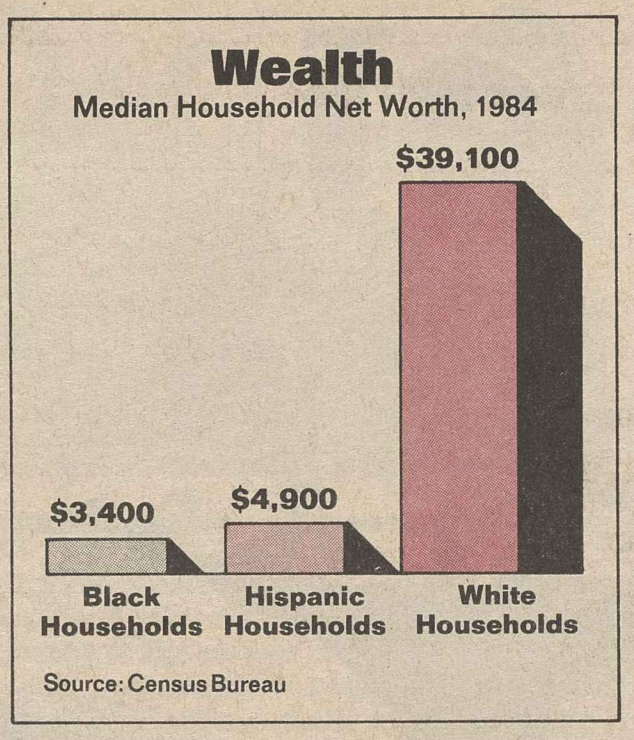
The Reagan Administration has also proposed so-called enterprise zones for inner-city economic development, but such programs would simply reshuffle existing jobs and provide further inducements to cut local taxes—in spite of the fact that inner-city "enterprise zone" areas are most likely to need the tax revenues and the public services and public facilities that only tax revenues can buy.

Education Key to Mobility

Education is a key to upward mobility in America. Black Americans have a big stake in getting a good education, learning to think and reason, acquiring work skills and life-success habits.

In the drive for excellence in education, the special needs of black and other minority children must be recognized. This includes improvement in vocational education as well as academic education.

Educational reform aimed at excellence must avoid the dangers of elitism and must take into account also the key issues of equity and access, particularly in inner-city schools which too often turn out graduates—or dropouts—who are illiterate and unemployable.



America cannot allow any part of its school system to train people for failure. We must encourage black students to finish high school. We must encourage more black high school graduates to go on to college—and find ways to help them finance their college education.

Black Americans have been catching up to the general population in school years completed.

In 1960 the black population had a median of eight school years completed while whites had a median of 10.9 school years completed.

By 1984 the black population was up to a median of 12 school years completed while whites were at a median of 12.5 school years completed. For blacks 25 to 34 years of age, median schooling was 12.6 years.

The high school dropout rate of blacks is falling. In 1970 the dropout rate for black youths 14 to 24 years of age was 22 percent—but it was down to 13 percent in 1984. The white dropout rate continued at about 11 percent during this period.

In the 1980s there has been some decline in the proportion of black high school graduates going on to college—probably reflecting Reagan Administration cuts in college loan and grant programs. In 1984 it was 27 percent who went on to college, but it had been up to 32 percent in 1975. College enrollment of black students in degree credit programs was 1.8 million in 1984.

Training and Dwindling Funds

There is, of course, a lot of workplace on-the-job training provided by employers to newly hired workers. Anthony Carnevale of the American Society for Training and Development estimates a total of $180 billion worth of informal employee training and $30 billion worth of formal employee training. There's no information on how much of this training goes to black workers.

Many workers need additional education and training to compete successfully for jobs. That's why government job training programs are important for black workers who often suffer from lack of adequate education, work skills, and work experience.

Unfortunately, in the last six years, the Reagan Administration has cut funds for employment and training programs by 50 percent. Less than $5 billion a year is going into government training programs. Under the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982, almost 2 million adults and young people—half of them minorities—got job training and related help from 1983 to the end of 1985. But one study of JPTA found that less than 5 percent of those eligible actually got job training.

Congress is also resisting the Reagan Administration's persistent efforts to kill the WIN work incentive program which provides employment services, training, and public service jobs to recipients of AFDC welfare payments.

Apprenticeship involving labor-management and other on-the-job training with related classroom instruction is an important way for young workers to learn a craft or trade.

In 1983, the last year for which reliable information is available, minority workers made up 20 percent of 250,000 apprentices in some 50,000 registered apprenticeship programs across the nation. This high percentage of minorities in apprenticeship reflects substantial and successful outreach efforts by unions and civil rights organizations. But these achievements are being undermined by the Reagan Administration's backtracking on civil rights and equal employment opportunity and by economic policies that destroy rather than promote apprenticeship, training and job opportunities.

AFL-CIO Jobs Program

Jobs and freedom don't come easy.

There are no simple, quick-fix answers.

But over the years the AFL-CIO has spelled out a comprehensive set of programs to advance the cause of economic progress and social justice. These include:

- National economic policies aimed at full employment and job creation, in line with the mandate of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment & Balanced Growth Act of 1978.
- Expansion of training and job programs in both the private and public sectors.
- Human resource and productivity development through better education, training, retraining, upgrading, and upward mobility opportunities for all workers, both employed and unemployed.
- Anti-discrimination programs, equal employment opportunity, and affirmative action to help black, Hispanic, women, and other workers who need these protections.
- Day care for children of working parents.
- Sanctions and enforcement against illegal hiring of illegal workers who are easily exploited by unscrupulous employers and whose presence undermines U.S. wage and working conditions.
- Minimizing, cushioning, and humanizing the adverse effects of industrial, occupational, and technological change. Such change affects all workers but hits black workers particularly hard.
- Realistic trade policy and rational industrial policy to achieve international competitiveness, national security, rising living standards, job-creating economic progress, and social justice, including full civil rights for all Americans.

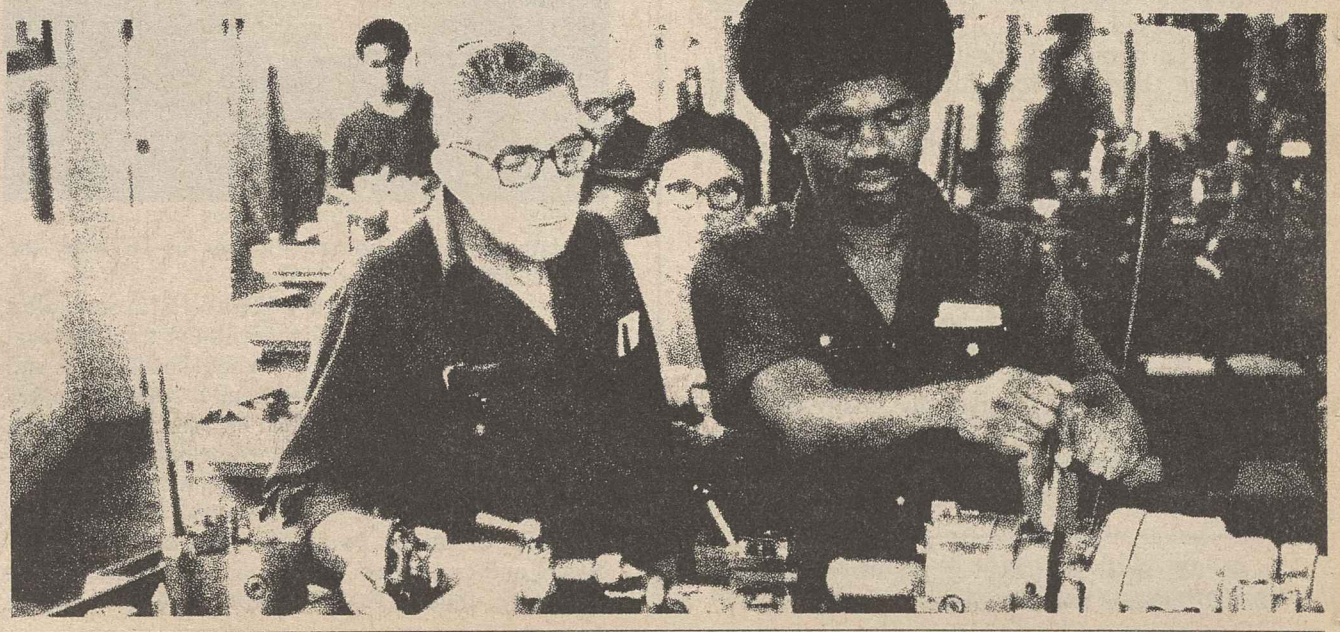
In line with the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment & Balanced Growth Act of 1978, cooperative action by the private sector and the public sector is needed to make sure that all working age citizens of this country have an opportunity for meaningful employment and a decent wage.

Full employment is a moral, social, political and economic imperative.

A healthy, full employment economy creates a healthy environment for progress on civil rights.

This nation cannot afford the socio-economic frustrations and the potential social instability that result from chronic, long-term, high-level unemployment of too many black workers, minority youth and other disadvantaged.

All sectors of American society must join the unending quest for economic progress and social justice—for jobs and freedom.



Homework

A Return to the Industrial Dark Ages of Sweatshops and No Protections

By Jay Mazur

The Reagan Administration has decided to legalize industrial homework in the industries in which the Labor Dept. banned it almost a half century ago. The Administration would have us believe that restrictions on homework are a relic of the past, when in fact the conditions these regulations were intended to prevent have returned with a vengeance. The sweatshop has risen again in our cities reviving the scenes of crowded factories and sewing in tenements, child labor and starvation wages which were the shape of this country at the turn of the century. To legalize homework under these conditions is a return to the industrial Dark Ages.

When the Administrator of the Wage & Hour Division of the Labor Dept. moved in 1942 to outlaw homework in seven industries—jewelry, gloves and mittens, knitted outerwear, women's apparel, buttons and buckles, handkerchiefs and embroidery—he had good reasons to do so. He knew that the Fair Labor Standards Act, which prescribes minimum wages, maximum hours and other labor standards, could not be enforced unless homework was abolished in these industries. He knew if from his own experience; he knew it from the experience of state government over more than a half century.

Sweatshops and homework have always gone hand in hand. In a factory, no matter how exploitative, workers still have some recourse. They may join together in collective action, they may look for the union organizer, they may call in the government inspector. But send the work home—to a worker who has had to pay for her own machine and her own electricity—and it is impossible for workers to join together in their own defense and it is impossible for the government to inspect for minimum wage, child labor, or health and safety violations.

The Dept. of Labor itself in 1967 (The Growth of Labor Law in the United States) said it very clearly:

"While there were distinct advantages to the employer who used homeworkers, all other persons involved suffered.

"Industrial homework means:

"To the homeworker—long hours and low pay.

"To the children of the homeworker—child labor, with its attendant evils.

"To the fair-minded employer—unfair competition, because he has to compete with the employer who pays lower wages and who passes on part of his overhead cost.

"To the factory worker—a constant threat to standards of hours, wages, safety and other established working conditions.

"To the consumer—the risk that many products he uses have not been subject to the protective sanitary regulations of the factory."

The problem is an old one. The first attempt to regulate industrial homework was in 1871 by the state of Massachusetts.

For nearly half a century before 1942, state after state and then the federal government tried to "regulate" industrial homework while licensing it and they failed. The long experiment in the laboratory of reality proved that unless industrial homework was banned, it could not be controlled.

It became abundantly clear that industrial homework was a way, the simplest way, to break laws intended to protect workers, children, other producers and consumers. When the state passed a law regulating child labor in factories—where inspection is relatively easy—the number of children in homework rose. When a law was passed regulating the hours of work for women in factories, workers were given bundles of piece goods to sew at home.

In the early New Deal days, the federal government moved to license and regulate industrial homework—just as the states had tried to do.

The United States Children's Bureau concluded of the New Deal experiments under the National Industrial Recovery Administration: "Great gains were made where the codes prohibited the giving out of homework. But in the industries in which homework was still permitted, even though limited by certain regulations, the ancient evils continued to exist and to constitute a menace to the higher labor standards that had been achieved for factory workers."

The inability of government agencies to enforce minimum labor standards as long as homework was permitted finally compelled the Dept. of Labor to ban industrial homework in seven industries in 1942.

The testimony is there. But even in the absence of the long historical record, simple common sense tells why it is impossible to "regulate" homework once it is licensed.

The Fair Labor Standards Act calls for a minimum wage, based on earnings per hour. Unless there is a government inspector in every home where industrial work is carried on, how is it possible to know how many hours were worked? There are no time clocks, and if there were, who would supervise them? The law forbids child labor under a certain age. How many eyes would Uncle Same need to peer into all those homes to see when a child is watching TV or handling pins or doing both? The law calls for employer and employee payments to government programs such as unemployment insurance, social security, workers' compensation. How would Washington ever know how many cousins, sisters, aunts or neighbors are paid to lend a hand with the work—without any contributions to government funds? The law also requires that a certain percentage of the pay will be deducted for income taxes. But payment to homeworkers is notoriously a cash operation, a vigorous part of the underground economy, with underreporting or non-reporting of income.

Decades of Fairness

From 1942 until Ronald Reagan was elected President, the ban on industrial homework was unchallenged. Like the minimum wage and the ban on child labor, they were part of the industrial decency which the New Deal had brought to this country.

Even the arch-conservative ideologues of the Reagan Administration would not dare to repeal the minimum wage or the ban on child labor or the basic protections of worker safety which the labor movement has gained over so many decades. Yet by legalizing homework in these industries—industries chosen because they were historically most prone to exploitation and sweatshop conditions—the Reagan Administration effectively proposes to repeal these basic labor standards for our most vulnerable workers.

Moreover, by the late '70s, the sweatshop had reappeared in an industry which had barely changed in structure and technology in 50 years. A combination of factors including a large influx of immigrants, many of them undocumented, growing competition from low-wage imports and cuts in labor standards enforcement due to government budget cutting contributed to the rise of the sweatshop. Labor Departments across the country were finding illegal industrial homework, for wages commonly as low as $1 to $1.50 an hour. Clearly, there could not have been a less auspicious time to repeal the ban on industrial homework.

The Reagan Administration, allied with right-wing and anti-labor forces throughout the country, began the attack on industrial homework early in Ronald Reagan's first term—on May 5, 1981, when they first proposed legalizing all industrial homework.

From the start, the Administration portrayed their assault on our basic rights and protections as a defense of individual liberty. Their efforts, they claimed, were in defense of the freedom to work of a group of Vermont women who made knitted ski caps in their homes. These workers were a far cry from the typical homeworker—they were rural, middle-class women who worked in pleasant and spacious homes. Yet even in this ideal setting, frequent violations of the minimum wage were found by the Labor Dept.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, joined by other unions, legitimate apparel employers, community organizations, the Depts. of Labor of various states and five previous U.S. Sec-

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retaries of Labor, fought the Administration's attempt to legalize homework. Finally, after protracted legal battles, the Dept. of Labor went ahead in 1984 with a much more limited proposal—lifting the ban on homework in the knitter outerware industry only and creating a system of registration. This was a return to the failed efforts by many government agencies in the decades before 1942 to "regulate" industrial homework.

The Dept. of Labor's efforts to regulate industrial homework in this one industry—one that is relatively small and not typical of other apparel industries — have been no more successful than earlier attempts. This failure is hardly surprising, since there is little evidence that the Dept. of Labor under Reagan even made a good-faith effort to enforce the new regulation.

Few employers in the knitted outerwear industry have registered with the Dept. of Labor, and in most of these cases the employer has been found in violation of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Recordkeeping, the key to any effort to regulate homework, has been deficient in nearly all cases. Little effort has been made to crack down on homework operations which fail to register. The government investigates homework primarily on a complaint-only basis, despite the clear evidence that homeworkers—out of fear and desperation—rarely complain.

In the face of all this—in the face of almost a century of hands-on proof that licensed homework cannot be regulated, in the face of a rising tide of industrial homework to violate the industrial code and the tax law, in the face of the most recent experience in the knitted outerwear industry—the Dept. of Labor now proposes to lift the ban in the remaining six sectors covered since 1942.

This new effort to "get government off the backs

"Stories abound of boys and girls as young as 5 or 6 years old forced to sit for hours putting strings on tags or safety pins on cards. In one family, a 3-year-old, whose little hands were still too clumsy to do the whole job, was taught to open the pins in order to get them ready for her aunt to put on cards."

—From The Growth of Labor in the United States, issued by the U.S. Dept. of Labor

of the people" will effectively end federal labor standards in the industries where sweatshops have flourished on the backs of those workers who most need protection. Some are recent immigrants, often undocumented, with limited knowledge of English or awareness of their rights, but others are American citizens, who are poor and desperate for work.

In reporting on the findings of John Horn, New Jersey's Labor & Industry Commissioner, the Atlantic City Press in 1981 noted the particular vulnerability of immigrant workers: "In illegal operations, the homeworkers are poorly paid and the working conditions are not checked. Many employers pay the foreign homeworkers in cash, not only evading state and federal income tax, but also cheating the workers out of legitimate social security and unemployment compensation benefits." Frank Mercurio, Regional Administrator, Employment Standards Administration of the U.S. Dept. of Labor, at a 1981 hearing held by the New York State Dept. of Labor, added: "Homeworking is a perfect vehicle for utilizing and taking advantage of undocumented workers."

Yet precisely at this moment when the most unscrupulous employers are turning to homework, the Labor Dept. decides to make homework legal. Why?

The answer lies not in policy or in fact, but in ideology. This Administration has felt compelled to pursue its ideological convictions regardless of the real suffering inflicted—on the growing numbers of the poor, the unemployed, the homeless, the exploited. They believe that the body of social protection built up over decades is merely a restraint on personal freedom, and that sooner or later, everyone will flourish if only we release the free market to do its magic. We will continue to resist this Administration's ideological fantasies, because we in the ILGWU know that to license homework is to license industrial hell. We cannot stand by while the Administration turns back the clock to the industrial Dark Ages.

El Salvador's Unions
Right, Left and Center

By Jack Heberle

Today, the Communist party of El Salvador and the various other leftist groups represented in the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) have a two-tiered strategy to use organized labor as a tool in their battle against democracy and for the establishment of a totalitarian regime in that country.

First, a labor structure which they control is maintained, mainly in the city of San Salvador, to attack the elected government through propaganda and disinformation and to disrupt the economic and social stability through strikes, labor stoppages and protests.

Secondly, their agents attempt to infiltrate the democratic labor movement with the objective of either controlling or destroying free unions. The centrist democratic unions of El Salvador are thus under constant attack by the Communist-directed "unions."

Currently, within the trade union movement of El Salvador there are three main ideological currents (the right, center and left) which generally reflect the various political forces at work in that nation's struggle toward more democratic ideals.

First, there is the most important union grouping, representing approximately 350,000 workers and campesinos, the Union Nacional de Obreros y Campesinos (UNOC), which brings together independent federations of slightly differing but democratic political tendencies into a centrist coalition which serves to lobby for the strengthening of union and political rights. UNOC is not a legally recognized trade union confederation—and was never intended to be one. It was recently formed to represent the moderate center-left democratic trade union point of view.

Within UNOC, the most important group is the Confederacion de Trabajadores Democraticos (CTD) which, together with the AFL-CIO and other democratic central bodies throughout the hemisphere, is affiliated with the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The 150,000-member Salvadoran Peasants Union (UCS), best known for having spearheaded the 1980 land reform program, is a member of CTD, as is FESINCONSTRANS, a 23,000-member federation of construction and transport workers. The Confedercion General del Trabajo, a 16-union confederation affiliated internationally with the Christian Democrat Latin American Workers Confederation (CLAT) and the World Confederation of Labor (WCL) is also represented in UNOC, as is the Sindicato de la Industria Portuaria de El Salvador, an independent democratic union. (See Appendix 1 for affiliation list of the UNOC).

On Mar. 15, 1986, UNOC organized a massive demonstration of 65,000 marchers through the streets of San Salvador in support of peace and democracy. The two union representatives who spoke on this occasion—they were the only ones who did speak—were generally and conditionally supportive of the government of President Jose Napoleon Duarte. They urged him to continue with the social reforms and, most particularly, the land reform. At the same time, they sharply criticized austerity policies that they felt were a result of government collaboration with the International Monetary Fund and were unfairly and negatively affecting the workers.

The day following the demonstration, UNOC representatives met with President Duarte and received assurances that at least some of the austerity measures would be lifted or modified.

Support for Duarte

The 65,000 turnout for the UNOC demonstration should be compared with a leftist-union attempt on Feb. 21, 1986 to field an anti-Duarte rally. Only 7,000 demonstrators could be rallied by the National Union of Salvadoran Workers—further proof that the overwhelming majority of El Salvador's democratic trade unionists support the attempts of President Duarte to bring peace and justice through democracy to El Salvador.

Second, and generally linked with the right, are the General Confederation of Unions (CGS) and the National Confederation of Workers (CNT). CGS, which represents approximately 7,000 members, was an affiliate of ORIT/ICFTU until its 1979 expulsion on charges of corruption and domination by the historically military-oriented National Conciliation Party (PCN). (Interestingly enough, CGS has made commmon cause at times with the radical left by belonging to the Communist-controlled "Comite Primero de Mayo" and has marched with the Communists in demonstrations.)

The third grouping within the union movement (and the principal subject of this article) is represented by those unions which are allied with the Marxist-Leninist-led guerrillas, normally through political action groups.

Exaggeration is the name of the game because, for revolutionary political purposes, it is important to be able to show popular support. Not representing more than 50,000 workers and campesinos collectively, they are nevertheless well financed and very vocal. The leadership of these paper unions has, typically, attempted strike actions and other activities, not for the benefit of the workers they claim to represent, but rather in conjunction with political activities decided upon by Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries who are not themselves trade unionists.

The Revolutionary Programs

The revolutionary programs of these unions, as well as the front groups which direct them, have their origins in the disaffection of key leaders of the Communist party of El Salvador (PCES) in the early 1960s. At that time, PCES was a Moscow-line party, content under their leadership to await the development of an electoral system through which they might some day obtain power. This was, at the time, in keeping with the Soviet policy of detente.

There were, however, contenders for power within PCES who unsuccessfully sought to redirect the party toward a more radical revolutionary posture and, failing this, split from the party to form terrorist organizations. These guerrilla armies originally included the Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL), led by a former Secretary General of PCES, Salvador Cayetano Carpio, and the Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP), led by Joaquin Villalobos Hueso, a former student of economics. A split in ERP led, in 1975, to the creation of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FARN). All the active guerrilla armies are led by dedicated Marxist-Leninists committed to a "prolonged war" against the government of President Duarte.

As part of their revolutionary strategy, each of these terrorist military organizations formed front groups and, through these front groups, tried to infiltrate existing unions. They met with varying degrees of success.

PCES already had an established base of legally recognized union organizations; it was easy to infiltrate some of these and for the "prolonged war" group eventually to assume leadership. Carpio, for example, had served as Secretary General of the Bakers' Union and later as Secretary General of the Centralized Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FUSS).

In others, the process was slower and the outcome less clear cut, with the policy moderate leaders ultimately losing control. (It is interesting to note that among the leaders of FMLN, the umbrella organization set up in 1980 to coordinate the activities of the five armed guerrilla armies, only Carpio had any labor union credentials. Carpio

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allegedly committed suicide in Managua, Nicaragua in 1983.)

Some unions, such as the National Association of Salvadoran Educators (ANDES), are affiliated internationally with TUI-teachers (Trade Union International-Teachers), a Communist counterpart of the democratic ICFTU-oriented International Trade Secretariats (ITS's). ITS's are free associations of workers from the same trade, occupation or profession but crossing international frontiers. By way of comparison, the TUI's form a department of the Moscow-controlled WFTU, the World Federation of Trade Unions. Others, such as the National Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS), have a somewhat looser alliance with WFTU, contenting themselves with observer status, for example, at WFTU's Havana World Congress in 1982. Whereas FUSS sent a delegate to WFTU's 37th General Session in Moscow in 1985, the Federation of Revolutionary Unions (FSR) sent only an observer.

The structure of the Marxist-Leninist controlled labor movement of El Salvador has changed often in the past several years as the strategy of the revolutionary movement has dictated. For example, the United Confederation of Salvadoran Workers (CUTS) once was formed by the three largest Communist federations.

Pushing for Broader Base

In an effort to demonstrate a broader base supporting the Communist-backed Democratic Front, these three federations (and some of their affiliates) formed the Committee of Union Unity (CUS). Various organizations were counted twice. CUS was not technically a confederation, but rather a loosely associated grouping of Communist controlled unions. CUS eliminated the need for CUTS—which by that time was well known to be Communist controlled—and CUTS has become extinct.

On May Day, 1981, the three Communist federations individually signed a joint declaration without mentioning CUTS. Since that date, there have been no public proclamations or statements by CUTS. Similarly, CUTS, as an umbrella group, has been "replaced" in succession by MUSYGES (Craft and Industrial Unions Movement of El Salvador) and, finally, by CST (Coordinating Organization for Workers' Solidarity).

Each cosmetic change that has been made in the left's union support system has occurred without formally dissolving its predecessor organization. CST, for example, has not been mentioned in the press recently, nor has it issued recent proclamations or sponsored demonstrations.

Because of its inherited historical ties with FDR, the analysis of most observers is that any legitimacy that might have been enjoyed by CST because of their association with FDR has been drastically reduced by the now acknowledged absence of FDR influence within the FMLN. This fact, and the current tactical desire to hide their most obvious connections with the Communist international trade union movement—and thus gain a degree of respectability in the U.S. and Europe—has led to the creation of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). (See Appendix 2.)

Most notably, the FUSS, the FSR, and the FESTIAVTSCES—the three "old line" Communist federations which together represent about 9,000 workers—are not listed as affiliates of UNTS. On the other hand, FENASTRAS does form a part of UNTS.

Minimal Representation

In addition to the difficulties of identifying a solid organizational structure, problems exist in estimating the number of persons affiliated with these union groups. Competent observers calculate, however, that the total of all Marxist-Leninists controlled unions in El Salvador does not exceed 50,000 workers, and more probably is in the neighborhood of 40,000 workers.

The majority of the rank-and-file of these unions obviously are not Communist. At any rate, either figure is a far cry from the claimed membership of 80,000 by FENASTRAS, only one of the Communist-leaning union federations. It seems clear that the Marxist-Leninists are claiming members that their unions do not have, and that their union leadership is claiming members that their unions do not have.

The most devastating criticism of these unions is the charge that they are directed by revolutionary political forces from outside the trade union movement and, more importantly, conduct their activities for exclusively revolutionary leftist political ends. (Reviews of Communist literature from El Salvador provide the basis for this charge. They are not merely accusations from foreign observers or from right-wing Salvadorans.)

The most obvious example of this tactic was the strike of Aug. 21-22, 1980, by the Electrical Workers Union (STECEL) in order to cause a nationwide blackout as part of the guerrilla military offensive. It was part of a general strike called, not by a union, but by FARN/FAPU. As such, it is an excellent example of a "strike action" which was described even by the guerrillas' front groups as a revolutionary action. Even though the strike failed, martyrs were created for the revolutionary left because STECEL strike leaders were jailed (they were only released in 1985 despite early and repeated requests by the AFL-CIO that they be brought to trial and tried, or released) and the union's legal status was revoked.

This strike was condemned by the majority of the democratic trade unions as political sabotage that cost great hardship and unemployment to the workers. More often than not, however, the Communist unions use some valid worker complaints to initiate strikes and then proceed to politicize it. During 1985, there were several examples of this tactic.

In the past this kind of political activity by the Marxist-Leninist unions had led quite naturally to reactions, many times quite violent reactions, by ultra-right paramilitary forces and/or the Salvadoran military. Headquarters buildings of the Communists' union movement have been blown up (FENASTRAS, for example, on Feb. 2, 1980, and the Union of Workers of the United Textile Industry "STIUSA" twice in spring of 1980).

Their leaders have been jailed as were, for example, representatives of STECEL in August 1980, and of ANDES in the fall of 1982.

The question for democratic trade unionists is to determine whether these persons were jailed for their trade union activities or for their political revolutionary activities. No legitimate trade unionist would condone arbitrary arrests, killings and torture of anyone, including Communists, but neither should a violent Communist revolutionary claim that the attacks on his person or property are the result of his trade union activities. Practically all anti-union activities in El Salvador have ceased under the administration of President Duarte.

The neo-fascist attitude of the extreme right and their death squads in El Salvador refuses to distinguish between violent revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and democratic trade unionists dedicated to bringing about necessary peaceful change and social justice. In their quest for an adequate land reform program, representatives of the democratic unions of El Salvador have suffered more than the Marxist-Leninists as victims of the murderous right-wing violence. The question is not, then, who has suffered the most in a country characterized by suffering, but what are the ideological ends of the various union groupings, all of whom have suffered.

No competent observer of El Salvador would deny that still more reform is needed. That is beyond question. The more pertinent question is: What type of change—democratic as espoused by UNOC, or Communist and totalitarian as advocated by the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist union movement represented by UNTS, CST and the guerrilla revolutionaries who direct them? If the latter win, then the trade union model will be state controlled unions, as is the case in all Communist countries. In other words, UNOC and its democratic member trade unions would, in the event of a Marxist-Leninist victory, suffer the same fate as the outlawed Solidarity Movement of Poland, or the free trade unions in Nicaragua.

Appendix 1

Union Nacional de Obreros y Campesinos (UNOC)

(Democratic unions. Reorganized in January, 1986 to present a center-left trade union point of view. Made up primarily of unions disappointed by the radical left's penetration and ultimate take-over of UPD. Includes unions of Social Democratic and Christian Democratic orientation as well as independents. Approximate total membership: 350,000)

1. CTD: The Confederacion de Trabajadores Democraticos (affiliated with ORIT/ICFTU) includes the following federations:

FESINCONSTRANS—The largest industrial federation in the country, with members mainly in the construction industry. It has eleven active unions, the largest being SUTC (Construction Workers), with over 20,000 members, and other smaller unions in factories. Total membership: 23,000.

USC—The Union Comunal Salvadorena, the largest and oldest agrarian union in the country. UCS is well structured and organized nationally, with an Executive National Board and individual boards in each province. Affiliated internationally with IFPAAW. Estimated membership: 150,000.

FECORASAL—A federation of agrarian unions, nationally organized in four regions. Their membership generally belong to the large cooperatives that were created in response to Phase I of the Agrarian Reform Law. Estimated membership: 10,000.

FESINTEXSYCA—A textile federation with five unions. Affiliated internationally with ITGLWF. Estimated membership: 1,000.

SIGAD—A hotel and restaurant union. Approximately 500 members.

ASTA—A telephone workers union. Affiliated internationally with PTTI. Approximately 400 members.

SITRASALUD—A health workers union. Affiliated internationally with IRO-FIET. Approximately 650 members.

ASID—Indian group of democratic orientation.

SUCEPES—Letter carrier and postal workers. Affiliated internationally with PTTI. Approximately 400 members.

2. CGT—The Confederacion General del Trabajo (affiliated with CLAT/WCL) includes 16 unions of different sizes, both industrial government and agrarian unions. Among the largest unions are: FACOPES (Fishery Workers' Union); CCS (Agrarian National Union); ACS (Agrarian Union); ANTIVU (National Association of Workers from the Housing Institute) and ANTRAM (Municipal Workers Union). Estimated membership: 65,000.

3. CIPES—The Sindicato de la Industria Portuaria de El Salvador (Port Workers Union) is a democratic union which recently joined UNOC. It is not affiliated internationally. It claims 800 members.

4. ANIS—Rural Indian Union. 2,000 members.

5. ACOPAI—Association of 60 rural producers' cooperatives. Approximate membership: 35,000.

6. FESACORAS—A federation of cooperatives of beneficiaries of Phase I of the Agrarian Reform Law. (Note: Membership distinct from that of FECORASAL). 60,000 members.

Appendix 2

Union Nacional de Trabajadores Salvadorenos (UNTS)

(Directed by Communist Party of El Salvador. Estimated total membership: 30,000 to 40,000)

FENASTRAS—A federation of unions whose leadership is controlled by FARN-RN, one of the rebel factions. Its 17 affiliates are of different sizes, the largest being the Fishery Workers Union, which claims 1,700 members, and the Coffee Workers Union, with 8,000 members. Total membership: 11,000 to 12,000 members.

UPD—An umbrella organization that once included major democratic industrial and campesino unions. Today, UPD exists in name only because of the withdrawal of UCS, FESINCONTRANS, ANIS and ACOPAI. UPD has been taken over by self-appointed dissidents who have lost their offices in the democratic trade union movement.

AGEMHA—An independent, small union of the Treasury Department—Association Gremial de Empleados del Ministerio de Hacienda. The leadership is under the influence of the Communist Party (PCS). It has less than 500 members.

CTS—This is a well-established confederation internationally affiliated with CLAT and WCL. It was part of UPD, but withdrew. The leadership more and more has veered to the nondemocratic left. Its strength is the public employees unions, mainly in the Agricultural Department (AN-MAG) and Public Work (ANTMOP). It is estimated to have a membership of 3,000.

ANDES—An independent national association of teachers, ANDES-21 de Junio, whose leadership is heavily infiltrated by the Frente Popular de Liberacion (FPL) one of the rebel factions, and its front organization the Popular Revolutionary Block (BPR). It does carry a lot of prestige because of the educated and influential membership. Members: from 10,000 to 12,000 teachers nationally.

STISS—Social security workers union—Sindicato de Trabajadores del Instituto del Seguro Social. Leadership under the influence of ERP, another rebel group. Claimed membership: 3,000.

COASES—The Federation of Cooperative Associations of El Salvador is heavily infiltrated by the left. Recently created, it is very active in the rural sector. Claimed membership of 10,000.

White House slammed for textile import deal with apartheid regime

Union and congressional leaders expressed outrage and astonishment verging on disbelief at a White House announcement of a new trade agreement with South Africa that will increase that nation's textile exports to the United States.

The business-as-usual pact that was negotiated by the White House trade representative's office came amid growing world pressure for sanctions against South Africa and just days before the House is to vote on overriding President Reagan's veto of import curbs on textile products.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland termed the agreement "an atrocity." He found it "incredible" that the Administration "rewards this apartheid regime with trade concessions," and especially in an industry where so many American jobs have been lost to imports. Kirkland's remarks were made at a news conference following his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee urging strong economic sanctions against South Africa.

No trust

The Clothing & Textile Workers assailed the agreement as further evidence that "this Administration cannot be trusted" in foreign trade negotiations.

The Ladies' Garment Workers called the new pact "a slap in the face to both black South Africans and American workers." It noted that the 4 percent rise in exports allowed South Africa is greater than that granted this year to any other textile exporting nation. The ILGWU said the agreement is a "disgrace to the nation's proud history."

South Africa, which has been rapidly expanding its textile and clothing exports to the United States, would be given an initial export quota below last year's level but then would be guaranteed a 4 percent rise in each of the next five years.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. called on President Reagan to rescind the agreement, which is scheduled to go into effect in September.

Unacceptable pact

It may play in Pretoria, O'Neill said at the ILGWU and ACTWU Capitol Hill rally, "but it won't play in Peoria and in towns and cities across this country."

O'Neill said the pact is likely to bring additional votes to override President Reagan's veto of textile import restrictions.

Rep. William H. Gray III (D-Pa.) termed the agreement "lunacy" and other members of Congress expressed comparable sentiments. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard G. Lugar said it was "hard to believe."

Another Republican, Rep. Lynn M. Martin (Ill.) said the South African deal established "a new definition for dumb." And Rep. Dick Cheney (R-Wyo.), conceded that "a lot of us who are free traders are increasingly hard pressed to come up with arguments to justify our position."

The White House insisted that the agreement with South Africa was just part of the "normal flow" of negotiations with other textile-producing nations. But "in hindsight," a presidential spokesman acknowledged, the timing was "probably unfortunate."

House lifts ban on rehiring fired air traffic controllers

The House voted to lift President Reagan's ban on the rehiring of air traffic controllers fired after their 1981 strike, but it rejected an amendment to a Transportation Dept. appropriations bill that would have required their rehiring.

Debate on the rehiring came almost exactly five years after the controllers struck, defying the prohibition against strikes by federal workers. The job action grew out of the frustration of unresolved grievances involving job stress, workloads and pay. Nearly 12,000 were fired by order of President Reagan when they refused an ultimatum to return to work.

Since then, the Administration has modified its punishment to allow them to be employed in other government jobs. But with few exceptions, they have been barred from employment as civilian air traffic controllers.

Rep. Guy V. Molinari (R-N.Y.) sought to amend the bill to require the Federal Aviation Agency to rehire 1,000 of the fired controllers over the next two years, and the AFL-CIO urged House members to support his amendment. It lost on a 226-193 vote.

Welcome provision

In his letter to House members, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten welcomed the provision of the appropriations bill lifting the rehiring ban. But he urged adoption of the Molinari amendment to assure that the intent of lifting the bar to re-employment is carried out. The AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept. and airline unions were active supporters of the rehiring legislation.

During the House debate, speakers urging adoption of the amendment stressed both the hazard to air safety from the present serious shortage of trained controllers and the excessive punishment imposed on the controllers who joined the strike.

The Transportation Dept. appropriations bill as sent to the Senate specifies that air traffic controllers who were fired as a result of the strike shall not, as a group, be barred from re-employment as FAA controllers.

The Senate, meanwhile, approved a measure intended to repair the constitutional flaw that led to the Supreme Court ruling on enforcement of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction law. The court said the comptroller general, an agent of Congress, couldn't perform an executive branch function of determining when across-the-board spending cuts must be imposed to meet the deficit reduction timetable.

By a 63-36 vote, the Senate approved a plan to designate the Office of Management & Budget, a White House agency, to perform that function. But it specified that the OMB must use economic assumptions adopted by Congress as the basis for its budget deficit estimates.

The change, which goes to the House for action, leaves intact the requirement that half of cuts required must be made in the defense area and half in the domestic sector, with some entitlements and safety-net programs exempt from reduction.

For the 1987 fiscal year, starting next October, the resolution estimates an unemployment rate averaging 6.8 percent, a Treasury interest rate of 6.2 percent on three-year bills, and a 3.5 percent expansion of the gross national product. Such economic assumptions are necessary to estimate revenues and spending obligations that affect the federal deficit.

Scars of apartheid

Stark visible evidence of the "sheer police sadism" inflicted on trade union leaders in South Africa was presented to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland.

He showed committee members a photograph of the whip wounds one black leader sustained after he was "detained" under the state of emergency decreed by the white minority government.

The union leader wasn't interrogated, Kirkland emphasized, so it wasn't a question of police using force to extract information.

"Detainees are lashed for the sheer pleasure" it gives their captors, he testified, as he denounced the "brutal system" that gives unprecedented power to the military and the police to "torture and abuse" those who disagree with the government's racist and anti-labor policies.

Kirkland: South African labor endorses call for stiff sanctions

Continued from Page 1

cause they provide an ideal "training ground for people who can assume leadership roles in the democratic process."

Throwing the federation's full support behind the sweeping crackdown on the Pretoria government voted overwhelmingly by the House last month, Kirkland said the limited sanctions proposed by Committee Chairman Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) do not go far enough to make plain America's commitment to the concepts of democracy and the principle of one-man, one-vote.

If the United States is sincere about wanting to promote social change in South Africa, he declared, "it will encourage and listen to the democratic forces that are on the front lines of the struggle against apartheid.

"If we fail to heed their voices, if instead we concentrate on fine-tuning Mr. Botha's tactics, we will lose credibility among our true friends in South Africa and we will lose our capacity to influence the outcome of events.

"We will find ourselves constructively engaged with the past and irrelevant to the future."

Kirkland sharply criticized President Reagan for arguing against effective economic sanctions on the ground that they would hurt South Africa's blacks.

'Insulting' posture

"In light of the price that so many have paid, and are paying, in their struggle for freedom, the President's recently expressed concern that blacks would be hurt by sanctions can only strike our black brothers and sisters as insulting," he asserted.

Just returned from a trip to South Africa as part of a delegation organized by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Kirkland said that he was testifying on behalf of the black trade union leaders in that country. The message they wanted conveyed to Congress, he said, was that "they want strong and effective economic sanctions imposed on their country's racist regime."

The ICFTU delegation was refused permission to visit jailed trade union leaders and was denied an interview with the Minister of Justice—whom Kirkland described as "the chief jailer." Instead, he said, they were shunted off on the Minister of Manpower, who confined himself to noncommittal responses.

Full sanctions needed

Kirkland presented the committee with the ICFTU's list of recommended sanctions, drawn up in April 1985 at the urging of South African union leaders. But he made it clear that "the march of events and the intransigence of the South African regime" have greatly "narrowed the range of choices" and the AFL-CIO now endorses the call of black unions in that country for applying total economic pressure on the Botha government.

Black trade unionists know they run the risk of losing their jobs if the United States and other free nations join in a sweeping economic crackdown. But they are already suffering because apartheid means "miserable wages, miserable working conditions and unendurable living conditions," he said, and are "prepared to endure the consequences for the sake of a brighter future."

In South Africa, meanwhile, the newly formed Community Research Group, an academic civil rights body at Johannesburg's University of Witwatersrand, said that 8,400 people had been detained without trial since the start of the latest emergency on June 12.

And the Labor Monitoring Group, another civil rights organization also based at the university, said that 52 labor union officials had been detained in the past week, pushing the figures on labor leaders known to be in police custody to 321.

In addition, the group said, 2,700 union members were seized in mass arrests following work stoppages at the start of the emergency. Because of government censorship, it was unclear how many of them had been freed.

Court backs Laborers on union subcontracts

San Francisco—The legality of a collective bargaining agreement between the Laborers and Southern California general contractors barring subcontracts with nonunion firms was upheld by the 9th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals.

By a 6-5 margin, the court affirmed a ruling of the U.S. District Court for Central California that the contract did not violate either the Taft-Hartley or Sherman Antitrust Acts.

The suit was brought by Sun-Land Nurseries Inc. against the Southern California District Council of Laborers, claiming that the ban on nonunion subcontractors violated the "hot cargo" provisions of Taft-Hartley.

But the court dismissed the argument, pointing out that when Congress enacted Taft-Hartley in 1959, it specifically exempted the construction industry from the ban on "hot-cargo" clauses—collective bargaining agreements requiring an employer to refrain from doing business with a nonunion firm.

As to Sun-Land's companion argument—that the provision violated the antitrust law—the court said there was no evidence that the Laborers engaged in a "conspiracy" to restrain trade. In the absence of any conspiracy, the majority opinion declared, "a union is free to pursue its own bargaining objectives in the traditional way without interference from the antitrust laws."

Breathing room

Construction unions "must be given breathing room to operate" on behalf of their members, the court held. Although subcontracting clauses may have anticompetitive effects, the court said, "the goals of federal labor law could never be achieved if every anticompetitive effect on business caused by collective bargaining was held to be a violation of the antitrust laws."

Congress wouldn't have exempted the construction industry from the prohibition against "hot cargo" clauses if management could then turn around and claim such provisions were a restraint of trade, the court asserted.

Sun-Land is a landscaping company that works with general contractors on major construction projects. Its employees used to be represented by the unaffiliated Teamsters. In 1980 they affiliated with the Independent Union of Craftsmen.

The general contractors with whom Sun-Land does business are parties to a master agreement with the Laborers prohibiting subcontracting work to firms that do not have contracts either with the Laborers or another basic craft union—specifically the Carpenters, Cement Masons, Operating Engineers or Teamsters.

No baloney

Striking workers outside a Hebrew National Kosher Foods Inc. factory in Queens, N.Y., protest the company's attempts to slash wages and its refusal to negotiate a new contract. Rather than bargain with Food & Commercial Workers Local 174, which represents the 200 workers, Hebrew National bused in strikebreakers and attempted to move production to another plant. The supervising rabbi, who ensures that the products are kosher and properly prepared, refused to cross the picket line and also was replaced. The UFCW members have been on strike since mid-June.

At IATSE convention

Delegates vote funds for organizing drive

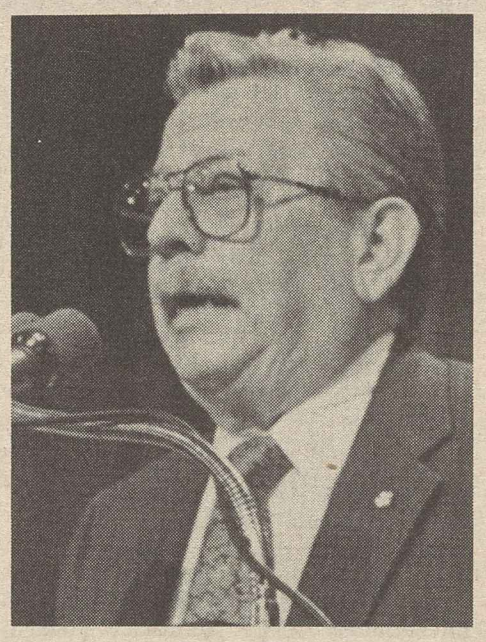
Hollywood, Fla.—The Theatrical & Stage Employees set the stage for a period of growth and revitalization, as delegates called for action on key industry and legislative concerns during the union's 58th biennial convention.

In his report, IATSE President Alfred W. DiTolla emphasized the convention theme of resurgence, calling on the delegates "to renew the greatness that was handed down to us by generations of loyal and magnificent craftsmen" with a major organizing drive among entertainment industry workers in the United States and Canada. IATSE represents about 60,000 workers in the entertainment industry.

He called for end to "runaway" motion picture and television production, where producers and companies use funds from the federal government but base production work overseas, and said the union's organizing program would encourage and enhance local union operations. DiTolla also pledged to strengthen IATSE's ties with the AFL-CIO.

DiTolla called on the delegates to "address the problems that have been put before us by an unfriendly Administration" and to "change our attitudes about organizing . . . and the way we train our members."

The delegates approved an increase in the quarterly per capita rate from $15 to $21, earmarked for organizing, legislative and other activities. They also endorsed the second step of a dues increase approved at the 1984 convention, bringing all members up to full scale.



IATSE's Alfred DiTolla

Political action

For the first time, the convention established a political action committee to raise funds for IATSE-endorsed candidates and support the union's legislative goals.

In a keynote address, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue emphasized the labor movement's continuing commitment to the changing workforce, stressing that "change is our business" and "every union is the creation of men and women who wanted to change and improve the world that they live in."

Acknowledging that some union organizing drives have fallen short, Donahue insisted that workers have not "lost interest in having a voice of their own," but rather "the rulebook has been rewritten to make it harder for workers to gain such a voice and easier for employers to silence it."

"But we have never stopped fighting back," he declared. "We have won some significant victories and now I believe the tide is beginning to turn. We have made our voices heard on a wide-range of issues of profound concern to working people and Congress has supported our positions," Donahue stated.

President DiTolla, who had been named president by the union's Executive Board last February, was elected to his first full-term without opposition. DiTolla had replaced Walter Diehl, who resigned.

Delegates re-elected Sec.-Treas. James Riley and 11 vice presidents.

Seniors mobilize resources to improve health coverage

Miami—Delegates to the National Council of Senior Citizens convention examined some important concerns of older citizens—the crisis in health care and attempts by right-wing organizations to create conflict between generations of Americans—as they met to chart the organization's future.

More than 2,000 delegates attended the six-day session which marked the NCSC's 25th anniversary.

In a keynote address, Executive Director William R. Hutton pledged that in the future, the group would work "even harder" to win a national health care system, stressing that such a plan "makes good economic sense . . . and is good for our nation's health and future well-being."

The delegates responded by endorsing a grassroots campaign organized by a coalition of more than 70 labor, consumer, elderly and other organizations under the National Health Care Campaign umbrella.

Dues increase approved

The convention also voted to raise membership dues from $7 to $12 over the next two years and approved incentives for local and state councils in signing new members.

Jacob Clayman, retired president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., was returned to office for a fourth term as NCSC president. Jack Turner of the Auto Workers was elected secretary-treasurer, succeeding J. Al Rightley, also from the UAW.

Clayman praised the NCSC's 25 years of accomplishment, especially its role in creating Medicare and including a cost-of-living index in social security payments. He vowed that NCSC will "fight to keep what we have won" and will seek "a government that provides security for all its citizens, that treats all of them with dignity, that provides equity, that provides opportunity."

Machinists President William Winpisinger, who chairs the AFL-CIO Committee on Union Retirees, was one of several federation vice presidents who addressed the delegates. Winpisinger told the seniors that the federation urges all affiliates to sponsor clubs for retired members and to join the NSCS.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney, who chairs the AFL-CIO Committee on Health Care, warned the delegates that gains made in health care over that past decade are "under serious attack" as the country moves "away from a public-oriented, nonprofit health care system."

UAW President Owen Bieber agreed, condemning attempts by "the right wing and the neo-liberals" to convince younger generations that America's senior citizens "have it too good."

And Lynn Williams, president of the Steelworkers, applauded the common goal of the labor movement and the NCSC, "opening the doors of hope and opportunity and keeping those doors open."

Assistant President Gus Tyler of the Ladies' Garment Workers warned the delegates that "we will drown in a tidal wave of imports" unless Congress adopts measures to restrict imports and improve trade.

Stove union elects officers, extends terms to four years

Las Vegas, Nev.—Gary Meyer was elected the secretary-treasurer of the Stove & Applicance Workers and President Thomas Kemme was re-elected by acclamation to a second full term. Delegates to the union's triennial convention also voted to increase both the term of office and the time between conventions from three to four years.

Meyer, 44, the union's third vice president, defeated incumbent Sec.-Treas. Daniel Phillips by a vote of 78 to 20. Phillips had served one three-year term in that post. Meyer, who was first elected vice president in 1983, had been secretary-treasurer of the union's Local 4 in Belleville, Ill.

Elected to their first terms in office were Vice Presidents Eddie Whitefield, Henry Juarez and Wayne Wolaver. Re-elected as first vice president was Robert Voekel. Former Vice Presidents Richard Bacher and Ray E. Sullivan both retired. The new four-year terms begin Oct. 1.

In his convention address, Kemme noted that the union's membership had increased by 1,800 in the past three years to top 6,000, and that the majority of members are now located in the South.

Claude Evans, executive secretary-treasurer of the Nevada AFL-CIO, welcomed the delegates, recalling both the history of the state federation and the bitter hotel strike here in 1984.

Lou Mallot, the union's legal counsel, advised the delegates about new laws affecting labor, and emphasized the impact of adverse rulings made by the Reagan-appointed National Labor Relations Board.

The convention stressed the need to organize unorganized workers, and will seek to add to the membership rolls by promoting in-shop organizing efforts in right-to-work states.

In other resolutions, delegates expressed concern over employers' use of union-busting consultants, endorsed the election of labor-backed candidates and called on consumers to buy American-made, union-made products.

Courses scheduled at labor studies center

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies will offer 12 institutes and workshops during August and September. The schedule:

Plant Closing and Worker Dislocation, Aug. 3-6—A cooperative program between the AFL-CIO and the Labor Dept. on developing strategies and techniques to assist workers hurt by economic dislocation.

Newswriting and Editing for Union Publications, Aug. 10-15—For union editors and would-be editors on the basics of producing improved union publications, cosponsored by the International Labor Communications Association.

Arbitration Techniques: Preparation and Presentation, Aug. 17-22—An institute on the presentation of mock cases before professional arbitrators. The sessions will be video taped.

Labor Law for Organizers, Aug. 17-22—A review of laws governing private sector organizing, election procedure and legal issues arising out of workplace tactics and corporate campaigns.

Alcohol and Drug Intervention Programs, Aug. 24-27—A look at union programs for workers dependent on drugs or alcohol, and joint union-management assistance efforts.

Advanced Education Techniques, Sept. 7-12—An advanced program for experienced labor educators on teaching skills and union training projects.

TV: The Cool Medium, Sept. 14-17—A three-day coaching session for union leaders on how to face television cameras and to work with reporters.

Advanced Organizing, Sept. 15-25—A workshop cosponsored by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Organizing & Field Services. Enrollees must be approved by the department.

Computers for Local Unions, Sept. 21-25—An introduction to computers for unions going into computers or upgrading their present systems.

Winning with Comprehensive Campaigns, Sept. 28-Oct. 3—A program for staff members to examine ways to deal with employers in and out of the workplace.

Effective Speaking, Sept. 28-Oct. 3—Tutoring speakers on topic selection, research, outlining and delivery before video cameras.

AFL-CIO affiliates using the campus in August for their own staff training programs are: Service Employees, Aug. 3-9, and Graphic Communications Union, Aug. 10-15.

The American Institute for Free Labor Development will conduct a four-week class beginning Aug. 17 for 20 trade unionists from Haiti.

More information about labor studies programs is available from Robert Pleasure, executive director, George Meany Center, 10000 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring, Md. 20903. Telephone: 301/431-6400.

Pilots win election at Simmons Airlines

Pilots at Simmons Airlines Inc., a regional carrier serving the mid-West, overwhelmingly voted to join the Air Line Pilots.

The 264 Simmons pilots made the choice for ALPA in an election supervised by the National Mediation Board, with 71 percent of the pilots voting for ALPA representation.

EDITORIALS

Rewarding Injustice

THE DECISION by the Reagan Administration to reward the South African government by allowing it to increase its textile exports to the United States must be reversed.

It rewards and encourages a regime that seeks to enforce a Hitler-like philosophy of racial superiority through the most brutal methods.

It rewards this regime, incredibly, by adding to the job losses in the import-battered American textile industry.

The deal to allow South Africa to increase its textile and clothing sales to the United States by 4 percent a year for the next five years is just part of the "normal flow" of negotiations on textile trade, the White House explains.

It concedes only that the timing is "probably unfortunate," since the Senate is preparing to debate legislation to impose economic sanctions on South Africa and the House is about to take a long-delayed vote on overriding President Reagan's veto of import restrictions on textiles, apparel and shoes.

The White House is wrong again. The timing is indeed auspicious.

BY ITS ACTIONS, the Administration has told the Senate that it will only apply economic pressure to end racial injustice in South Africa if it is compelled to do so by congressionally required sanctions.

So Congress must vote to impose sanctions because the Administration has demonstrated that left to its own devices, it will remain business as usual.

By its actions, the Administration has shown it can't be trusted to defend American jobs at the bargaining table. If Congress wants it otherwise, it will have to override the President's veto.

And that's exactly what is should do.

Crocodile Tears

IN A "Dear Labor Leader" letter sent to the AFL-CIO, Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) expresses concern that unions are making a "mistake" in supporting the parental leave bill that is awaiting House action.

The congressman, who at COPE's last tally has yet to cast his first "right" vote on a labor issue, is worried that the legislation might be harmful to union members.

The bill that so concerns him carries a 22-10 endorsement from the House Education & Labor Committee. It would require firms with 15 or more workers to allow employees who request it to take up to 18 weeks of unpaid leave over a two-year period to care for a new born, newly adopted or seriously ill child. Another section would allow unpaid leave with continuation of health benefits during a worker's own serious illness.

Congressman DeLay doesn't see how unions can support such legislation because, he tells us, it injects the federal government into the collective bargaining process by dictating what benefits workers should receive.

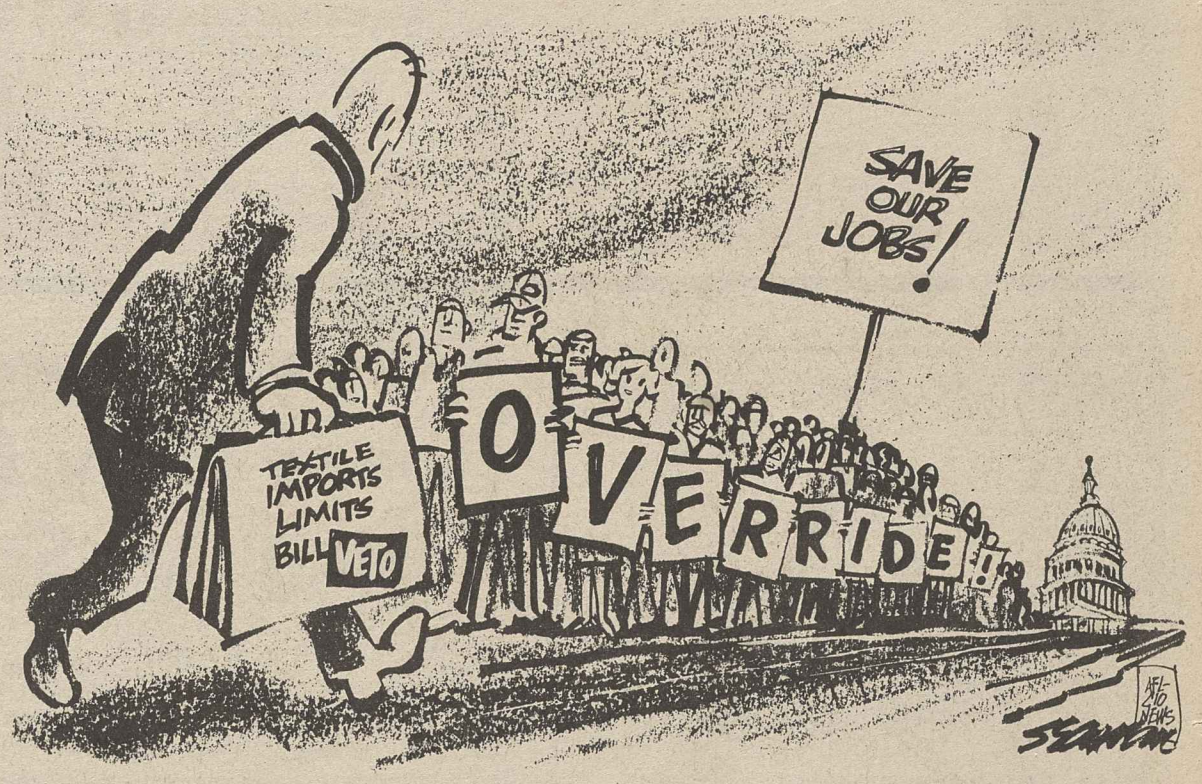
HE WONDERS how unions will be able to negotiate time off with pay if the federal government only requires leave without pay. And "by making hiring employees more expensive," he suggests, "it stands to reason that employers will turn to machines at a faster rate."

The congressman should be congratulated for coming up with the same argument that employer groups used a half-century ago to oppose a minimum wage law. As it turned out, despite the crocodile tears shed at the time, a federal floor on wages did not impose a ceiling on union-negotiated pay rates. It is equally unlikely that a minimal requirement for unpaid leave will inhibit bargaining for paid sick leave.

That leaves the argument that machines will replace people if people get too uppity.

Machines, it seems, don't get pregnant.

If that's the best case that can be made against the legislation, the House should have no problem supporting the right to parental leave as a concept whose time has come.



Washington Window

Flawed jobless statistics leave millions out on limb

By Press Associates Inc.

Who is unemployed and who isn't? The question may seem simple, but it's not.

The question is not just an academic one because who is counted as unemployed and who gets left out of the calculations weighs heavily in government policy and business decisions as well as public perceptions of the problem.

Federal and local programs to help the jobless and the destitute often are underfunded because national unemployment statistics understate the extent of unemployment and because state and local data on the jobless often lack accuracy, according to a recent report by the House Government Operations Committee.

In addition, underestimated unemployment discourages prospective employers from starting businesses in an area because the employer believes that few people are available for jobs, the report said.

Titled "Counting All the Jobless: Problems with the Official Unemployment Rate," the 26-page report was unanimously adopted by the House committee.

The official unemployment rate is the one headlined by newspapers and highlighted by newscasts when the Labor Dept. releases its figures on the first Friday of each month.

Short count

But the official rate does not include millions of "discouraged" and involuntary part-time workers who also are tracked by the department in its monthly reports. Failure to include these two groups in the official jobless rate "seriously understates the true level of unemployment," the report said. It said the ranks of both groups have been increasing significantly in recent years.

"Discouraged" workers, the report noted, aren't much different from the official jobless. Both categories include a disproportionate number of women and minorities. Their numbers are linked closely to labor market conditions. To be counted as "discouraged," a person must want to work, and must not have looked for work in the four previous weeks because he or she doesn't believe their are any jobs available.

In 1985, the number of discouraged workers averaged 1.2 million as compared to 771,000 in 1979. The number of involuntary part-time workers, those who want a full-time job but can't find one, rose from 3.5 million in 1979 to 5.6 million in 1985. So in 1985, an average of 15.1 million Americans were either unemployed or underemployed—far more than the 8.3 million reported as the official unemployed.

Fall through cracks

In urban areas, population groups like high school dropouts and minority youth with no previous labor force attachment as well as the transient and the homeless often fall through the cracks of employment surveys.

In rural areas, the methods of measuring employment and the limited nature of the local surveys have failed to provide a true measure of the depression in the Farmbelt, the report said.

Allocations of federal dollars for a wide range of programs—including the Job Training Partnership Act, Urban Development Action Grants, employment services, revenue sharing, public works, and emergency food and shelter—are based on local area unemployment rates.

Because of the understating of jobless figures in both urban and rural America, the report said the federal government "should not use these statistics as a trigger for funding programs in local areas, particularly when the official unemployment figure is a target below which no money is deemed necessary."

The report recommended that the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in its monthly reports, "call more attention" to the unemployment rate which includes discouraged and involuntary part-time workers. "Because this figure is almost never mentioned or highlighted—the costs, hardships, and extent of unemployment are not fully reported or understood," it said.

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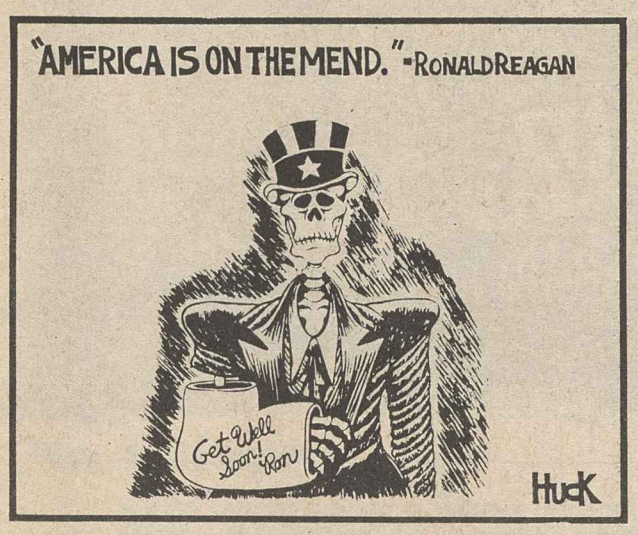

Write Congress Before The August 15 Recess

Service Contracts

Tell your Senators to oppose provisions in the DOD authorization bill which would eliminate protections for millions of service employees.

Polygraph Bill

Urge your Senators to work toward passage of S. 1815. This measure to protect your right to privacy should be on the Senate floor soon.

Tax Reform

Conferees should be contacted and asked to push for a fair rate structure for workers, full deductibility of state and local taxes, fair treatment of pension payments, and the preservation of the miscellaneous deduction that includes union dues.

High-Risk Act

H.R. 1309, which would help protect employees who have been exposed to hazardous substances in the workplace, will be on the House floor soon. This lifesaving measure could significantly reduce the incidence of occupational disease, which has reached epidemic proportions.

South Africa

The Senate will be considering legislation to impose stiff economic sanctions on the white regime in South Africa. Legislation which calls for economic pressure to end apartheid has already passed in the House.

Asbestos

The Asbestos Hazard Emergency Response Act, H.R. 5073, which would force the EPA to toughen its standards and enforcement rules for public buildings is nearing the House floor.

How Did Your Representative Vote?

House Only Goes Half-Way In Easing Air Safety Problems

On July 30th, the House of Representatives went partway toward easing the current crisis facing our nation's air traffic control system, but voted down a proposal to assure the rehiring of experienced controllers.

In 1981, before the PATCO strike, there were approximately 16,200 air traffic controllers. Today, although air traffic has increased dramatically, only about 12,000 are now employed, many of them new trainees. After a year of record airline crashes, it was clear that some action had to be taken.

The Department of Transportation Appropriations Act of 1987, H.R. 5207, passed the full House with language which lifts the Administration's ban against hiring the fired controllers, but fails to ensure that they will be rehired.

An amendment offered by Rep. Guy Molinari (R-NY), would have directed the Secretary of Transportation to rehired any 1,000 of the PATCO strikers who have the experience in air traffic control which is so vitally needed.

It was defeated by a vote of 226 to 193, with 12 members absent.

Find your Representative and see how he or she voted. "R" means they voted right, "W" wrong, and "A" means they were absent.

ALABAMA
1. Callahan (R) W
2. Dickinson (R) W
3. Nichols (D) W
4. Bevill (D) W
5. Flippo (D) W
6. Erdreich (D) W
7. Shelby (D) W

ALASKA
AL. Young, D. (R) W

ARIZONA
1. McCain (R) W
2. Udall (D) R
3. Stump (R) W
4. Rudd (R) W
5. Kolbe (R) W

ARKANSAS
1. Alexander (D) R
2. Robinson (D) W
3. Hammerschmidt (R) W
4. Anthony (D) W

CALIFORNIA
1. Bosco (D) R
2. Chappie (R) W
3. Matsui (D) W
4. Fazio (D) R
5. Burton, S. (D) R
6. Boxer (D) R
7. Miller, G. (D) R
8. Dellums (D) R
9. Stark (D) R
10. Edwards, D. (D) R
11. Lantos (D) R
12. Zschau (R) W
13. Mineta (D) W
14. Shumway (R) W
15. Coelho (D) R
16. Panetta (D) R
17. Pashayan (R) A
18. Lehman, R. (D) R
19. Lagomarsino (R) W
20. Thomas, W. (R) W
21. Fiedler (R) W
22. Moorhead (R) W
23. Beilenson (D) R
24. Waxman (D) R
25. Roybal (D) W
26. Berman (D) R
27. Levine (D) R
28. Dixon (D) R
29. Hawkins (D) R
30. Martinez (D) R
31. Dymally (D) R
32. Anderson (D) R
33. Dreier (R) W
34. Torres (D) R
35. Lewis, J. (R) W
36. Brown, G. (D) R
37. McCandless (R) W
38. Dornan (R) W
39. Dannemeyer (R) W
40. Badham (R) W
41. Lowery (R) W
42. Lungren (R) W
43. Packard (R) W
44. Bates (D) R
45. Hunter (R) W

COLORADO
1. Schroeder (D) R
2. Wirth (D) R
3. Strang (R) W
4. Brown, H. (R) W
5. Kramer (R) W
6. Schaefer (R) W

CONNECTICUT
1. Kennelly (D) R
2. Gejdenson (D) R
3. Morrison, B. (D) R
4. McKinney (R) W
5. Rowland, J. G. (R) W
6. Johnson (R) R

DELAWARE
AL. Carper (D) R

FLORIDA
1. Hutto (D) W
2. Fuqua (D) W
3. Bennett (D) W
4. Chappell (D) W
5. McCollum (R) W
6. MacKay (D) R
7. Gibbons (D) W
8. Young, C. (R) W
9. Bilirakis (R) W
10. Ireland (R) W
11. Nelson (D) W
12. Lewis, T. (R) W
13. Mack (R) W
14. Mica (D) W
15. Shaw (R) W
16. Smith, L. (D) R
17. Lehman, W. (D) W
18. Pepper (D) R
19. Fascell (D) R

GEORGIA
1. Thomas, L. (D) W
2. Hatcher (D) W
3. Ray (D) W
4. Swindall (R) W
5. Fowler (D) A
6. Gingrich (R) W
7. Darden (D) W
8. Rowland (D) W
9. Jenkins (D) W
10. Barnard (D) W

HAWAII
1. Vacancy
2. Akaka (D) R

IDAHO
1. Craig (R) W
2. Stallings (D) R

ILLINOIS
1. Hayes (D) R
2. Savage (D) R
3. Russo (D) R
4. Vacancy
5. Lipinski (D) R
6. Hyde (R) W
7. Collins (D) R
8. Rostenkowski (D) R
9. Yates (D) R
10. Porter (R) W
11. Annunzio (D) R
12. Crane, P. (R) W
13. Fawell (R) W
14. Grotberg (R) A
15. Madigan (R) W
16. Martin, L. (R) W
17. Evans, L. (D) R
18. Michel (R) R
19. Bruce (D) R
20. Durbin (D) R
21. Price (D) R
22. Gray, K. (D) R

INDIANA
1. Visclosky (D) R
2. Sharp (D) W
3. Hiler (R) W
4. Coats (R) W
5. Hillis (R) W
6. Burton, D. (R) W
7. Myers (R) W
8. McCloskey (D) R
9. Hamilton (D) R
10. Jacobs (D) R

IOWA
1. Leach (R) W
2. Tauke (R) W
3. Evans, C. (R) W
4. Smith, N. (D) R
5. Lightfoot (R) W
6. Bedell (D) A

KANSAS
1. Roberts (R) W
2. Slattery (D) W
3. Meyers (R) W
4. Glickman (D) W
5. Whittaker (R) W

KENTUCKY
1. Hubbard (D) W
2. Natcher (D) R
3. Mazzoli (D) W
4. Snyder (R) W
5. Rogers (R) W
6. Hopkins (R) W
7. Perkins (D) R

LOUISIANA
1. Livingston (R) W
2. Boggs (D) R
3. Tauzin (D) W
4. Roemer (D) W
5. Huckaby (D) W
6. Moore (R) A
7. Breaux (D) A
8. Long (D) R

MAINE
1. McKernan (R) W
2. Snowe (R) R

MARYLAND
1. Dyson (D) W
2. Bentley (R) R
3. Mikulski (D) R
4. Holt (R) W
5. Hoyer (D) R
6. Byron (D) W
7. Mitchell (D) R
8. Barnes (D) A

MASSACHUSETTS
1. Conte (R) R
2. Boland (D) R
3. Early (D) R
4. Frank (D) R
5. Atkins (D) R
6. Mavroules (D) R
7. Markey (D) R
8. O'Neill (D) A
9. Moakley (D) R
10. Studds (D) R
11. Donnelly (D) R

MICHIGAN
1. Conyers (D) R
2. Pursell (R) W
3. Wolpe (D) R
4. Siljander (R) W
5. Henry (R) W
6. Carr (D) W
7. Kildee (D) R
8. Traxler (D) R
9. Vander Jagt (R) W
10. Schuette (R) W
11. Davis (R) R
12. Bonior (D) R
13. Crockett (D) R
14. Hertel (D) R
15. Ford, W. (D) R
16. Dingell (D) R
17. Levin (D) R
18. Broomfield (R) W

MINNESOTA
1. Penny (D) R
2. Weber (R) W
3. Frenzel (R) W
4. Vento (D) R
5. Sabo (D) R
6. Sikorski (D) R
7. Stangeland (R) W
8. Oberstar (D) R

MISSISSIPPI
1. Whitten (D) W
2. Franklin (R) W
3. Montgomery (D) W
4. Dowdy (D) R
5. Lott (R) W

MISSOURI
1. Clay (D) R
2. Young, R. (D) R
3. Gephardt (D) R
4. Skelton (D) W
5. Wheat (D) R
6. Coleman, E. (R) W
7. Taylor (R) W
8. Emerson (R) W
9. Volkmer (D) W

MONTANA
1. Williams, P. (D) R
2. Marlenee (R) W

NEBRASKA
1. Bereuter (R) W
2. Daub (R) W
3. Smith, V. (R) W

NEVADA
1. Reid (D) R
2. Vucanovich (R) W

NEW HAMPSHIRE
1. Smith, R. (R) W
2. Gregg (R) W

NEW JERSEY
1. Florio (D) R
2. Hughes (D) R
3. Howard (D) R
4. Smith, C. (R) R
5. Roukema (R) R
6. Dwyer (D) R
7. Rinaldo (R) R
8. Roe (D) R
9. Torricelli (D) R
10. Rodino (D) R
11. Gallo (R) W
12. Courter (R) W
13. Saxton (R) W
14. Guarini (D) R

NEW MEXICO
1. Lujan (R) W
2. Skeen (R) W
3. Richardson (D) R

NEW YORK
1. Carney (R) A
2. Downey (D) R
3. Mrazek (D) R
4. Lent (R) W
5. McGrath (R) R
6. Addabbo (D) R
7. Ackerman (D) R
8. Scheuer (D) R
9. Manton (D) R
10. Schumer (D) R
11. Towns (D) R
12. Owens (D) R
13. Solarz (D) R
14. Molinari (R) R
15. Green (R) W
16. Rangel (D) R
17. Weiss (D) R
18. Garcia (D) R
19. Biaggi (D) R
20. DioGuardi (R) R
21. Fish (R) R
22. Gilman (R) R
23. Stratton (D) W
24. Solomon (R) W
25. Boehlert (R) R
26. Martin, D. (R) W
27. Wortley (R) R
28. McHugh (D) R
29. Horton (R) R
30. Eckert (R) W
31. Kemp (R) W
32. LaFalce (D) R
33. Nowak (D) A
34. Lundine (D) A

NORTH CAROLINA
1. Jones, W. (D) W
2. Valentine (D) W
3. Whitley (D) W
4. Cobey (R) W
5. Neal (D) W
6. Coble (R) W
7. Rose (D) W
8. Hefner (D) W
9. McMillan (R) W
10. Vacancy
11. Hendon (R) W

NORTH DAKOTA
AL. Dorgan (D) W

OHIO
1. Luken (D) R
2. Gradison (R) W
3. Hall, T. (D) R
4. Oxley (R) W
5. Latta (R) W
6. McEwen (R) W
7. DeWine (R) W
8. Kindness (R) W
9. Kaptur (D) R
10. Miller, C. (R) W
11. Eckart (D) R
12. Kasich (R) W
13. Pease (D) R
14. Seiberling (D) R
15. Wylie (R) W
16. Regula (R) W
17. Traficant (D) R
18. Applegate (D) R
19. Feighan (D) R
20. Oakar (D) R
21. Stokes (D) R

OKLAHOMA
1. Jones, J. (D) W
2. Synar (D) W
3. Watkins (D) W
4. McCurdy (D) W
5. Edwards, M. (R) W
6. English (D) W

OREGON
1. AuCoin (D) R
2. Smith, R. (R) W
3. Wyden (D) R
4. Weaver (D) R
5. Smith, D. (R) W

PENNSYLVANIA
1. Foglietta (D) R
2. Gray (D) R
3. Borski (D) R
4. Kolter (D) R
5. Schulze (R) W
6. Yatron (D) R
7. Edgar (D) R
8. Kostmayer (D) R
9. Shuster (R) W
10. McDade (R) R
11. Kanjorski (D) R
12. Murtha (D) R
13. Coughlin (R) W
14. Coyne (D) R
15. Ritter (R) W
16. Walker (R) W
17. Gekas (R) W
18. Walgren (D) R
19. Goodling (R) W
20. Gaydos (D) R
21. Ridge (R) W
22. Murphy (D) R
23. Clinger (R) W

RHODE ISLAND
1. St Germain (D) R
2. Schneider (R) R

SOUTH CAROLINA
1. Hartnett (R) W
2. Spence (R) W
3. Derrick (D) W
4. Campbell (R) W
5. Spratt (D) R
6. Tallon (D) W

SOUTH DAKOTA
AL. Daschle (D) W

TENNESSEE
1. Quillen (R) W
2. Duncan (R) W
3. Lloyd (D) W
4. Cooper (D) W
5. Boner (D) R
6. Gordon (D) R
7. Sundquist (R) W
8. Jones, E. (D) W
9. Ford, H. (D) R

TEXAS
1. Chapman (D) W
2. Wilson (D) R
3. Bartlett (R) W
4. Hall, R. (D) W
5. Bryant (D) R
6. Barton (R) W
7. Archer (R) W
8. Fields (R) W
9. Brooks (D) R
10. Pickle (D) W
11. Leath (D) W
12. Wright (D) A
13. Boulter (R) W
14. Sweeney (R) W
15. De la Garza (D) W
16. Coleman, R. (D) R
17. Stenholm (D) W
18. Leland (D) R
19. Combest (R) W
20. Gonzalez (D) R
21. Loeffler (R) W
22. DeLay (R) W
23. Bustamante (D) R
24. Frost (D) R
25. Andrews, M. (D) W
26. Armey (R) W
27. Ortiz (D) W

UTAH
1. Hansen, J. (R) W
2. Monson (R) W
3. Nielson (R) W

VERMONT
AL. Jeffords (R) R

VIRGINIA
1. Bateman (R) W
2. Whitehurst (R) W
3. Bliley (R) W
4. Sisisky (D) W
5. Daniel (D) W
6. Olin (D) W
7. Slaughter (R) W
8. Parris (R) W
9. Boucher (D) R
10. Wolf (R) W

WASHINGTON
1. Miller, J. (R) W
2. Swift (D) R
3. Bonker (D) W
4. Morrison, S. (R) W
5. Foley (D) R
6. Dicks (D) W
7. Lowry (D) R
8. Chandler (R) R

WEST VIRGINIA
1. Mollohan (D) R
2. Staggers (D) R
3. Wise (D) R
4. Rahall (D) R

WISCONSIN
1. Aspin (D) R
2. Kastenmeier (D) R
3. Gunderson (R) A
4. Kleczka (D) R
5. Moody (D) R
6. Petri (R) W
7. Obey (D) R
8. Roth (R) W
9. Sensenbrenner (R) W

WYOMING
AL. Cheney (R) W

Trade reform battle shifts to Senate

By David L. Perlman

Labor's battle to bring U.S. exports and imports into closer balance is now focused on the Senate, where a broad-based trade bill the House passed last May by a veto-proof 295-115 margin is still awaiting action, and on the congressional elections in November.

That was the response of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to a 276-149 vote in the House that fell a slim eight votes short of overriding President Reagan's veto of import limitations on textiles, clothing, shoes and copper.

While the White House was hailing a presidential "victory," the actual vote demonstrated that support for strong action to save American jobs is rising, not receding.

Despite strong personal lobbying by the President, the Administration lost votes on the issue. When Reagan vetoed the bill last December, its supporters put off action on a motion to override because a two-thirds majority was clearly out of reach. The House had mustered only a 255-161 majority to pass the bill, 23 shy of the two-thirds mark.

The only cause for White House elation was that the heavy presidential pressure on Republican House members pulled away the handful of votes needed to sustain the veto.

The failure to override the veto "does not end the struggle," the Executive Council declared. At stake is "survival of the American textile and apparel industry," and "this fall's elections are the next battleground."

On the legislative front, the council called on the Senate to move ahead with comprehensive trade legislation along the lines of the bill the House passed in May.

It doesn't embrace all the measures the AFL-CIO has urged, but the council stressed that it provides some immediate relief from massive trade deficits and "lays the foundation for an effective national policy for years to come."

The Senate Finance Committee is considering trade legislation and the council statement urged that it include key provisions of the House bill that would:

- Require action to reduce trade deficits

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AFL-CIO news

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Dismal economic performance spurs demand for new course

Federation President Kirkland leads Executive Council discussion. From left, Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, newly elected Vice President Jay Mazur and Vice President Richard I. Kilroy.

Council stresses union role in shaping needed changes

By John M. Barry

Chicago—The "dismal economic performance" spawned by flawed Reagan Administration policies prompted the AFL-CIO Executive Council to renew its call for programs to improve the health and diversity of the American economy, and move the nation faster toward full employment.

"In the waning days of this Congress, there is still time to enact progressive tax reform and effective trade legislation," the council said in a statement adopted at its summer meeting here. As for the future, it stressed the role of union political action in educating members and their families on the issues, registering them as voters, and getting them out to vote on Election Day.

"The next Congress," the council declared, "must understand the critical problems facing the nation and be prepared to do much more."

The statement on the economy was one of a series focusing on national and international issues and trade union concerns. It was accompanied by specific calls for congressional enactment of equitable tax reform legislation and passage of the comprehensive trade measure now before the Senate.

In developments involving internal federation matters, the council:

- Noted the retirement of Sol Chaikin both as a vice president of the AFL-CIO and as president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, expressed its gratitude for his long service, and elected his successor as ILGWU president, Jay Mazur, to fill the vacant council seat.
- Received a report from President Lane Kirkland on the reorganization of the AFL-CIO Dept. of International Affairs, with Tom Kahn as director succeeding Irving Brown, who has stepped aside because of continuing health problems.
- Noted that a number of affiliated unions have instituted a new category of "associate" membership, in accordance with the recommendations of the council's report on "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," and approved a reduced per capita payment of 20 cents per month for such members.
- Rallied all-out support for members of the Steelworkers locked out by USX, the nation's largest steel producer, and approved creation of a council committee to coordinate that assistance.
- Approved the recent merger of the Railway Carmen with the Railway & Air-

Continued on Page 3

Reduced per capita set for associate members

Chicago—A reduced per capita payment of 20 cents per month was approved by the AFL-CIO Executive Council for a new category of "associate" members being mustered or expanded by a number of affiliated unions.

The council's action was taken on the recommendation of its Committee on the Future of Work, which noted that creation of the associate membership groups follows through on proposals in the landmark report on "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions."

That report, approved by the council at its February 1985 meeting, urged new approaches to union organization, including membership not necessarily tied to collective bargaining contracts.

These members receive specified benefits of the kind provided by the Union Privilege Benefit Programs and take part in educational and community activities of the sort long undertaken by retiree and auxiliary groups.

Over the past 18 months, this "associate member" concept has attracted much interest and attention, Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue noted in presenting the committee's latest recommendations.

Programs started

Associate programs have been approved by recent conventions of the Teachers, Ladies' Garment Workers and Office & Professional Employees and the executive board of the Service Employees.

"Like all other union members," the council noted, "associate members benefit from the AFL-CIO's legislative, political, research, educational and community service activities. A basic reason for the federation's development and initial support of the Union Privilege Benefit Programs is to stimulate associate memberships."

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98/6/8

Panel formed to mobilize aid for locked-out Steelworkers

Chicago—The Executive Council called on affiliated unions to help the Steelworkers win a fair settlement with USX Corp., where more than 22,000 USWA members at 25 plants have been locked out.

Although the union offered to keep the mills running and continue working under the terms of the expired agreement, USX refused and began shutdown procedures, turning away USWA members who reported for their shifts before the pact expired at midnight on Aug. 1.

The lockout affects another 23,000 USWA members who were laid off by the steelmaker earlier this year.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said the federation was "ready to do anything that might be requested of us" to help the locked-out workers.

A committee of four federation vice presidents was formed to work with USWA President Lynn Williams and offer assistance from the entire trade union movement, Kirkland said.

The council contrasted USX bargaining tactics with the agreements reached between the USWA and five other steel producers in the current round of industry negotiations. It noted that those employers recognized the union's right to review financial records and joined the USWA campaign to save the domestic steel industry. USX refused on both counts.

The council statement also condemned USX's use of "strong-arm tactics" to force "unwarranted and unjust wage reductions" on its workforce and urged affiliates and central bodies to support the locked-out workers.

The four-member committee recommended that each affiliate appoint a coordinator to work with the USWA on the

Continued on Page 8

Sanctions demanded to dismantle apartheid

Chicago—Congress needs to bring "the full weight of economic sanctions to bear on the South African government" to force an end to apartheid—racial policies that deny human and trade union rights to that nation's overwhelmingly black majority, the Executive Council stressed.

The House has already passed sweeping sanctions and a more moderate bill is now pending in the Senate. The federation supports the total crackdown on Pretoria, the council said, as it urged that action be taken "while there is still time" to head off an explosive confrontation in that racially divided nation.

In a sharply worded statement, the council branded the Reagan Administration's tolerant policy toward South Africa "utterly bankrupt" and accused President Reagan of "sheer hypocrisy" in opposing the use of sanctions to end the white minority government's racist policies.

The White House policy, the federation said, "alienates our real friends in South Africa and sustains in the Botha regime the deadly illusion that apartheid can be indefinitely prolonged by force."

Pretoria has responded to the President's so-called "quiet diplomacy" not with reforms but with "intensified repression" under the guise of a "state of emergency," the statement noted.

As to Reagan's claim that sanctions would inflict hardship on black workers, the federation emphasized that these workers are "already experiencing the violence, exploitation and degredation that are inherent in apartheid while the President, vainly courting their tormentors, counsels endless patience."

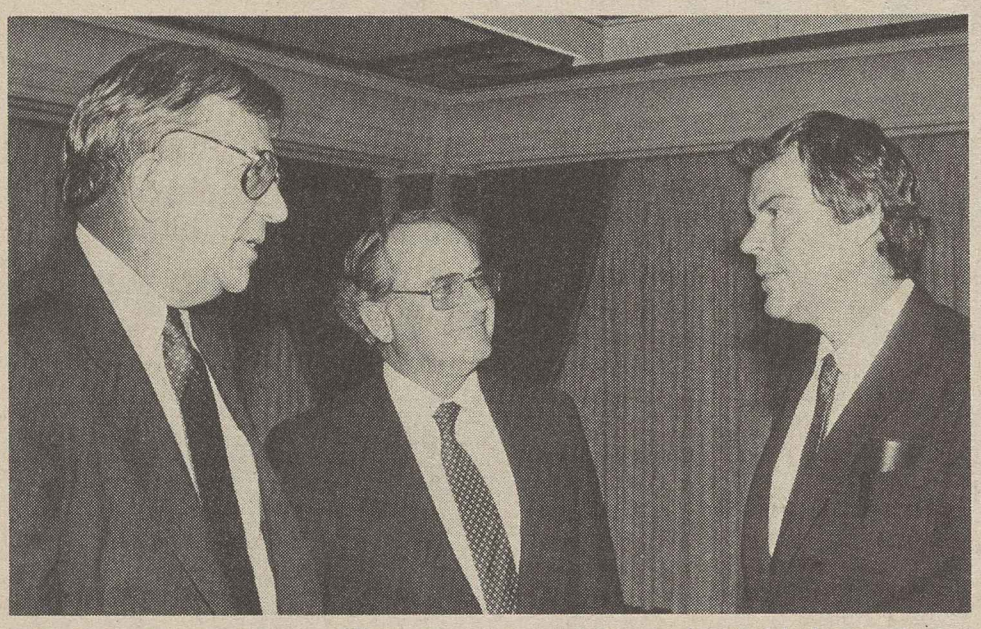
The council reaffirmed its support for the position of black trade union leaders in South Africa, who told Federation President Lane Kirkland and other leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions who visited Johannesburg last month that they want "strong and effective economic sanctions" to force an end to apartheid.

"If the voices of the black trade union movement are ignored," the statement warned Congress, "the prospects for a peaceful dismantling of apartheid will fade."

South Africa's unions have come under increasing fire from the Botha regime because of their strong stand against its racist policies. More than 250 trade union officials "are being held in detention behind an iron curtain of secrecy," the council noted, and some have been "the victims of brutal beatings and torture."

Despite the Botha government's imposition of strict censorship on the news media, civil rights organizations based at Johannesburg's University of Witwaterstrand disclosed that an additional 2,700 rank-and-file union members were rounded up in mass arrests for taking part in work stoppages to protest apartheid.

The council warned Congress that if the United States and the other Western democracies fail to impose effective sanctions, "they will lose their credibility among the forces for democratic change in South Africa and they will lose their ability to influence the course of events there."



AFL-CIO Vice Presidents Albert Shanker and James Hatfield chat with the federation's newly appointed International Affairs Director Tom Kahn.

Tom Kahn succeeds Brown in international affairs post

Chicago—Tom Kahn has been named to succeed Irving J. Brown as the AFL-CIO's international affairs director, Federation President Lane Kirkland announced.

Brown, 74, who headed the Dept. of International Affairs since 1982 and has more than four decades of international service for the labor movement, resigned for health reasons. He will become senior adviser to Kirkland on international affairs.

Kahn, 47, has been an assistant to the AFL-CIO president for the past 14 years.

At the same time, Kirkland announced that James Baker, 32, the federation's deputy European representative for the past four years, will succeed Brown as European representative and will head the AFL-CIO's Paris office.

Brown spent his early career organizing in the automobile and metal industries.

He was the labor representative on the War Production Board during World War II and in 1945 he became the AFL's European representative. He continued to serve in that post following the AFL-CIO merger in 1955.

Brown was the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' delegate to the United Nations in New York from 1962 to 1965, was the first director of the federation's African-American Labor Center, and has served for more than a decade as U.S. worker delegate to the International Labor Organization.

Kahn, a member of the Teachers, assisted A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin in organizing the 1958 and 1959 youth marches for integrated schools and the historic 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

From 1964 to 1971, Kahn was executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and in 1974 he was elected chairman of the league's board of directors. He also serves on the boards of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Frontlash, the International Rescue Committee, the Committee in Support of Solidarity and several other human rights organizations.

Baker joined the AFL-CIO staff as a field representative in November 1975. A member of the Auto Workers, he was a Communications Workers representative and a staff member of the Oregon AFL-CIO before joining the federation staff.

In January 1979, Baker was appointed director of Region VI.

Enforce voting rights, Administration urged

Chicago—The Reagan Administration should halt its efforts to "undermine the guarantees" of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Executive Council declared, and instead "vigorously enforce the law.'

On the 21st anniversary of enactment of the landmark legislation which struck down "artificial and unworthy barriers" blocking minority access to polling booths, the federation hailed the measure for providing "true equality to all our citizens."

Labor was one of the prime movers in putting the law on the statute books, the council recalled, and will continue to fight Administration efforts to negate the law.

All-out fight vowed to preserve federal prevailing wage laws

Chicago—Prevailing wage laws governing federally funded contracts are needed to protect communities as well as workers from "irresponsible employers," the Executive Council said.

Proposals to weaken the Davis-Bacon Act's jurisdiction over construction contracts and to virtually demolish the Service Contract Act were included in a Defense Dept. authorization bill that was being debated in the Senate while the council was in session.

If adopted, service contracts of less than $1 million or involving fewer than 26 workers would be excluded from Service Contract Act coverage. Maritime contracts of any size would be entirely excluded. The present threshold for coverage is contracts of more than $2,000 involving more than five workers.

The proposed changes would exclude 90 percent of workers presently covered, many of whom are women and minorities, the council noted.

Another provision of the Senate bill would raise the Davis-Bacon Act threshold from contracts of over $2,000 to $250,000.

Pay protection

Prevailing wage laws are intended to prevent federal contracts from always going to employers who pay the lowest wages and provide the least benefits.

Both the Davis-Bacon Act and the Service Contract Act have already been weakened by regulatory changes imposed by the Reagan Administration. But that has not stopped efforts to repeal the laws, directly or through sweeping exemptions.

The Senate Armed Services Committee has repeatedly tried to trim back Davis-Bacon coverage and this year mounted an all-out assault on the Service Contract Act by adopting amendments proposed by Senators Gordon J. Humphrey (R-N.H.) and Phil Gramm (R-Tex.).

The Service Contract Act provides that, if employees negotiate a labor agreement with their employer, a successor employer may not undercut the wages and benefits. That key provision would be repealed by the Senate bill, the council noted.

"Without this protection," the council warned, "any bidder could undercut the negotiated wages and benefits, take the contract away from the fair employer and displace the workers."

It termed the change in the Service Contract Act proposed by the Senate committee "a direct attack on the right to organize and bargain collectively."

BULLETIN

The Senate defeated by a decisive 62-34 vote an attempt to destroy the Service Contract Act by exempting contracts of less than $1 million or involving fewer than 26 workers.

But it failed, on a 51-44 vote, to delete a provision of the Defense Dept. authorization bill excluding construction contracts of under $250,000 from Davis-Bacon Act coverage.

Both prevailing wage laws are important to maintaining decent labor standards, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert McGlotten said. He welcomed the strong Senate vote against the most damaging of the anti-labor provisions and said the AFL-CIO will press the House to hold firm against any weakening of Davis-Bacon protections.

Jay Mazur elected to council, Chaikin honored for service

Chicago—The Executive Council gave a warm "thank you" to Sol Chaikin for more than a decade of distinguished service as an AFL-CIO vice president, and named Jay Mazur to replace him.

Mazur was elected president of the Ladies' Garment Workers at the union's convention in June to succeed Chaikin, who retired at the age of 68 after 45 years as an ILGWU organizer and officer.

The Executive Council resolution hailed Chaikin as "an eloquent advocate of the lowest-paid, the newest-arrived and the least privileged among American workers." The garment industry has been a traditional entry into the workforce for generations of immigrants, first from Europe and then from Latin America and Asia.

It expressed the appreciation of his colleagues for Chaikin's diligence as an advocate of worker rights in this country and around the world through service as a delegate to the International Labor Organization and as a United States representative to the commission to review the Helsinki Agreement on international human rights.

Mazur, 54, was secretary-treasurer of the ILGWU before his election as the union's president.

He has been a part of the union since the age of 18, when he worked on organizing and educational programs of Dressmakers Local 22 in New York. His formal education was completed in night courses, leading to a bachelor's degree in Industrial Relations from the City University of New York and a master's degree from Rutgers University.

After completing the ILGWU Training Institute in 1955, he moved to increasingly responsible positions in the union. In 1977, Mazur was elected manager of Local 23-25 in New York, the largest in the union. There he developed a multilingual information program that produced publications and educational materials in English, Spanish, Chinese and Korean. Mazur also helped establish the pioneering Garment Industry Day Care Center of Chinatown for the children of union members.

He was elected ILGWU secretary-treasurer in 1983 and serves on the executive councils of both the New York State AFL-CIO and the Industrial Union Dept.

Labor repression in Chile assailed, aid cutoff backed

Chicago—The Executive Council called for a cutoff of American aid and a moratorium on international loans to Chile unless the military dictatorship agrees to negotiate with labor, religious and political organizations on a peaceful "transition to democracy."

The council condemned the Pinochet government for its "routine denial of basic human and trade union rights" in its 13-year rule, during which thousands have been "arrested, tortured, exiled and murdered" by the military authorities.

The statement was particularly critical of the dictatorship's "outrageous repression of trade union rights." It reaffirmed the federation's "total support" for the Confederation of Democratic Workers and the ICFTU Liaison Committee within the National Workers Command.

The council said it was a "masquerade" for the Pinochet government to represent itself as "the only alternative to communism in Chile."

At the same time, it was sharply critical of Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and other elements of the far-right in this country for aiding and abetting the Pinochet regime, charging that they "bear responsibility for the continuing atrocities."

The federation noted that Catholic Cardinal Fresno provided the impetus in 1985 for a 21-point National Accord signed by Chile's democratic political parties and endorsed by both national labor centers. It offers a reasonable blueprint for a transition to democracy," the council said.

Latin-American aid

Bradley plan endorsed to aid debtor nations

Chicago—A proposal by Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) to relieve the crushing burden of international debts borne by developing countries, particularly in Latin America, was strongly endorsed by the AFL-CIO.

The Bradley plan would cut the interest rates on international loans by three percentage points and cancel 9 percent of the principal they owe over three years to help these countries revitalize their lagging economies.

This "promising new beginning"—provided it is "coupled with guarantees of human and worker rights"—is vital to end the "threat to political democracy and to the world economy" posed by the debts piled up by the developing countries, the Executive Council asserted.

The federation sharply criticized the International Monetary Fund for its debt restructuring program which imposes economic austerity and currency devaluation on the debtor nations. This scheme adds to unemployment, hurts workers and farmers and saps consumer purchasing power, the council declared.

That policy doesn't make sense "either morally or economically," the statement said, and it fuels "explosive political discontent and undermines the fragile democracies our government should be encouraging."

The IMF plan also forces debtor nations to restrict their imports and increase their exports—actions, the council asserted, that "aggravate the U.S. trade deficit while doing little to promote economic growth in the debtor nations."

While the present IMF approach is bad, the council went on, the proposal by Treasury Sec. James A. Baker is "even worse." It would make $29 billion in new loans available to 15 countries that already have an aggregate foreign debt of $437 billion. It conditions assistance on the requirement that debtor nations sell off public enterprises, slash social budgets and adopt other supply-side policies.

Burden for workers

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told a press conference that these strictures would add to "the burdens borne by working people" in those countries because it would mean holding down wages that are already at "below-subsistence levels."

The council noted that six months after Baker unveiled his plan, private banks have demonstrated "little interest," and warned that if the multilateral public banks participate in the Baker plan alone, it will "amount to a bailout of the private banks."

In supporting Bradley's proposal, the statement noted that it recognizes the need for involving European and Japanese creditors, as well as U.S. banks, in any debt relief plan. The forthcoming round of talks under the General Agreement on Tariff & Trade "offers an opportunity to deal with the twin problems of international debt and international trade," the council said.

The federation called for a ban on loans to countries that violate internationally recognized human and workers' rights as defined by the International Labor Organization. These include:

- The right of free association.
- The right to organize and bargain collectively.
- A prohibition against forced or compulsory labor.

"In the absence of such rights," the council declared, "labor exploitation prevents balanced economic growth in debtor nations, making them poor credit risks and bad trading partners for the United States and other countries."

Miami Paper scored on union-busting drive

Chicago—The Executive Council condemned the union-busting tactics of the Miami Paper Corp. of West Carrollton, Ohio, and its refusal to negotiate a "fair and decent contract" with the Paperworkers.

After the UPIU Local 19 contract expired in April 1985, the company imposed its "final offer" calling for massive wage cuts and forced overtime, including 16-hour double shifts and seven-day weeks. It eliminated premium pay for weekend work, slashed vacations and holidays, ended nearly all seniority provisions and sharply hiked employee health insurance payments, the council noted.

UPIU members continued to work for three months under the horrid conditions imposed by the company, but finally struck over concern for their safety and health because the company "failed to correct dangerous working conditions which led to a mounting toll of serious injuries," the council noted. Since then, Miami Paper has hired "permanent strikebreakers" and refused attempts to reopen negotiations.

The council urged all affiliates to contribute to the Local 19 Strike Fund, c/o United Paperworkers International Union, P.O. Box 1475, Nashville, Tenn. 37211.

Kirkland fields questions at a press conference in Chicago.

House-Senate tax conferees urged to resolve differences

Chicago—Both the House and Senate tax bills include reforms that the AFL-CIO has long urged and a combination of the best provisions would be an important step towards tax fairness, the Executive Council said.

The council noted that both bills would reduce loopholes that enable wealthy individuals and corporations to avoid taxes. It urged a House-Senate conference committee to reconcile differences between the two versions by:

- Adopting a progressive four-bracket rate structure similar to the House version, coupled with the Senate provision eliminating the tax preference for capital gains.

That combination would ground the tax system firmly on the principle of ability to pay, the council stressed.

- Treating employee business expenses the same as the business expenses of corporations and the self-employed.

It urged retaining the existing deductions for union and work-related professional dues, uniforms and other special clothing, safety equipment and small tools, and agent fees.

- Keeping the present method of taxing the pensions of postal and public employees after they have received an amount equal to the already taxed contributions they made to their pension plans.
- Retaining the deduction for state and local sales taxes contained in the House-passed bill.
- Eliminating the "transition rule" in the Senate bill that provides a multi-million dollar tax break for construction and operation of a Toyota Motor Co. plant in Georgetown, Ky. The council termed the special treatment for Toyota "particularly objectionable in the light of the company's disdain for the basic rights of U.S. workers."
- Increasing corporate taxes by $140 billion in line with the House proposal "as a first step to assure that corporations pay their fair share of taxes."

The council praised provisions of both bills that take the poor off the income tax rolls and provide a minimum tax on corporations. It viewed this as a response "to the need to shift tax burdens away from those Americans who have been bearing far more than their fair share."

It welcomed also the fact that both the House and Senate rejected "attempts to tax workers' life support benefits and to end the deduction for state and local income and property taxes."

UAW boycott backed against Harper & Row

Chicago—Citing the refusal of Harper & Row Publishing Inc. "to treat its employees with respect and dignity," the Executive Council endorsed a boycott of the company's publications until a fair contract is reached with the Auto Workers.

Professional and clerical workers at the publishing house voted in 1983 to be represented by the UAW District 65, the council noted. But Harper & Row has refused to bargain in good faith for a first contract, resorting to "shabby tactics clearly intended to stall bargaining as a way to bust the union."

The council criticized the publisher's "unacceptable demands," including a pay system that would parcel out raises "at management's whim" instead of a fair, across-the-board wage structure.

Council calls for steps to revive 'dismal' economy

Continued from Page 1

line Clerks and the merger of the Electronic Workers and the Furniture Workers, which is scheduled to become final at conventions of those unions next month.

- Endorsed a boycott of Harper & Row Publishing Inc. for its refusal to bargain with Auto Workers District 65.
- Condemned the union-busting tactics of the Miami Paper Corp. in urging affiliates to contribute to Paperworkers Local 19 strike fund.

In the international area, the council heard a detailed report by Kirkland on his recent trip to South Africa and renewed the federation's call for strong U.S. sanctions to help force the dismantling of that country's racist policy of apartheid. Other statements condemned both the Sandinista government in Nicaragua for destroying the last vestiges of press freedom there in shutting down the newspaper La Prensa, and the Pinochet government's military dictatorship in Chile for its repression of trade unionists.

Other actions

The council also endorsed the proposals of Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) for resolving the debt crisis confronting developing nations, voiced strong opposition to efforts in Congress to destroy the effectiveness of the worker protections set forth in the Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts, and hailed the 21st anniversary of the Voting Rights Act with a call for vigorous enforcement of its provisions.

Details of these and other council actions are covered in stories that appear elsewhere in this issue of the News.

The statement on the national economy cited the rising level of concern among economists and public figures over the sluggish pace of growth. It noted these disturbing characteristics of the current economic slowdown:

- The continuing high levels of joblessness, with 8.2 million Americans officially classified as unemployed, another 1.1 million discouraged workers who have given up looking for non-existent jobs, and another 5.4 million forced into part-time work.
- The decline of the buying power of average weekly earnings to a level below that of 1980.
- The highest level of farm bankruptcies since the 1930s.
- Stagnation of the gross national product, the nation's total output of goods and services, as evidenced by its anemic growth of 1.1 percent in the second quarter.
- A worsening maldistribution of wealth, with the richest one-half of 1 percent of the population owning 35 percent and the top 10 percent owning more than 70 percent of the personal wealth in the country.
- A tripling of the nation's international trade deficit and a doubling of the federal budget deficit over the past five years as a result of the Reagan Administration's policies.
- Declining investment in new plant and equipment and the deepening underutilization of existing industrial plants.

"President Reagan's rhetoric cannot conceal this dismal economic performance," the council declared.

In the course of its three-day meeting, the council received committee progress reports from Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue on the Future of Work, Vice Presidents John T. Joyce on Investment of Pension Funds, Wayne E. Glenn on State & Local Central Bodies, John J. Sweeney on Health Care and on Organizing, Gerald McEntee on the Federal Budget and on the Harvard Trade Union Program, Owen Bieber on the Anti-Apartheid Boycott of Shell Products, William W. Winpisinger on Retirees, Robert Georgine on Restrictive Legislation, and Frederick O'Neal on the A. Philip Randolph Memorial.

Wide range of subjects

Other reports were presented by Donahue and Vice President Lynn Williams on the recent satellite videoconferences held by the federation and the Steelworkers, and by Donahue on the operations of the new organizing disputes plan with respect to an initial series of cases. In addition, Vice President Joyce Miller described plans for the observance of the 10th anniversary of the Coalition of Labor Union Women at CLUW's forthcoming convention. And Vice President Albert Shanker urged labor support for Project Literacy U.S.—PLUS—a public awareness campaign on the problem of adult illiteracy to be launched next month by the ABC and PBS television networks.

The third-quarter financial report of the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust was presented by James Houston, a member of the HIT executive board, and Ray Denison, head of the Union Privilege Benefit Programs, reported that 25 unions with memberships totaling 6 million have signed up for the union credit card program.

Headquarters reports

Headquarters department reports were given by Legislative Director Robert McGlotten, Economic Research Director Rudy Oswald, COPE Director John Perkins, Education Director Dorothy Shields, Organization & Field Services Director Charles McDonald and Larry Kirkman, director of the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

The council approved contributions to the National Planning Association, NAACP, League for Industrial Democracy, Jewish Labor Committee, Center for the Study of Social Policy, Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, United Negro College Fund, Citizens for Tax Justice, Network, the Navy Memorial, Consumer Energy Council, Economic Policy Council of the United Nations Association USA, La Prensa Employees Support Fund, Project Literacy U.S., and Supporters of the National Endowment for Democracy.

The next meeting of the Executive Council is scheduled for Feb. 16-20, 1987, at Bal Harbour, Fla.

Rollcall on overriding import-curb veto

The AFL-CIO strongly supported the attempt in the House to override President Reagan's veto of a job-saving bill to curb textile, clothing, shoe and copper imports. The 276-149 vote to override was eight short of the two-thirds needed.

Right votes (R) to override were cast by 205 Democrats and 71 Republicans. Voting wrong (W) were 43 Democrats and 106 Republicans.

Numerals show congressional districts. A—absent; PR—paired right; PW—paired wrong; P—present but not voting.

ALABAMA

1.	Callahan (R)	R
2.	Dickinson (R)	R
3.	Nichols (D)	R
4.	Bevill (D)	R
5.	Flippo (D)	R
6.	Erdreich (D)	R
7.	Shelby (D)	R

ALASKA

AL	Young (R)	W

ARIZONA

1.	McCain (R)	W
2.	Udall (D)	R
3.	Stump (R)	W
4.	Rudd (R)	W
5.	Kolbe (R)	W

ARKANSAS

1.	Alexander (D)	R
2.	Robinson (D)	R
3.	Hammerschmidt (R)	R
4.	Anthony (D)	R

CALIFORNIA

1.	Bosco (D)	R
2.	Chappie (R)	W
3.	Matsui (D)	W
4.	Fazio (D)	R
5.	Burton (D)	R
6.	Boxer (D)	R
7.	Miller (D)	W
8.	Dellums (D)	R
9.	Stark (D)	W
10.	Edwards (D)	R
11.	Lantos (D)	R
12.	Zschau (R)	W
13.	Mineta (D)	W
14.	Shumway (R)	W
15.	Coelho (D)	R
16.	Panetta (D)	W
17.	Pashayan (R)	R
18.	Lehman (D)	R
19.	Lagomarsino (R)	W
20.	Thomas (R)	R
21.	Fiedler (R)	W
22.	Moorhead (R)	W
23.	Beilenson (D)	W
24.	Waxman (D)	W
25.	Roybal (D)	R
26.	Berman (D)	W
27.	Levine (D)	W
28.	Dixon (D)	R
29.	Hawkins (D)	R
30.	Martinez (D)	R
31.	Dymally (D)	R
32.	Anderson (D)	W
33.	Dreier (R)	W
34.	Torres (D)	R
35.	Lewis (R)	W
36.	Brown (D)	R
37.	McCandless (R)	W
38.	Dornan (R)	W
39.	Dannemeyer (R)	W
40.	Badham (R)	W
41.	Lowery (R)	W
42.	Lungren (R)	W
43.	Packard (R)	W
44.	Bates (D)	R
45.	Hunter (R)	R

COLORADO

1.	Schroeder (D)	R
2.	Wirth (D)	W
3.	Strang (R)	W
4.	Brown (R)	W
5.	Kramer (R)	W
6.	Schaefer (R)	W

CONNECTICUT

1.	Kennelly (D)	R
2.	Gejdenson (D)	R
3.	Morrison (D)	R
4.	McKinney (R)	R
5.	Rowland (R)	W
6.	Johnson (R)	W

DELAWARE

AL	Carper (D)	R

FLORIDA

1.	Hutto (D)	R
2.	Fuqua (D)	R
3.	Bennett (D)	W
4.	Chappell (D)	R
5.	McCollum (R)	W
6.	MacKay (D)	W
7.	Gibbons (D)	W
8.	Young (R)	W
9.	Bilirakis (R)	R
10.	Ireland (R)	W
11.	Nelson (D)	W
12.	Lewis (R)	W
13.	Mack (R)	W
14.	Mica (D)	W
15.	Shaw (R)	W
16.	Smith (D)	R
17.	Lehman (D)	R
18.	Pepper (D)	PR
19.	Fascell (D)	R

GEORGIA

1.	Thomas (D)	R
2.	Hatcher (D)	R
3.	Ray (D)	R
4.	Swindall (R)	R
5.	Fowler (D)	R
6.	Gingrich (R)	R
7.	Darden (D)	R
8.	Rowland (D)	R
9.	Jenkins (D)	R
10.	Barnard (D)	R

HAWAII

1.	Vacancy	
2.	Akaka (D)	W

IDAHO

1.	Craig (R)	W
2.	Stallings (D)	W

ILLINOIS

1.	Hayes (D)	R
2.	Savage (D)	R
3.	Russo (D)	R
4.	Vacancy	
5.	Lipinski (D)	R
6.	Hyde (R)	W
7.	Collins (D)	R
8.	Rostenkowski (D)	W
9.	Yates (D)	R
10.	Porter (R)	W
11.	Annunzio (D)	R
12.	Crane (R)	W
13.	Fawell (R)	W
14.	Grotberg (R)	A
15.	Madigan (R)	W
16.	Martin (R)	W
17.	Evans (D)	R
18.	Michel (R)	W
19.	Bruce (D)	R
20.	Durbin (D)	R
21.	Price (D)	R
22.	Gray (D)	R

INDIANA

1.	Visclosky (D)	R
2.	Sharp (D)	R
3.	Hiler (R)	W
4.	Coats (R)	W
5.	Hillis (R)	R
6.	Burton (R)	W
7.	Myers (R)	W
8.	McCloskey (D)	R
9.	Hamilton (D)	W
10.	Jacobs (D)	R

IOWA

1.	Leach (R)	W
2.	Tauke (R)	W
3.	Evans (R)	W
4.	Smith (D)	W
5.	Lightfoot (R)	W
6.	Bedell (D)	P

KANSAS

1.	Roberts (R)	W
2.	Slattery (D)	W
3.	Meyers (R)	W
4.	Glickman (D)	W
5.	Whittaker (R)	W

KENTUCKY

1.	Hubbard (D)	R
2.	Natcher (D)	R
3.	Mazzoli (D)	W
4.	Snyder (R)	W
5.	Rogers (R)	R
6.	Hopkins (R)	R
7.	Perkins (D)	R

LOUISIANA

1.	Livingston (R)	W
2.	Boggs (D)	R
3.	Tauzin (D)	R
4.	Roemer (D)	R
5.	Huckaby (D)	R
6.	Moore (R)	A
7.	Breaux (D)	R
8.	Long (D)	PR

MAINE

1.	McKernan (R)	R
2.	Snowe (R)	R

MARYLAND

1.	Dyson (D)	R
2.	Bentley (R)	R
3.	Mikulski (D)	R
4.	Holt (R)	W
5.	Hoyer (D)	R
6.	Byron (D)	R
7.	Mitchell (D)	R
8.	Barnes (D)	R

MASSACHUSETTS

1.	Conte (R)	R
2.	Boland (D)	R
3.	Early (D)	R
4.	Frank (D)	R
5.	Atkins (D)	R
6.	Mavroules (D)	R
7.	Markey (D)	R
8.	O'Neill (D) Speaker	R
9.	Moakley (D)	R
10.	Studds (D)	R
11.	Donnelly (D)	R

MICHIGAN

1.	Conyers (D)	R
2.	Pursell (R)	W
3.	Wolpe (D)	R
4.	Siljander (R)	A
5.	Henry (R)	R
6.	Carr (D)	R
7.	Kildee (D)	R
8.	Traxler (D)	R
9.	Vander Jagt (R)	W
10.	Schuette (R)	R
11.	Davis (R)	R
12.	Bonior (D)	R
13.	Crockett (D)	R
14.	Hertel (D)	R
15.	Ford (D)	R
16.	Dingell (D)	R
17.	Levin (D)	R
18.	Broomfield (R)	W

MINNESOTA

1.	Penny (D)	W
2.	Weber (R)	W
3.	Frenzel (R)	W
4.	Vento (D)	R
5.	Sabo (D)	R
6.	Sikorski (D)	R
7.	Stangeland (R)	W
8.	Oberstar (D)	R

MISSISSIPPI

1.	Whitten (D)	R
2.	Franklin (R)	R
3.	Montgomery (D)	R
4.	Dowdy (D)	R
5.	Lott (R)	R

MISSOURI

1.	Clay (D)	R
2.	Young (D)	R
3.	Gephardt (D)	R
4.	Skelton (D)	R
5.	Wheat (D)	R
6.	Coleman (R)	R
7.	Taylor (R)	R
8.	Emerson (R)	R
9.	Volkmer (D)	R

MONTANA

1.	Williams (D)	R
2.	Marlenee (R)	W

NEBRASKA

1.	Bereuter (R)	W
2.	Daub (R)	W
3.	Smith (R)	W

NEVADA

1.	Reid (D)	R
2.	Vucanovich (R)	W

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1.	Smith (R)	R
2.	Gregg (R)	R

NEW JERSEY

1.	Florio (D)	R
2.	Hughes (D)	R
3.	Howard (D)	R
4.	Smith (R)	R
5.	Roukema (R)	R
6.	Dwyer (D)	R
7.	Rinaldo (R)	R
8.	Roe (D)	R
9.	Torricelli (D)	R
10.	Rodino (D)	R
11.	Gallo (R)	W
12.	Courter (R)	W
13.	Saxton (R)	W
14.	Guarini (D)	R

NEW MEXICO

1.	Lujan (R)	W
2.	Skeen (R)	R
3.	Richardson (D)	R

NEW YORK

1.	Carney (R)	W
2.	Downey (D)	W
3.	Mrazek (D)	R
4.	Lent (R)	W
5.	McGrath (R)	R
6.	Waldon (D)	R
7.	Ackerman (D)	R
8.	Scheuer (D)	R
9.	Manton (D)	R
10.	Schumer (D)	W
11.	Towns (D)	R
12.	Owens (D)	R
13.	Solarz (D)	W
14.	Molinari (R)	R
15.	Green (R)	W
16.	Rangel (D)	R
17.	Weiss (D)	R
18.	Garcia (D)	R
19.	Biaggi (D)	R
20.	DioGuardi (R)	R
21.	Fish (R)	R
22.	Gilman (R)	R
23.	Stratton (D)	R
24.	Solomon (R)	R
25.	Boehlert (R)	R
26.	Martin (R)	R
27.	Wortley (R)	W
28.	McHugh (D)	W
29.	Horton (R)	R
30.	Eckert (R)	W
31.	Kemp (R)	W
32.	LaFalce (D)	W
33.	Nowak (D)	R
34.	Lundine (D)	R

NORTH CAROLINA

1.	Jones (D)	R
2.	Valentine (D)	R
3.	Whitley (D)	R
4.	Cobey (R)	R
5.	Neal (D)	R
6.	Coble (R)	R
7.	Rose (D)	R
8.	Hefner (D)	R
9.	McMillan (R)	R
10.	Vacancy	
11.	Hendon (R)	R

NORTH DAKOTA

AL	Dorgan (D)	W

OHIO

1.	Luken (D)	W
2.	Gradison (R)	W
3.	Hall (D)	R
4.	Oxley (R)	W
5.	Latta (R)	W
6.	McEwen (R)	W
7.	DeWine (R)	W
8.	Kindness (R)	R
9.	Kaptur (D)	R
10.	Miller (R)	R
11.	Eckart (D)	R
12.	Kasich (R)	W
13.	Pease (D)	W
14.	Seiberling (D)	W
15.	Wylie (R)	W
16.	Regula (R)	R
17.	Traficant (D)	R
18.	Applegate (D)	R
19.	Feighan (D)	R
20.	Oakar (D)	R
21.	Stokes (D)	R

OKLAHOMA

1.	Jones (D)	R
2.	Synar (D)	R
3.	Watkins (D)	R
4.	McCurdy (D)	R
5.	Edwards (R)	W
6.	English (D)	R

OREGON

1.	AuCoin (D)	W
2.	Smith, Robert (R)	W
3.	Wyden (D)	W
4.	Weaver (D)	R
5.	Smith, Denny (R)	R

PENNSYLVANIA

1.	Foglietta (D)	R
2.	Gray (D)	R
3.	Borski (D)	R
4.	Kolter (D)	R
5.	Schulze (R)	R
6.	Yatron (D)	R
7.	Edgar (D)	R
8.	Kostmayer (D)	R
9.	Shuster (R)	R
10.	McDade (R)	R
11.	Kanjorski (D)	R
12.	Murtha (D)	R
13.	Coughlin (R)	R
14.	Coyne (D)	R
15.	Ritter (R)	R
16.	Walker (R)	W
17.	Gekas (R)	W
18.	Walgren (D)	R
19.	Goodling (R)	R
20.	Gaydos (D)	R
21.	Ridge (R)	R
22.	Murphy (D)	R
23.	Clinger (R)	R

RHODE ISLAND

1.	St Germain (D)	R
2.	Schneider (R)	R

SOUTH CAROLINA

1.	Hartnett (R)	R
2.	Spence (R)	R
3.	Derrick (D)	R
4.	Campbell (R)	R
5.	Spratt (D)	R
6.	Tallon (D)	R

SOUTH DAKOTA

AL	Daschle (D)	W

TENNESSEE

1.	Quillen (R)	R
2.	Duncan (R)	R
3.	Lloyd (D)	R
4.	Cooper (D)	R
5.	Boner (D)	R
6.	Gordon (D)	R
7.	Sundquist (R)	R
8.	Jones (D)	R
9.	Ford (D)	R

TEXAS

1.	Chapman (D)	R
2.	Wilson (D)	R
3.	Bartlett (R)	W
4.	Hall (D)	R
5.	Bryant (D)	R
6.	Barton (R)	W
7.	Archer (R)	W
8.	Fields (R)	W
9.	Brooks (D)	R
10.	Pickle (D)	W
11.	Leath (D)	R
12.	Wright (D)	R
13.	Boulter (R)	W
14.	Sweeney (R)	R
15.	de la Garza (D)	R
16.	Coleman (D)	R
17.	Stenholm (D)	R
18.	Leland (D)	R
19.	Combest (R)	R
20.	Gonzalez (D)	R
21.	Loeffler (R)	R
22.	DeLay (R)	W
23.	Bustamante (D)	R
24.	Frost (D)	R
25.	Andrews (D)	R
26.	Armey (R)	W
27.	Ortiz (D)	R

UTAH

1.	Hansen (R)	W
2.	Monson (R)	W
3.	Nielson (R)	W

VERMONT

AL	Jeffords (R)	R

VIRGINIA

1.	Bateman (R)	W
2.	Whitehurst (R)	W
3.	Bliley (R)	R
4.	Sisisky (D)	R
5.	Daniel (D)	R
6.	Olin (D)	R
7.	Slaughter (R)	R
8.	Parris (R)	R
9.	Boucher (D)	R
10.	Wolf (R)	W

WASHINGTON

1.	Miller (R)	W
2.	Swift (D)	W
3.	Bonker (D)	W
4.	Morrison (R)	W
5.	Foley (D)	PW
6.	Dicks (D)	W
7.	Lowry (D)	W
8.	Chandler (R)	W

WEST VIRGINIA

1.	Mollohan (D)	R
2.	Staggers (D)	R
3.	Wise (D)	R
4.	Rahall (D)	R

WISCONSIN

1.	Aspin (D)	R
2.	Kastenmeier (D)	R
3.	Gunderson (R)	R
4.	Kleczka (D)	W
5.	Moody (D)	R
6.	Petri (R)	W
7.	Obey (D)	R
8.	Roth (R)	W
9.	Sensenbrenner (R)	W

WYOMING

AL	Cheney (R)	W

Battle shifts to Senate on foreign trade

Continued from Page 1

with nations that have used unfair tactics to penetrate U.S. markets and protect their own.

- Define unreasonable trade practices to include denial of internationally recognized labor rights, such as collective bargaining, child labor laws and health standards.
- Strengthen provisions for relief to industries and workers injured by imports, and tighten bans against various unfair trade practices. Protect import-sensitive goods in any new trade negotiations, open foreign markets to U.S. telecommunications products and close loopholes that allow evasion of restraints on steel imports.
- Seek a new international conference to stabilize exchange rates.

The council statement also expressed the AFL-CIO's strong support for extension of the manufacturing clause of the Copyright Act, which since 1891 has assured that most books by U.S. authors are printed in this country. "The United States can ill afford the unilateral giveaway of this needed domestic employment," the council said.

An earlier statement supporting the attempt to override the veto of the textile and apparel bill condemned as "a disgrace" the Administration's decision to increase textile imports from South Africa.

Flawed agreement

The council also criticized the newly renegotiated Multi-Fiber Arrangement that is supposed to provide a framework for regulating textile trade to provide a market for developing nations without harming established industries. The new pact doesn't remedy the failings that resulted in a doubling of U.S. imports over the past five years.

The vetoed bill, it noted, also would have provided relief for the import-devastated shoe and copper industries, which were denied relief when Reagan last year rejected the recommendations of the International Trade Commission.

The AFL-CIO's two principal apparel unions served notice after the House vote that their efforts will continue undiminished.

"We rallied a large majority of Congress to our side," Ladies' Garment Workers President Jay Mazur said. After November's election, he predicted, "we will have the two-thirds majority needed to force this Administration to implement a fair trade policy."

Clothing & Textile Workers President Murray H. Finley said the strong bipartisan support reflects the desire of the American people "to make trade fair" and to give textile, apparel and shoe workers "a chance to survive."

Defense League cited on 50th anniversary

Chicago—The Workers Defense League was commended by the Executive Council for its "distinguished record in the struggle for civil rights, civil liberties and social justice" for the last 50 years.

Founded in 1936 to provide legal and financial aid for workers denied basic rights, the WDL has won key legal victories over the years and "provided direct aid to individuals whose grievances would have been given the short shrift," the council said. Assistance to victims of Klu Klux Klan violence, aid in organizing sharecroppers and mobilizing community support for striking workers was also cited by the council in saluting the WDL.

Executive Council meets to set federation policies at its summer meeting.

Patchwork health insurance system denies millions of workers coverage

Chicago—The nation's "patchwork health insurance system" denies tens of millions of American families access to adequate health care, the Executive Council charged, as it called for new legislative and collective bargaining initiatives to overcome the deficiency.

More than 35 million Americans have no health insurance at all and another 50 million have inadequate protection, the council said, noting pointedly that the United States and South Africa are the only industrialized nations in the world without national health care programs.

"Declining access to care has reached critical proportions," the federation said. "It is a multifaceted problem which calls for both private and public action."

The "best medicine" for the overall problem is enactment of a national health care system, the council declared, pledging to continue to work for legislation making access to basic health care services "a right for all Americans."

Although organized labor has worked at the bargaining table to improve health care for workers and their families and helped win passage of Medicare and Medicaid to provide coverage for the elderly, the severely disabled and the poor, the federation said that serious problems continue to undermine efforts to put adequate health care protection within reach of every American family.

The council pointed out that employment declines in manufacturing and other basic industries, the creation of new jobs in the service sector, the increase in the number of part-time workers and the shift to contracting-out has left "millions of workers and their families with inadequate protection or no health insurance at all."

Critical condition

The situation has become so acute, the federation asserted, that workers and their dependents constitute two-thirds of all those without health insurance.

Compounding the problem have been cutbacks in public programs, employer efforts to slash health insurance coverage for current employees, chronic large-scale joblessness and the lack of Medicare coverage for early retirees, the council said, as it called for:

- An intensified effort through bargaining and legislation for employer-paid insurance coverage, coupled with continued labor cooperation with employers to control health costs.
- Federal legislation extending coverage to the unemployed, the uninsured, the underinsured and those denied coverage because they are chronically ill or at high risk of becoming ill.
- Medicare improvements capping the amount beneficiaries must pay and extending coverage to include prescription drugs and other items important to the elderly.
- Legislation extending Medicaid coverage to all individuals and families in poverty.
- "Pooling programs" at the state level to help small employers reduce premiums and administrative costs, and the allocation of additional operating and capital funds for public hospitals "which give a disproportionate share of the care to the uninsured and the underinsured."
- Federal and state development of an "available and affordable" system of long-term care for the chronically ill, "in the home when appropriate and in nursing homes when necessary."

Per capita dues cut for 'associates'

Continued from Page 1

The council noted that the AFL-CIO Constitution requires each affiliate to pay per capita—currently 31 cents per month—on its full paid-up membership.

"Because associates will be paying lower dues than regular union members," the statement said, "and because of the importance the AFL-CIO attaches to the development of associate membership programs as one step in the labor movement's program to adapt to current conditions, the Executive Council hereby determines that it is appropriate for affiliates to pay a reduced per capita on associate members.

"Accordingly, while affiliates will continue to be required to pay full per capita on all regular members, each affiliate will be permitted to pay per capita at 20 cents per month for each of its 'associate members' who is paying associate membership dues some or all of which dues are paid to the affiliate either directly or on a per capita tax basis."

The council authorized its Finance Committee to waive all or part of an affiliate's associate member per capita obligation where it finds "compelling reasons" to do so. It also directed the Committee on the Evolution of Work to come up with recommendations as to the extent, if any, associate members on whom reduced per capita tax is paid will be counted in determining the voting strength of affiliates at AFL-CIO conventions.

In presenting the committee's recommendations, Donahue reported that in response to a request from the federation, the Labor Dept. has provided an advisory opinion that will be helpful to unions in setting up associate member programs that satisfy all legal requirements.

Experimental programs

Donahue also cited a half-dozen examples of experimental associate member programs aimed at furthering union organizing efforts:

- The Blue Ridge Workers Association sponsored by the Clothing & Textile Workers after losing a rerun election at the Hanes hosiery plant. The objective is to hold together the workers who participated in the organizing drive. They pay dues of $8 a month and receive such benefits as a $1,000 life insurance policy and discounts from local stores and area professionals. The association has promoted worker, community and national issues and has been active in state legislative efforts to improve workers' compensation.
- The Service Employees' Nine to Five organization for office employees, which seeks members nationwide and establishes chapters in workplaces where it has members. The approximately 12,000 members pay $25 a year dues. This plus foundation grants and a small supplement from the SEIU are the primary sources of revenue. Members receive a bimonthly newsletter, aid with job problems and discounts on certain publications. When groups of members become interested in full-fledged unionism, SEIU's District 925 steps in and undertakes the organizing effort. District 925 currently is bargaining representative for some 7,000 members who pay normal union dues and have full membership benefits.
- Texas Professional Educators Group, established by the American Federation of Teachers to reach out to teachers who work in Texas school districts where there is no AFT local. Dues are $50 a year and benefits offered include professional liability insurance, AFT publications, a travel magazine, prescription drug discounts, and workshops and conferences on occupational concerns. Chapters are being organized with the goal of establishing full-fledged locals with regular AFT membership paying regular dues.
- The Association of Journeymen & Master Electricians of Massachusetts, established by Local 103 of the IBEW after identifying 6,000 nonunion electricians among the 18,000 electricians licensed by the state. Using volunteers among its active membership, the local hopes to attract these nonunion electricians into the association and ultimately to interest them in the labor movement. The association will seek to promote the welfare of licensed electricians, provide skills upgrading and offer some group benefits. Dues will be $25 a year.
- The 703 Club, formed by the Electronic Workers in Murfreesboro, Tenn., after the IUE lost a very close election at a General Electric plant. One union representative works permanently at the site. Members get a $1,000 death benefit for a one-time fee of $10.
- The Graduate Student Employees Union formed by the Communications Workers among teaching assistants that CWA is attempting to organize within the New York State University system. About 300 teaching assistants currently are paying dues of $20 a year. The union issues a regular newsletter and provides a forum to discuss workplace issues.

Sandinista victims of press muzzling pledged support

Chicago—The action of the Sandinista government in "summarily" shutting down La Prensa, the last independent newspaper left in Nicaragua, was strongly condemned by the Executive Council as a "destruction of press freedom."

The council said it was ironic that the 1978 assassination of La Prensa owner Pedro Joaquin Chamorro because of his "unstinting opposition to the Somoza dictatorship" was the event that "sparked the revolution that brought the Sandinista dictatorship to power."

La Prensa "criticized the excesses of the Sandinistas with the same vigor and high moral standards with which it opposed Somoza," the federation said. This "valiant" role brought down the wrath of the Sandinistas, and the newspaper was "harassed and censored by the government and finally put out of business."

The closing of the independent newspaper has left 235 unionized workers unemployed and with "virtually no job prospects in their country." As a result, they face "destitution or emigration," the council pointed out, and if they are forced to leave Nicaragua to find work "it will be difficult for La Prensa to be reconstituted should the political circumstances change."

The former La Presna workers have appealed to free trade unionists throughout the world for food, shelter, clothing and other necessities, the federation said as it called on affiliates to come to their aid by making contributions to the AFL-CIO's La Prensa Workers Aid Fund.

The council kicked off the fund with a $10,000 contribution.

IBFO President James L. Walker addresses union's 31st convention in Las Vegas, Nev. Seated at left is Sec.-Treas. Michael Matz.

Firemen & Oilers vote funds to bolster organizing efforts

Las Vegas, Nev.—Delegates to the Firemen & Oilers convention voted to step up organizing and political activities and revised the union's collective bargaining procedures.

The 250 delegates approved a three-step per capita rate increase to carry out their agenda and also changed the contract ratification process for railroad members, who now will vote on tentative settlements. The union's executive board previously held that authority.

In his keynote address, IBFO President James L. Walker assailed the "unbridled assault on labor unions in this country," led by "an ultraconservative element" that employs smear tactics and half-truths "to convince the American people that unions are no longer needed and . . . have somehow become an obstacle to economic growth."

Walker said the labor movement would prove its critics wrong, adding "when we're under attack, we fight better than ever."

He outlined the union's goals over the next five years, stressing the need for increased collective bargaining "to win what our members deserve and expect" and to make sure those contracts are thoroughly enforced.

But Walker warned that gains made "at the bargaining table can easily be wiped out in the courts and legislatures." He urged the delegates to "make our presence known in the political arena—not just in national affairs but at the state and local levels as well."

He credited the grassroots efforts of union families for turning back several anti-labor measures in Congress and winning some added protections for workers, including a ban on lie detector testing adopted by the House.

Increased commitment

Walker cautioned that the union could "falter on the front lines" if it did not increase the commitment and resources devoted to organizing new members.

"It was organizing that brought us here today and it is organizing that must always be our number one priority," he stressed.

"We must each and every one become ambassadors of organized labor," Walker declared, adding "each nonunion shop, each nonunion government employer, each nonunion short line railroad is a potential threat to our contracts and the welfare and job security of our members."

Walker and Sec.-Treas. Michael Matz were re-elected to new five-year terms. The delegates also voted in seven vice presidents.

Speakers included Seafarers President Frank Drozak, Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers President John DeConcini, Ladies' Garment Workers President Jay Mazur, Sec.-Treas. Richard Mercier of the Canadian Labor Congress, President Norman Hill of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and President Daniel O'Sullivan of the Union Labor Life Insurance Co.

Florence Reece dies, wrote labor ballads

Knoxville, Tenn.—Florence Reece, best known for her labor song "Which Side Are You On," died Aug. 3 of a heart attack. She was 86.

Reece grew up in a coal-mining community in Harlan County, Ky., and wrote the ballad to mark a Mine Workers' organizing battle in the 1930s. The song was first recorded in 1941 by folk singer Pete Seeger and has been sung by labor musicians and performers throughout the world.

In 1981, Reece performed at the AFL-CIO Solidarity Day demonstration. She also wrote other labor songs and poems, including "You Can't Live on Jellybeans," a poem critical of Reagan Administration budget cuts.

Plumbers & Pipefitters

Apprentice program extended to 5 years

Las Vegas, Nev.—The Plumbers & Pipefitters extended the term of the union's apprenticeship program to deal with technological change in the industry and spelled out vital legislative goals.

The 3,500 delegates to the union's 33rd convention also called for adoption of trade laws to protect America's industrial base and prevent further loss of jobs to unfair trade, passage of equitable tax reform legislation and enactment of a coal slurry pipeline bill "to insure the nation's energy independence."

Noting that changes in the industry require an even higher degree of training, the convention approved an extension of the apprenticeship term for plumbers, steam pipefitters and sprinkler fitters from four to five years, effective June 1, 1987. The change will not affect apprentices currently enrolled in the four-year program.

The delegates authorized a reallocation of the existing $6 per capita tax to bolster organizing efforts and other general fund activities.

Urgent tasks

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland outlined for the delegates the "urgent tasks" that confront the trade union movement in the legislative and political arenas.

In working for effective tax reform, he declared, labor must make certain that House and Senate conferees come up with a "fair, equitable and progressive" tax system.

"There must be no discrimination against people who work for their money in favor of those whose money works for them," Kirkland insisted. "Capital gains must be taxed at the same rate as wages. Employee business expenses must be treated exactly like corporate business expenses."

In addition, he told delegates, unions must work for Senate enactment of a trade bill that follows the same tough line contained in the House-passed version, "and then see to it that Congress overrides the veto the President has promised."

On the political front, Kirkland continued, the election this November of House and Senate candidates "who share our principles, our values and our agenda" will help make certain that "the post-Reagan era of American history will get off to an early start and we can get back to the main job of building a just and decent society."

Kirkland also pledged that the federation would continue its efforts to renew the labor movement. "All our programs are aimed at one goal . . . to strengthen our unions as a force for social justice and progress in the workplace, in our communities," in the nation and "in the world at large," he said.

Plumbers & Pipefitters President Boede welcomes Kirkland to the union's convention.

AFSCME accord approved to end 19-day Detroit strike

Detroit—A 19-day strike by the State, County & Municipal Employees ended with the ratification of a new three-year contract with the city that provides pay increases and bonuses totaling an average 13.6 percent over the term of the agreement.

The accord, approved by a 4-3 margin, provides a 5-percent increase plus a $500 bonus the first year, a 3-percent raise and $200 bonus the second year, and a $400 bonus the third year. Depending on the city's financial health in the third year, the bonus payment could be as high as $800.

The city employees, members of 17 AFSCME locals under District Council 25, went on strike June 16 and several thousand other city workers honored the picketlines.

The AFSCME contract will likely set a pattern for about 30 other unions bargaining with the city, including the Transit Union bus drivers and the unaffiliated Teamsters' trash collectors.

Leroy Young, president of ATU Local 26, said the union and the city were not close to reaching a settlement. Its contract expired June 30.

The AFSCME members had rejected an earlier contract offer that guaranteed only 8.5 percent in pay increases, compared to the 13.6-percent hike in the package that was ratified.

AFSCME said that the city agreed to turn over data on female employment so the union can conduct a pay equity study, and to set aside funds to start up a prototype daycare center for the children of its workers.

Seniority protected

While the strike centered on economic issues, the union fought back city demands that would have weakened seniority and transfer rights and reduced pension benefits.

AFSCME District Council 25 President James Glass noted that the new contract "represents significant economic improvements and provides guaranteed wage increases in all three years of the proposed contract."

Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, AFSCME District Council 33's 12,000 blue-collar members ratified a new two-year contract with the city government that provides a 10-percent pay raise.

City workers had been on strike for 20 days before voting to return to work on July 20. A contract settlement was reached two days later.

Supreme Court nominations

Rehnquist opposed for chief justice

The AFL-CIO declared its opposition to President Reagan's nomination of Justice William H. Rehnquist to be Chief Justice of the United States and urged the Senate Judiciary Committee to give careful scrutiny to the legal opinions of Judge Antonin Scalia before passing on his advancement to the Supreme Court.

Labor's concern with Reagan's Supreme Court choices was expressed by AFL-CIO General Counsel Laurence Gold at Senate hearings on the Scalia nomination.

While the AFL-CIO has not taken a position on whether Scalia should be confirmed, Gold said, it has found in his legal writing elements of a judicial philosophy that should be "fully explored" because of the importance of the Supreme Court in the nation's affairs.

Intelligence and personal character should not be the only basis for considering a Supreme Court nomination, Gold stressed. While a president's personal choice may be given weight in an Executive Branch appointment to a Cabinet or agency post, Gold noted that the Senate's constitutional advice and consent obligation is especially strong "with respect to nominees for the judiciary, an independent branch of government."

Gold cited as "deeply troubling" Scalia's expressed views on the role of the courts in interpreting the laws Congress enacts, the role of the Executive Branch in enforcing those laws, and the constitutional limits on the power of both Congress and the Executive Branch.

Troubling interpretation

He questioned Scalia's contention that the intent of Congress should not be given significant weight in the interpretation of a law and that the judgment of the executive agency that administers it should be given greater respect.

"That reflects a profound disrespect for the legislative process," Gold suggested. By contrast, he noted, Scalia has faulted the courts for giving the Bill of Rights a contemporary interpretation rather than looking to the customs and practices of the time. Such an approach would have barred many of the judicial decisions overturning racial segregation and sex discrimination in the workplace, Gold declared.

While the verdict remains open on Scalia, Gold said, the AFL-CIO has found no reason to revise the views that led it to oppose Rehnquist's appointment to the Supreme Court during the Nixon Administration.

In 1971 testimony before the Senate committee, Gold recalled, the AFL-CIO said it opposed the confirmation of Rehnquist because "his public record demonstrates him to be an extremist in favor of diminution of personal freedom."

Rehnquist's record in 15 years on the Supreme Court confirms the AFL-CIO's fears, Gold said. He has shown himself to be "an ideologue with a closed mind to the great majority of claims based on the Bill of Rights or the 14th Amendment."

Even on a court with a majority appointed by Presidents Nixon, Ford and Reagan, Gold testified, Rehnquist "stands alone in his doctrinaire insensitivity to individual rights."

EDITORIALS

After the Vote

THE WHITE HOUSE, by press accounts, was like a high school after a basketball victory when word came that the House of Representatives had not quite mustered the two-thirds majority needed to override President Reagan's veto of legislation to save the import-threatened jobs of textile, clothing and shoe workers.

A key presidential aide reportedly ran through the White House corridors chanting "no lame duck" in celebration of the fact that Reagan was again able to stave off a humbling defeat. The President, who along with Vice President Bush had been on the phone to switch a crucial few Republican votes, described himself as "one happy fellow."

Whatever the White House crew was celebrating, it certainly wasn't the triumph of its free trade policy.

Not even the most callous of administrations or the purest of free trade ideologues would show public joy at the trail of closed plants and lost jobs, or at a trade deficit that has made the United States into a debtor nation.

WAS IT A political victory? Well, perhaps we'll see in November. But if the House of Representatives is the sensitive barometer of public opinion that it tends to be in election years, the tide is against the President's position.

Astonishingly, more House members voted to override the veto than supported the import relief bill when it was first before the House. Almost always, it's the other way around.

The switches reflected both the worsening trade deficit and the strong message that members of Congress were getting from their constituents. It takes enormous ingenuity for the White House to find comfort in a clear loss of support.

The Senate, which gave bipartisan support to the textile and apparel bill when it was first enacted, didn't get an opportunity to vote on overriding the veto. But it has both the opportunity and the obligation to consider and act on the general trade reform bill that the House passed in May by more than a two-thirds vote.

To do nothing would be to accept a shift to a low-wage service economy, to continue exporting jobs and importing steel.

That's too high a price to keep the party going at the White House.

Showdown at USX

MUST THE United States become a Third World country in order to stay competitive?

That's more than an academic question these days, as some once-prosperous companies seek and often get concessions from their workers to help them survive and other simply-greedy employers demand rollbacks merely to push profits higher.

In the import-decimated steel industry, workers have agreed to sacrifices when employers have opened their books to scrutiny and made common cause with their union in seeking a change in public policies.

USX, the company that until recently was known as U.S. Steel, chooses instead to lock out its workers to force acceptance of its terms and shun its obligation to justify its position.

The trade union movement stands in solidarity with the USX workers in their battle against destruction of their contract.

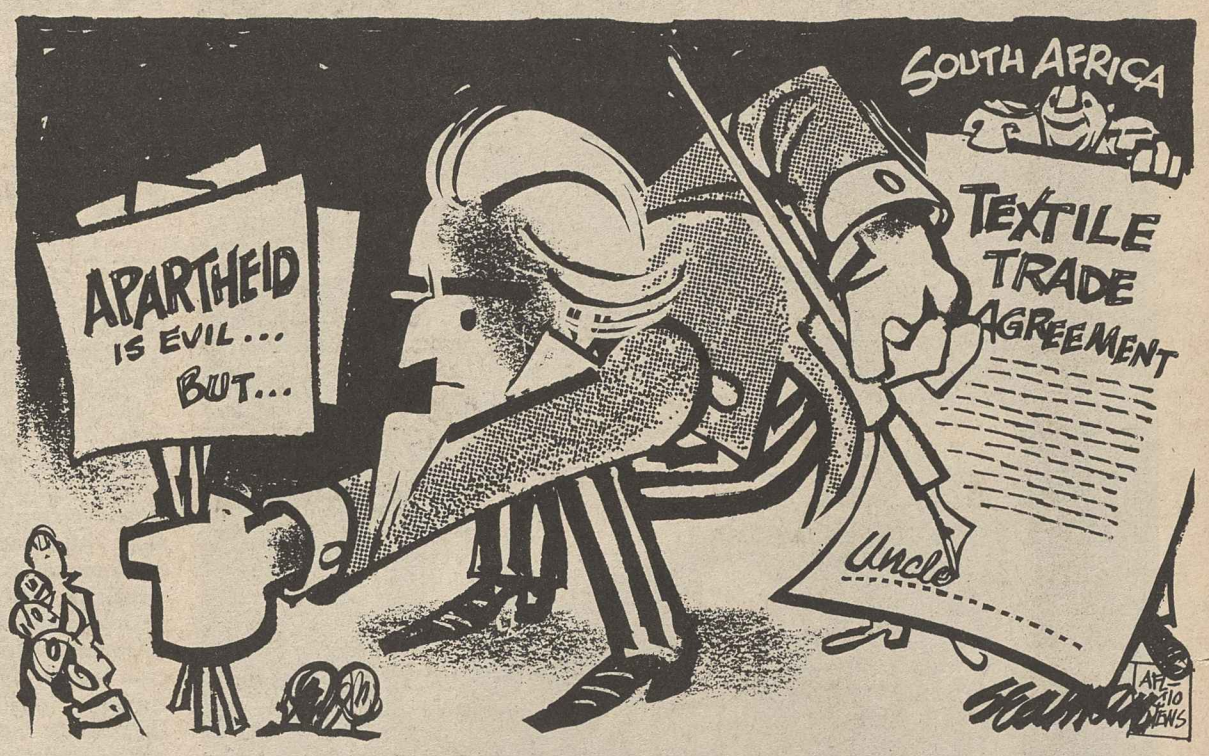
Unfinished Business

TO OUR SHAME, as the Executive Council noted, the United States and South Africa are the only industrialized countries without a national health care program.

Most workers have some form of job-related health insurance, but there are huge gaps in coverage and especially in sufficiency of coverage. As older workers and retirees are well aware, our system is especially deficient in providing long-term care when it is needed.

This is an agenda that must be addressed in Congress, in the state legislatures and at the bargaining table. It may be necessary to make progress by increments, but there is no reason for delay. We're already too far behind the rest of the world.

'And on the other hand . . .'



Washington Window

Wealthy amass fortunes, everybody else loses out

By Press Associates Inc.

When it comes to discussing wealth in America, there are only four groups worth talking about. They are the "super rich," the "very rich," the "rich," and the rest of us, otherwise known as "everyone else."

According to a report by the congressional Joint Economic Committee, America's wealth is becoming rapidly concentrated in the hands of the top one-half of 1 percent of the population—the 420,000 super-rich households whose wealth increased dramatically between 1963 and 1983.

What is ominous about the increasing concentration of wealth is that it breaks sharply with a long-term trend. From the stock market crash of 1929 and the rise of an effective federal government with the New Deal in 1933, continuing to about the mid-1970s, there had been a more and more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth. Then from about the mid-1970s to 1983, according to the report, the wealth controlled by the super rich skyrocketed.

The most striking result from the survey data, said the committee report, "is the extraordinary amount of national wealth held by the top half of 1 percent of families." If equity in personal residences is excluded, the report said, the top one-half of 1 percent of households "owned more than 45 percent of the privately held wealth of this country."

Massive holdings

The super rich, the report said, "owned 58 percent of unincorporated businesses and 46.5 percent of all personally owned corporate stock. They also held 77 percent of the value of trusts and 62 percent of state and local bonds."

In 1983, the super-rich households had average net assets of $8.9 million—ranging from a low of $2.5 million to the most wealthy who were worth hundreds of times that.

The committee's report, "The Concentration of Wealth in the United States," was based on a study conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. It closely followed a 1963 survey, enabling analysts to study trends as well as new data. The panel's Republicans did not endorse the report.

For the sake of analysis, the U.S. population was divided into four groups. The top one-half of 1 percent of households in terms of wealth were called super rich. The next one-half of 1 percent are the very rich, and the next 9 percent are the plain rich. The bottom 90 percent are classified as everybody else.

Majority of assets

The 420,000 households in the very-rich category are "decidedly less well off" than the super-rich. The very rich held assets ranging from $1.4 million to $2.5 million.

By combining the business holdings of the super rich and very rich, the study found that the richest 1 percent of households owns 66 percent of unincorporated businesses and 60 percent of personally held corporate stock.

The so-called rich families, the next 9 percent, had net assets ranging from $206,000 to $1.4 million. The group is made up of 7.5 million households.

Combining the assets of the three richest groups shows the most affluent 10 percent of families owned 71.8 percent of net worth.

The remaining 90 percent of American families, the report said, owned only about 28 percent of the nation's wealth, with most of that tied up in home equity.

The dramatic increase in the share of wealth held by the richest families between 1963 and 1983 apparently occurred late in that 20-year period, the report said. The super rich gained an average increase of $5.3 million, the very rich gained $665,000 and the rich added $166,000. The bottom 90 percent—everyone else—gained an average of just $12,000.

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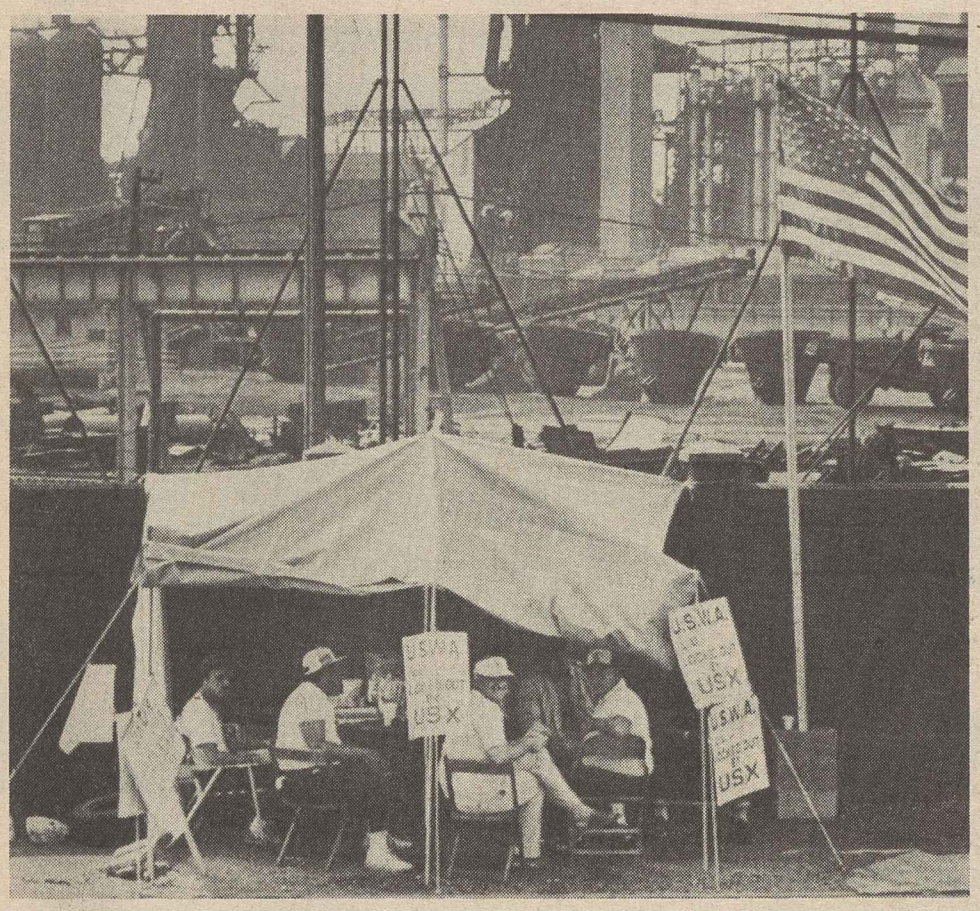

Locked-out Steelworkers prepare for long vigil at USX mill in Braddock, Pa.

Council panel mobilizes aid for locked-out Steelworkers

Continued from Page 1

lockout. The coordinators will meet Aug. 22 at AFL-CIO headquarters.

In a letter to USWA members, Williams wrote that seven weeks of bargaining with USX had produced "very little progress" and that the union was convinced "that USX is not in dire financial circumstances" compared to some other steel companies. The company "has failed to make a case for significant sacrifices on the part of our members," Williams declared.

The USWA advised its locked-out members to apply for unemployment compensation. But USX is disputing the workers' claim applications, insisting that the work stoppage is a strike because workers overwhelmingly voted to authorize a walkout if a new settlement could not be reached.

Eligibility requirements for unemployment compensation vary across the nine states where USX operates. To qualify for benefits, workers must show that they were prepared to work but were kept from their jobs by management's lockout.

The USWA's defense fund will pay benefits of about $60 a week to the idled workers, based on need, starting the third week of the work stoppage.

Giveback demands

USX is demanding steep wage and benefit cuts and its last proposal would have reduced wages and benefits by $3.30 an hour, the union said.

In its last contract proposal, the union offered to accept a wage freeze, suspend cost-of-living adjustments and reduce some benefits, including vacation and overtime pay. That offer was rejected by USX.

James McGeehan, USWA chief negotiator and the union's treasurer, said the union offered "a competitive agreement" and charged that the steelmaker wanted to negotiate "on the basis of other companies' financial situations," not its own.

In a letter to all employees, USX chief negotiator J. Bruce Johnston warned the steelworkers that the company "was facing an economic showdown" with its competitors and that jobs could be lost because of the strike, because "there are not enough seats in the steel lifeboat for everybody."

The letter cited the wage cuts sought by the company as lower than those accepted by USWA members at LTV Corp., but it ignored the issue of benefit reductions. It also claimed that local union presidents had been "badly misled" by the "union hierarchy."

No new negotiations have been scheduled and USWA members are prepared for a long shutdown, the union said. While USX Chairman David M. Roderick warned that a work stoppage might mean some mills will never reopen, many workers believe the company will continue to pare down its steel operations, whether concessions are granted or not.

In 1983, the USWA agreed to wage and benefit concessions in exchange for a promise by USX—then U.S. Steel—to reinvest the savings in steel operations and recall workers to steel jobs. Instead, the company increased layoffs and stepped up its diversification into the oil and gas industry, buying Marathon Oil and Texas Oil & Gas.

LTV restores benefits for 66,000 retirees

Steelworkers at LTV Corp.'s Indiana Harbor Works in East Chicago, Ind., ended a weeklong walkout after the company agreed to continue health and life insurance benefits for 66,000 pensioners.

The 4,400 USWA members had set up picket lines at LTV's most profitable mill after the giant steel firm announced it was ending health and life insurance coverage for retirees. LTV had filed for relief under Chapter 11 of the federal bankruptcy code last month.

Another 4,400 USWA members in Cleveland and Lorain, Ohio, were ready to join the walkout when Federal Bankruptcy Judge Burton R. Lifland moved to restore the benefits.

The walkout prompted LTV to seek court approval to rescind the cutoff of benefits. The judge's ruling was opposed by LTV's bank creditors.

Airline unions assail Dole for gutting job protection in Northwest merger bid

Five AFL-CIO affiliates sharply condemned Transportation Sec. Elizabeth Dole for refusing to make labor protection provisions mandatory in the merger of Northwest Airlines and Republic Airlines.

In approving the merger over the objections of the Justice Dept., which expressed concern that the $884-million transaction would significantly reduce competition, Dole overruled her own administrative law judge who had recommended imposition of requirements to soften the effect of dismissals or forced job moves.

Dole insisted that collective bargaining agreements provided adequate safeguards, even though the Flight Attendants and the Air Line Employees, an affiliate of the Air Line Pilots, both reported that Northwest had refused to honor the labor protection provisions in their existing contracts with Republic. ALEA's legal challenge to this action is pending in the 7th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago.

DOT's action clearing the way for creation of the nation's third largest airline—after United Airlines and American Airlines—in terms of passenger revenue miles, came on the same day that the House Subcommittee on Aviation cleared a bill to provide greater protection to airline employees in company buy-outs and mergers.

Subcommittee Chairman Norman Mineta (D-Calif.) said the remedies his bill provides—including severance pay and integration of seniority lists—are necessary because employees "have not received fair treatment."

AFA Vice President Susan Bianchi Sand expressed "disappointment" over Dole's refusal to accept the ALJ's recommendations and ALEA President Victor Herbert called the decision "a miscarriage of justice." Both pledged a vigorous fight to win passage of the Mineta bill. Similar support for the measure was voiced by the Pilots, the Machinists and the Railway & Airline Clerks, all of whom have members affected by the Northwest-Republic merger.

AFA, which represents the 2,200 flight attendants at Republic, will be pitted in a National Mediation Board representation election against the unaffiliated Teamsters, which represents 3,600 Northwest attendants. ALEA has the largest unit involved in the merger—7,000 Republic office, fleet and passenger service employees. It will face BRAC, which represents 4,500 employees in the same category at Northwest, in similar balloting.

Grim outlook

ALPA represents 2,300 pilots at Northwest and another 2,200 at Republic, while the IAM is the bargaining agent for 4,000 mechanics at Northwest and 2,700 at Republic. Both unions expressed concerns that a significant number of their members could lose their jobs because the two airlines have hubs in Minneapolis and Detroit and both provide nonstop service to 42 common markets.

Dole's decision to approve the merger without labor protection provisions could signal the Transportation Dept.'s attitude toward three other pending mergers or acquisitions—Texas Air's takeover of Eastern Airlines, the merger of Trans World Airlines and Ozark Air Lines, and the United Airlines purchase of Frontier Airlines from People Express Inc.

Carmen couple with BRAC on strong membership vote

The Railway Carmen merged with the Railway & Airline Clerks Aug. 6 after members of the Carmen overwhelmingly approved the proposal in a mail referendum.

The merger received the immediate approval of the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its meeting in Chicago.

The 50,000 active and retired U.S. Carmen are now a division of BRAC as referendum results showed that 87 percent of the voting members favored the merger. The Canadian wing of the Carmen is forming a separate organization.

BRAC President Richard I. Kilroy and Carmen President C. E. Wheeler applauded the merger decision, declaring that "solid gains can be derived from greater labor unity." They agreed that "the route to enhanced membership services and benefits lies in the direction of greater strength through unity."

Under the merger, Wheeler will become a BRAC vice president and serve as president of the new Carmen division. The Carmen will move operations from Kansas City to BRAC offices in Rockville, Md., this year. Prior to the merger, BRAC had about 175,000 members.

Merger discussions between the two unions began earlier this year, and in a preliminary vote last May, the Carmen's executive board and chairmen's association overwhelmingly supported the merger.

Factory workers hit

50,000 jobs lost despite rate dip

Another 50,000 manufacturing jobs disappeared in July as the U.S. economy continued to reel under the impact of mounting imports from abroad.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that last month's overall unemployment rate dipped two-tenths of 1 percent to 6.9 percent—only the third time in the five years of Ronald Reagan's presidency that joblessness fell below the 7-percent level.

Despite the decline, there were still 8.2 million officially listed as unemployed. That doesn't include the more than 1.1 million "discouraged" workers who've given up looking for jobs that aren't there, or the nearly 5.4 million others forced to work part time because they can't find full-time employment.

The continued plight of workers whose jobs have been shot out from under them was highlighted by statistics showing that nationwide, only slightly more than 28 percent of the jobless drew unemployment compensation benefits in May.

In the ten states with the highest unemployment rates, the average was only 22.5 percent—ranging from a high of 63 percent in Alaska, virtually the only state currently paying extended benefits for the long-term jobless, to a low of 16 percent in Mississippi.

The government said three factors contributed to the decline in the unemployment rate—the creation of 245,000 jobs in the service sector, a rebound of 55,000 jobs in construction and the shrinkage of the total labor force by 44,000.

No downward track

The contraction in the labor force "raises doubts" that the jobless rate will continue to track downward in the coming months, AFL-CIO Deputy Research Director Henry Schechter warned.

The federation expressed particular concern about the erosion of employment in the manufacturing sector. There is "nothing comforting" about the replacement of higher-paying factory jobs with lower-paying jobs in the service sector, Schechter said.

BLS Commissioner Janet Norwood said the steep loss of factory jobs was "distressing news," pointing out that industrial employment has never recovered from the impact of the Reagan Recession.

Only 1.4 million manufacturing jobs—63 percent of those lost during the 1981-1982 recession—were regained by August 1984, she said, and manufacturing employment has "moved generally downward" since that time, "dropping by nearly 400,000."

In testimony before the congressional Joint Economic Committee, Norwood focused in particular on the steadily downward employment trends in import-battered industries.

Nearly a million jobs have been lost in textiles and leather manufacturing over the last four decades—"about one-half of their peak workforce," she told the committee. "The steel industry peaked in 1953 and has lost nearly half a million jobs since then—about 60 percent of its workforce," Norwood added.

Labor Dept. figures showed that average hourly earnings dropped two-tenths of 1 percent in July and weekly earnings, after seasonal adjustment, were five-tenths of 1 percent lower than in June.

From June to July, unemployment rose in six of the 11 largest states—California, Pennsylvania, Florida, New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts. It dipped slightly in Michigan, Texas, Ohio, Illinois and North Carolina.

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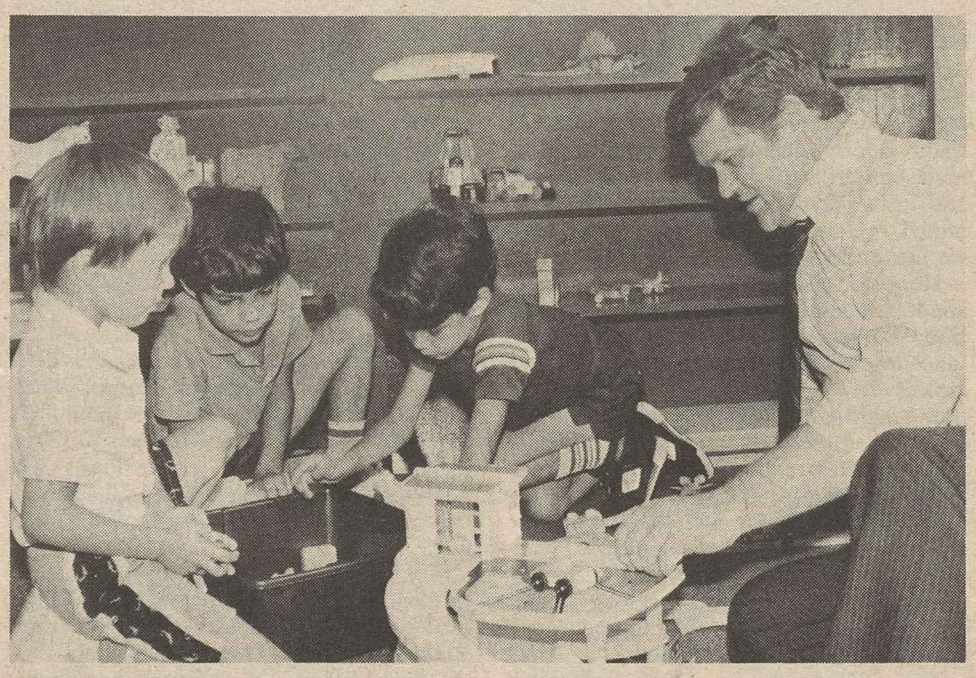

Salute to Bessie Hillman

Pennsylvania Auditor Gen. Don Bailey gets some playtime tips from children at a new day care center established for working parents in the state office building in Harrisburg. The facility is named for the late Bessie Abramowitz Hillman, a pioneer member of the Clothing & Textile Workers and the wife of the union's first president. The center is being promoted as a model for state government agencies and private employers. It will accommodate at least 50 children from infancy to school age. Costs of the day care program will be shared by the parents, who sold baked goods and T-shirts to raise money for equipment and supplies.

Prevailing pay law upheld in vote on service contracts

By David L. Perlman

The Senate refused to scuttle prevailing wage requirements for government service contracts, but the verdict was still out on a parallel anti-labor effort to weaken comparable Davis-Bacon Act protections covering federally funded construction.

Both prevailing wage laws are targets of a campaign by wage-cutting employers who want labor-intensive government service and construction contracts to go to firms paying the lowest wages and providing the fewest benefits.

Conservative Republicans in both the Senate and House seized on the Defense Dept. authorization bill, a massive document involving more than $290 billion in military spending, as the vehicle for the anti-labor amendments.

Their argument was "economy," a claim that defense costs could be reduced if contractors could bid on the basis of substandard wages and benefits.

The first battleground was the Senate, where the Armed Services Committee had written into the Defense Dept. bill language that would exclude the big majority of military contracts from the prevailing wage laws. It specified that only service contracts of over $1 million and involving more than 25 workers would be covered. For construction workers, Davis-Bacon coverage would be limited to contracts over $250,000.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) introduced a two-part amendment to eliminate the anti-labor language and leave both prevailing wage laws intact.

The wage-busters, it quickly became evident, had overreached themselves in seeking the virtual repeal of the Service Contract Act. Congress passed that law in 1965 after strong evidence that the government contract procedures were pushing down the wage scale, especially low-paying jobs held by women and minority workers.

Provision rebuffed

With 18 Republicans joining 44 Democrats on the issue, the provision gutting the Service Contract Act was stricken from the bill by a 62-34 vote. **(Rollcall, Page 6)**

The less drastic attack on Davis-Bacon coverage prevailed in the Senate by a 51-44 margin, but a strong effort to reverse the verdict was moving to a vote in the House.

Rep. William L. Dickinson (R-Ala.) had served notice that he planned to introduce the $250,000 exclusion as an amendment to the House defense authorization bill.

Supporters of Davis-Bacon were hoping to first defeat the Dickinson amendment, to demonstrate continued House support for the prevailing wage principle, and then adopt an amendment that would lift the threshold for coverage from the $2,000 set in 1931, when the law was passed, to an updated $25,000.

Differences between the House and Senate on Davis-Bacon coverage would then have to be resolved in a conference.

Job losses in 19 states stirs fears for economy

By Gene Zack

Continued economic stagnation pushed unemployment up in 19 states—primarily in the South—during the year ended in June, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

Joblessness increased 1 or more percent in eight states, and six states had double-digit unemployment rates in June—twice the number recorded a year earlier.

Continuing the pattern of replacing higher-paying jobs with lower-paying ones, BLS reported reductions in manufacturing employment in 37 states during the 12-month period, at a time when most states were recording job gains in service industries.

Rate sours in Texas

The most dramatic increase in unemployment took place in Texas, where job losses in oil, gas extraction and related industries, beset by tumbling world oil prices, drove the rate from 7.7 percent in 1985 to 11.1 percent in June.

Louisiana, whose economy also is reeling under the oil price impact, had the highest unemployment in the nation in June—13.6 percent. Other states with double-digit joblessness included Mississippi, 12.6 percent; Wisconsin, 10.9 percent; Alaska, 10.8 percent, and Alabama, 10 percent. Puerto Rico's jobless rate was 19.6 percent.

There was other evidence of economic doldrums as the Commerce Dept. reported that retail sales inched up a scant one-tenth of 1 percent in July, offsetting a decline of the same amount a month earlier.

Consumers who have been spending, the report showed, have concentrated their purchases on imported goods, leaving domestic manufacturers with huge inventories of unsold products.

Earlier, the Conference Board reported a 2.1-percent falloff in its consumer confidence index in July. Only 20 percent of households expect conditions to improve in the next six months, the board reported.

There were more disturbing economic signals:

- The leading economic indicators rose an anemic three-tenths of 1 percent in June, the Commerce Dept. reported. At the same time it revised its May figures downward so that instead of rising two-tenths of 1 percent in May, as previously reported, the indicators actually dropped one-tenth of 1 percent.

The biggest drag on the index was the drop in business and consumer credit and a decline in the average workweek, while the positive factors were centered in the finan-

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Most Bell companies agree on new contracts with CWA

The Communications Workers reached agreements covering nearly a quarter of a million workers at most of the Bell telephone operating companies across the country. But the collapse of negotiations with another regionwide company and three smaller units triggered strikes by 58,000 CWA members.

The union was faced with the challenge of negotiating some 40 different contracts with the "Baby Bells"—the seven regional operating companies created in the wake of the 1984 court-ordered breakup of AT&T. Previously all of the employees of the Bell companies and AT&T were covered by a single national agreement.

CWA won settlements covering 63,000 members at Bell South, headquartered in Atlanta; 48,000 at the St. Louis-based Southwestern Bell Corp.; 44,000 at Pacific Telesis Group in San Francisco; 40,000 at Bell Atlantic Corp., headquartered in Philadelphia; 40,000 at Pacific Northwest Bell, Mountain Bell and Northwestern Bell—the latter two after a one-day strike; as well as 21,000 at Ameritech's Illinois Bell, and thousands more at Wisconsin Bell, Indiana Bell and Ohio Bell.

Meanwhile, the Electrical Workers reached agreements covering 17,000 members at Nynex, most of them employees of New England Telephone Co.; 13,000 Illinois Bell workers; 12,000 Bell Atlantic employees, and small groups of workers at Mountain Bell and Pacific Telesis.

Approximately 40,000 CWA members

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House prods EPA on school asbestos

The House voted to require the Environmental Protection Agency to set standards for safe removal of asbestos hazards from school buildings and a House-Senate conference committee broke a long deadlock over renewal of the Superfund program to clean up the nation's toxic waste dumps.

Both measures have strong labor support.

The Service Employees and other unions whose members are directly affected have pressed Congress and the courts to compel EPA to issue rules for the detection and abatement of asbestos hazards in the nation's schools.

In 1984, Congress authorized federal grants and loans to help school districts remove asbestos hazards and assigned responsibility to EPA. But congressional testimony this year indicated that unsafe and incomplete asbestos removal operations under EPA's lax guidelines may have caused more cancer from deadly asbestos particles than it prevented.

Senate panel acts

On the same day the House passed a bipartisan bill by voice vote, the Senate Environment & Public Works Committee gave unanimous endorsement to a companion measure that comes even closer to the union position.

SEIU President John J. Sweeney, whose union represents some 100,000 school custodial and maintenance workers, welcomed the action as evidence of a congressional commitment "to begin defusing our nation's asbestos time bomb this year."

He termed the legislation moving through Congress "a good start" toward providing needed protections for school employees and school children. The SEIU also has pending a lawsuit to compel EPA to establish effective standards for eliminating asbestos hazards.

In a major breakthrough, a House-Senate conference reached agreement on a long-stalled bill to expand the toxic waste cleanup program, and a second set of conferees is seeking to resolve differences over the financing of the Superfund that will pay for the program.

The legislation agreed to in conference,

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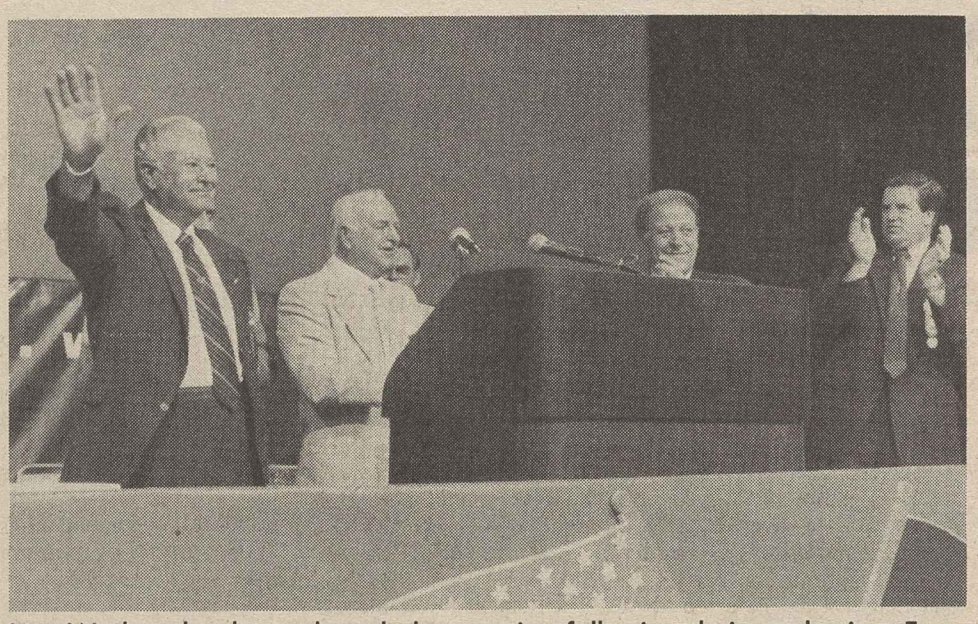


Iron Workers leaders acknowledge ovation following their re-election. From left, President Juel D. Drake, delegate C. W. Lansford who nominated Drake, Secretary Jake West and Treasurer James Cole.

Drake gets new term

Iron Workers roused to defend union gains

Las Vegas, Nev.—The Iron Workers' 37th convention joined President Juel D. Drake in sending a message to anti-labor forces that the union will stoutly defend the gains it has won over the past 90 years.

"Iron Workers will speak out for the trade union principles which brought so much progress to our members," Drake said in his keynote address. "We are committed, we are united, we are union, and we are damn proud of it."

He added that "while others may write about the demise of the labor movement," Iron Workers intended to "spark a renaissance of brotherhood" within their own ranks.

In charting the union's course for the next five years, Drake noted that the convention met in a period of depressed conditions that had caused serious membership losses. He called for actions to stem the employment decline in the industry.

He told the more than 1,000 delegates that Iron Workers must "exert every ounce of energy we possess fighting the forces that challenge our very existence."

The union faces an openly anti-union National Labor Relations Board, Drake declared, is encountering problems related to the Labor-Management Reporting & Disclosure Act, and has to deal with "touchy" secondary boycott situations.

In addition, he asserted, the union is under increased pressure from open-shop forces, must cope with the regressive policies of the Reagan Administration, and is encountering repeated demands from management for wage cuts and other givebacks.

Delegates re-elected Drake to a five-year term. He had been chosen by the executive council in 1985 to succeed John H. Lyons Jr., who resigned because of ill health. Also re-elected were Secretary Jake West, Treasurer James Cole and all executive council members. Only Cole and 9th Vice President Fhane B. Jones faced re-election contests.

Per capita raised

To help the union mobilize its resources for the fight against anti-labor forces, delegates voted to increase per capita dues, now $10.15 a month, in stages until they reach $13.15 in 1989. Members of shop locals and Navy Yard rigger locals will have their dues increased to $5.50 a month on Jan. 1, 1988, and to $6 effective Jan. 1, 1989.

The convention approved resolutions dealing with jurisdictional activities, political action, the Hobbs Act, the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Deficit Reduction Act, the Davis-Bacon Act, collective bargaining, on-the-job safety, problems it has encountered with the Occupational Safety & Health Administration, grievances and organizing.

Delegates also approved 15 percent pay raises, to be implemented in two stages in 1988 and 1989, for the officers and organizers as well as for members who leave their craft jobs to work for the union.

California Fed rallies support for candidates in crucial races

Sacramento, Calif.—Delegates to the California AFL-CIO's biennial convention pledged to work for the election of state and congressional candidates who share labor's goals.

The 410 delegates endorsed and gave an enthusiastic welcome to Democratic candidates for governor and senator.

Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, who is running for governor against incumbent Republican George Deukmejian told a cheering audience that his gains in the polls from being 22 percent behind to just 3 percent behind mean "we are on our way."

Sen. Alan Cranston, backed for re-election, warned of soaring unemployment and the accelerating shift of wealth from the poorest to the richest.

The convention voted support for the re-election of Lt. Gov. Leo T. McCarthy, Sec. of State March Fong Eu, Treasurer Jesse Unruh and Attorney General John Van deKamp, and election of Assemblyman Gray Davis as controller. The state's six Supreme Court justices, including Chief Justice Rose Bird, were also endorsed.

In sizing up the statewide initiatives on the November ballot, the delegates opposed Proposition 61, which would restrict compensation of public officials and workers and Proposition 62, to impose new restrictions on local taxation.

The convention urged defeat of Proposition 64, the "Lyndon LaRouche" initiative subjecting AIDS victims to quarantine and isolation statutes.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue told the convention that the federation is still pressing for "full affiliation of every member of every union in every state federation and with the local central bodies."

Legislative goals

The convention called for an increase in the minimum wage, creation of a youth job corps, a higher tax levy on business property and restoration of state services that have been curtailed under Deukmejian.

Executive Sec.-Treas. John Henning and President Albin Gruhn were re-elected to new two-year terms, as were 35 vice presidents, including three recently appointed to fill vacancies—Margaret Butz, Service Employees; Armando Lopez, Laborers, and Steven T. Nutter, Ladies Garment Workers.

Delegates for 29 retiree groups were seated as full voting members for the first time, the result of a 1984 convention action.

N.Y. labor wins sweatshop curbs, toxic safety law

Albany, N.Y.—Unions hailed the enactment of labor-backed laws lengthening the time limit for filing state suits in cases of worker exposure to toxic substances, blocking the proliferation of sweatshops and tightening controls on asbestos removal.

The toxic exposure law caps a six-year legislative battle by the state AFL-CIO, local unions, environmentalists and citizens' groups to get the measure passed in the Senate, where the Republican majority had blocked it each year.

The law applies the three-year statute of limitations from the time an injury or disease is discovered rather than from the time of the actual exposure. Additionally, for a one-year period, the law revives certain time-barred claims for workers injured by exposure to asbestos, chlordane, polyvinyl chloride, tungsten carbide and DES (diethylstilbestrol). An estimated 5,000 persons could now file suit for claims on past inquiries, the state federation noted.

The measure affects more than 3,000 workers in the state with asbestos-related diseases who under the previous law were barred from participating in the litigation against Manville Corp., the asbestos manufacturer.

The anti-sweatshop bill requires garment manufacturers to register with the New York Dept. of Labor and sets up a task force in the state agency to coordinate and strengthen enforcement of laws and regulations related to the sweatshop operations.

Broad impact

Jay Mazur, president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, praised the new law and noted that "legitimate employers and their workers are at a severe disadvantage in seeking to compete with unscrupulous sweatshop operators." Even the state "is victimized by this underground economy which fails to pay taxes" or contribute to the systems that protect workers, he said.

The asbestos law requires contractors to get a state license for asbestos removal and to hire only workers trained in proper handling of the substance which can cause a variety of cancers and asbestosis, a lung disease.

The new laws went into effect immediately after they were signed by Gov. Mario Cuomo.

Most Bell companies agree on new contracts with CWA

Continued from Page 1

went on strike after negotiations broke down with Nynex Corp., which covers telephone workers in New York and New England. Another 13,000 struck Michigan Bell, 3,000 walked off the job at Ameritech Publishing and 2,000 were idled at US West Direct, the publishing arm of the Denver-based "Baby Bell."

The settlements reached to date provide wage gains generally ranging from 9 to 14 percent when combined with either cost-of-living adjustments, lump-sum payments or incentive bonuses.

In the face of rapid changes in the industry, the CWA also won improved job security provisions that include job retraining funds, job reassignments and relocation assistance to help workers facing layoffs.

Union negotiators generally were able to beat back management efforts to undercut existing health insurance coverage, and gained pension increases for both current and future retirees.

Ratification votes at the various regional and local operating companies have been set for September.

In a related development, CWA members overwhelmingly ratified their first post-divestiture contracts with the six AT&T national units. The settlement, achieved after a 26-day strike by 155,000 workers, was approved by a 3-to-1 margin.

The AT&T pact contains nearly $750 million in improvements, including a 10.2-percent increase in wages and benefits over three years and an employment protection package that CWA President Morton Bahr described as "a quantum leap towards CWA's goal of lifetime employment security."

The negotiations were complicated by the insistence of some regional "baby Bells" that the union negotiate separately with each of their individual operating companies.

But CWA members voted by better than a 3-to-1 margin to arm negotiators with strike authorization, enabling them, as Bahr said, to "stand firm" in their demands for greater employment security and wage increases from the "highly profitable Bell operations."

Court slams NLRB on back pay denial

San Francisco—A National Labor Relations Board ruling that denied back pay awards to illegal aliens was overturned by the 9th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals.

The NLRB's ruling that workers must prove they are legally entitled to work in the United States before getting back pay to which they are entitled "encourages employers to continue to violate" federal labor laws, the court said.

If the labor board's decision were left standing, the court held, employers would run only a "slight" risk of contempt penalties for violating cease-and-desist orders.

"Contempt proceedings would require a further complaint from an undocumented employee who knew that filing a charge would immediately place his or her immigration status in jeopardy," the majority opinion pointed out. "Few undocumented workers would take such a chance.

"Moreover, the knowledge that deportation proceedings are a likely consequence of filing a successful unfair labor practice charge would chill severely the inclination of any unlawfully treated undocumented worker to vindicate his or her rights before the NLRB."

The NLRB position would give employers "less incentive to obey" the law, with the result that American and documented alien workers would also suffer, the court said. "Unscrupulous employers would be encouraged to hire undocumented workers for the competitive advantage that an environment relatively free of labor safeguards may offer."

ILGWU local

The case involved employees of Felbro Inc., a manufacturer of wire and tubular displays. In August 1981, the employees voted in favor of Warehouse & Office Workers Local 512, an affiliate of the Ladies' Garment Workers, in an NLRB representation election.

Between the time of the election and the board's certification of the results, Felbro temporarily laid off some employees without notifying the union or giving it a chance to bargain over the matter.

Felbro reinstated the workers prior to a hearing before an administrative law judge, who noted that several of the laid-off workers were undocumented workers. The ALJ allowed them to testify under assumed names and did not require them to answer questions about their immigration status.

In denying the back pay award to workers who could not prove they were lawfully in the United States, the NLRB said it was relying on a 1984 Supreme Court ruling in a case in which the employer, retaliating against workers' union activities, contacted the Immigration & Naturalization Service to report that several of its employees were illegal aliens.

The appellate court, however, noted that the 1984 case involved workers who returned voluntarily to Mexico rather than await deportation proceedings and who therefore had no prospect of legal re-entry into this country. In the Felbro case, it pointed out, the workers not only remained in the United States but ultimately were rehired.

Congress obviously never intended to place on an NLRB compliance officer "the responsibility of determining the alien status of an undocumented worker and denying that person the benefit" of the remedies called for in the National Labor Relations Act, the court said.

Pension plan terminations add to strain on system

The pace at which corporations terminated pension plans increased dramatically in fiscal 1985, as employers bailed out of their obligations to workers and retirees and dumped the financial burden on the federal government.

That's the gist of the annual report of the government's Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., which sustained an $863-million operating loss last year—nearly double the total losses reported for the first 10 years of its existence.

The accelerated pace at which industry is backing out of its responsibilities "poses a serious threat" to the government's continued ability to provide a safety net for 38 million American workers who participate in more than 112,000 private-sector pension plans, PBGC Executive Director Kathleen P. Utgoff warned.

The agency said the 1985 losses were fueled by the terminations of multi-million-dollar pension plans at Allis-Chalmers and Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. The steel company used voluntary bankruptcy as a way to unload its plan onto the government.

The deteriorating situation brought a new call from the AFL-CIO for legislation forcing employers to live up to their pension responsibilities and increase employer premiums to guarantee the continued solvency of the PBGC.

Evading responsibilities

"Too many companies are using voluntary bankruptcy to avoid their collective bargaining responsibilities," declared Lawrence Smedley, associate director of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security. "Employers should be required to sit down and negotiate with their unions to keep these plans afloat."

And higher PBGC premiums on single-employer plans would enable the government agency to meet its obligations in those instances where there is no other recourse but termination, he asserted.

More trouble lies ahead, Smedley cautioned, because LTV Corp., the nation's second largest steel producer, has filed for voluntary bankruptcy. If its pension plan is terminated, he declared, "other steel corporations might follow suit in order to prevent LTV from gaining a competitive advantage because it has been relieved of its pension liabilities."

Utgoff suggested that more action by Congress is needed. Legislation enacted earlier this year "provided reforms and a long overdue increase in the single-employer premium," she declared, but it didn't "solve all of the problems confronting the program."

The report showed that PBGC's accumulated deficit for single-employer programs rose to over $1.3 billion in fiscal 1985—nearly three times the deficit reported only one year earlier. By mid-1986, this deficit had increased to $1.7 billion, the agency said.

During 1985, the agency became trustee for 91 underfunded pension plans terminated by employers, continuing a trend that has accelerated under the Reagan Administration.

Between 1975 and 1978, the agency said, the average amount of underfunding was $300,000 per plan. This rose to an average of $1 million between 1979 and 1972, and shot up to $3.5 million per plan between 1983 and 1985.

Grabbing 'surplus' assets

The agency reported a sharp upswing in the number of applications by employers to terminate plans that were sufficiently funded but that offered management an opportunity to cash in alleged surpluses while stock prices and interest rates were still high.

There were 8,635 of these applications in 1985—the fifth consecutive year in which the number of such termination requests increased.

PBGC was created by Congress in 1974 as part of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act to guarantee payment of basic retirement benefits earned by American workers participating in private-sector pension plans.

Threat of LTV benefit cutoff explored at House hearing

The health and life insurance benefits of retired workers should be accorded the same bankruptcy law protection as other provisions of a collective bargaining agreement, union witnesses urged at House hearings.

Backdrop to the hearings was the since-rescinded unilateral action by LTV Corp. to stop paying health insurance and life insurance premiums for some 66,000 retired workers after having filed for bankruptcy protection. Most of the LTV retirees had been represented by the Steelworkers, but some had been in bargaining units represented by the Auto Workers and the Mine Workers.

The company backed down after a Steelworkers local struck its big East Chicago, Ind., plant and other LTV locals prepared to join the walkout. LTV then sought and got bankruptcy court "permission" to pay insurance premiums for retirees, retroactive to the cutoff, at least through mid-January.

Steelworkers Attorney Carl Frankel and Auto Workers Attorney Michael B. Nicholson urged a House Judiciary subcommittee to protect LTV employees by approving a bill already passed by the Senate that would require LTV to continue paying premiums unless prevented by a court order.

Congress should also make clear, they urged, that the protection it provided against unilateral changes in collective bargaining agreements covering employees also apply to retiree benefits.

Lifetime protection

Frankel told the subcommittee that the union-management agreements covering medical and life insurance coverage for LTV retirees "provide that these benefits are vested for life and continue beyond the expiration of the collective bargaining agreements. The agreements expressly provide that any changes are subject to negotiation between the company and the union."

Nicholson's testimony for the UAW said the amendments to the bankruptcy law that Congress enacted make clear that all of the provisions of a collective bargaining agreement are protected from unilateral change. But he said Congress should also assure that retirement benefits generally should be accorded more protection in a bankruptcy proceeding than commercial debts, even if the retirement benefits did not arise out of a collective bargaining requirement.

Commercial creditors can wait for their claims to be dealt with under bankruptcy proceedings better than retirees can go without medical protection, he said.

When LTV announced that it would stop paying retiree insurance payments, bills were introduced by Rep. Louis B. Stokes (D-Ohio) and 45 House co-sponsors, and by Senators Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) and John Heinz (R-Pa.). The Senate gave the legislation priority consideration and passed it the day that LTV obtained the court agreement for restoration, leading to the end of the strike.

Burlington boycott rescinded after workers return

The AFL-CIO Executive Council lifted its boycott of the Burlington Northern Air Freight Co. after 22 locked-out Typographical Union members returned to their jobs in Toronto under the provisions of a new "first-contract" law enacted by Ontario's provincial legislature.

The workers were locked out and replaced by scabs in May 1985, following a year-long campaign by ITU Local 91 to negotiate a first contract after being certified as the bargaining agent for air cargo handlers.

The union accused Burlington Northern of violating Canadian labor law by failing to bargain in good faith and by locking out its members. It also filed charges against the company for such union-busting activities as suspending some employees and demoting others.

Ontario's new law requires that when labor and management can't agree on a first contract, the issue must be turned over to a neutral mediator, who has 45 days to hand down a binding decision on the terms of the contract. Meanwhile, employees must be reinstated with the same wages and working conditions that prevailed prior to the lockout.

The key issue in the negotiations is Burlington Northern's insistence on converting all of the Toronto terminal workers into part-time employees—a move, Local 91 Vice President Joseph Bigeau charged, that would deprive them of their rights to a union contract.

The federation acted at the ITU's request in lifting the boycott it imposed three months ago against the California-based BNAF. The Canadian Labor Congress also has ended its consumer boycott.

AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust board meets in Chicago.

Housing Trust reports gain in investments and new jobs

Chicago—The AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust produced an annual return on investments of 16 percent between Oct. 1, 1984, and June 30, 1986, while meeting its primary goal of creating jobs for union members and affordable housing, the AFL-CIO Executive Council was told.

The assets of the fund during that period increased by 37.9 percent to $145,916,750 while its ratio of expenses to average net assets was cut in half from 1.4 percent to seven-tenths of 1 percent.

The HIT board of trustees unanimously adopted a resolution expressing deep concern over the "possible disastrous effects on housing of the Reagan Administration's efforts to weaken or dismantle Federal Housing Administration mortgage insurance programs."

In detailing the fund's success to the Executive Council, HIT officers announced that its board is continuing efforts to set up a parallel trust fund for commercial and industrial real estate. Negotiations are proceeding with a major Washington bank toward establishing such a new trust fund, which like the housing trust would help create jobs for unions members.

The board named Marvin S. Gilman as its chairman, filling the vacancy created when Floyd H. Hyde became the fund's chief executive officer upon the death of John Evans.

Gilman is president of Metropolitan Executive Corp. and Gilman Development Co. of Wilmington, Del. He had been vice chairman of the HIT board's executive committee.

Explaining the board's concern over White House actions aimed at FHA, Gilman noted that they have included proposals to sell FHA assets to private business concerns, large budget and staff cuts in housing programs, disallowing closing costs as part of the mortgage, arbitrary limits on the income of program participants, and efforts to limit Government National Mortgage Association authorizations.

Convention approval

Elevator union raises per capita

Denver—The Elevator Constructors approved a five-step increase in per capita payments of 50-cent annual increments until the union's next convention in 1991.

Convention delegates set the monthly per capita at $8.70 and the annual half-dollar increases will begin on Jan. 1, 1987. The convention gave the executive board authority to waive payment of an annual increase if it determines the added payment is not necessary for a given year.

President Everett Treadway in his convention address told delegates that the union's membership had increased more than 21 percent from 19,322 members in 1981 to 23,436 this year.

He noted that the convention "comes at a time of great problems for working people. Real family income is on the decline; jobs are going overseas and the great middle class of America is slowly being weakened and destroyed."

Treadway warned the delegates that "our standard of living—the envy of the world—is now in jeopardy. The labor movement is the guardian of the people. We have fought for public schools, worked for a high minimum wage, toiled for a decent labor law and struggled for a fair trade policy . . . What we want is a full opportunity for all."

New 5-year terms

Treadway, Sec.-Treas. John Russell and Assistant to the President Jerome Mullett were all re-elected to five-year terms without opposition. The union's eight vice presidents were also re-elected.

Elected to the union's national bargaining team, were John DeRosa of New Haven, Conn., Thomas Bush of Chicago, Russell Schergen of St. Louis and Fred Ratliff of Greensboro, N.C.

AFL-CIO Vice President Robert A. Georgine, president of the Building & Construction Trades Dept., detailed labor's struggles under the past five-and-a-half years of the Reagan Administration and explained the need for enactment of a law to block "double-breasting" in the construction industry.

Other convention speakers were Rep. Timothy Wirth (D-Colo.), who is running for the Senate and John J. Donlon, secretary of the Colorado Building & Construction Trades Council.

The convention acted on 520 resolutions. The delegates voiced strong support for retaining and improving its national wage formula in upcoming bargaining. They also backed improvements in the union's pension fund so members can retire at full pension at age 55 after 30 years of participation in the plan. Currently early retirement at age 55 is at a reduced pension.

The convention voiced opposition to the use of toxic chemicals in the workplace without adequate protections for workers.

Bottom of the barrel

Masters III beer, which the anti-union Adolph Coors Co. introduced 10 months ago with much fanfare, is fizzling out. Sales of the beer will be ended, appropriately enough, by Labor Day.

Masters, brewed at the Coors plant in Golden, Colo., was "just another product" made by the firm without a Coors label. "It's Coors's way of sliding around labor's boycott," said David Sickler, coordinator of the AFL-CIO's national boycott of Coors products and director of Region VI.

Coors spent millions of dollars to develop and promote the new product. But sales went flat.

Brewery Workers Local 366, an AFL-CIO directly affiliated local union, struck Coors in 1977 over human dignity issues and set in motion a successful boycott of Coors products. "Those strike issues remain the same," Sickler said, referring to the company's use of lie detectors, forced physical examinations, search and seizure of workers' private property and the threat of discharge for workers who make derogatory remarks about the employer.

Masters was initially sold in Washington, Boston, Miami and Columbus, Ohio. Coors stopped brewing Masters in July, and the company's headquarters in Alexandria, Va., will be closed by Sept. 1.

The failure of the joint venture is part of a downhill slide by the brewery since labor's boycott began. Between 1976 and 1984 Coors's sales fell by 1 million barrels although the company attempted to expand sales to 46 states.

USWA rallies public behind lockout victims

Pittsburgh—As the lockout of 22,000 Steelworkers by USX Corp. entered its third week, the USWA mounted an information campaign to focus attention on the company's tactics and win public support for the jobless workers.

The union is disputing several of the giant steelmaker's claims, charging that USX overestimated its hourly labor costs in order to wring wage and benefit concessions from USWA members.

In a special report to USX workers, the union pointed out further discrepancies in the steelmaker's claims. A letter to USWA members from USX stated that USS—the company's steel division—lost $225 million in 1985. But the annual report to stockholders told a different story—that USS actually earned $27 million in 1985, the union said.

Treasurer James McGeehan, the union's chief negotiator, said there had been no contact with the steelmaker since the lockout began Aug. 1. McGeehan stressed that the union was ready to meet and discuss any substantive proposals, but said no negotiations had been scheduled.

Strategy session

A committee formed by the AFL-CIO Executive Council to work with USWA President Lynn Williams and chaired by President Murray Finley of the Clothing & Textile Workers, met in Chicago to map strategies and offer assistance to the locked-out workers. Committee members include Machinists President William Winpisinger, Operating Engineers President Larry Dugan and Industrial Union Dept. President Howard Samuel.

The committee called on each AFL-CIO affiliate to appoint a coordinator to work with the USWA on picket line demonstrations, newspaper ads, Labor Day rallies, fund raising activities and other programs.

Meanwhile, USX announced it was cutting the salaries of management at its headquarters by 10 percent and said it would furlough some salaried employees at steel facilities to save money during the dispute.

Industry role hit in flawed study on cancer risk

A National Cancer Institute study that found "little evidence" linking formaldehyde to cancer in workers was sharply criticized at a congressional hearing for being unduly influenced by employers and for reaching conclusions not supported by research data. The study was jointly funded and produced by the Formaldehyde Institute, an industry group.

Earlier studies clearly established the cancer hazard in formaldehyde exposure.

Members of a House Energy & Commerce subcommittee noted that five of the six members of an NCI formaldehyde advisory panel had objected to study director Aaron Blair's conclusions.

Subcommittee Chairman John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) challenged Blair for ignoring the advisory panel's concerns. In questioning Blair about a provision that required changes to be approved by the industry, Dingell said, "It literally gives them a veto, doesn't it?" Blair replied, "It could be interpreted that way."

Committee member Rep. Ron Weyden (D-Ore.) charged that Blair had violated "the fairness test" by presenting the study's findings to formaldehyde manufacturers last September, while refusing to provide the results to officials of the Occupational Safety & Health Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency or organized labor until five months later.

Dr. Philip Landrigan, director of environmental and occupational medicine at New York's Mount Sinai School of Medicine, told the House panel that NCI's agreement to keep secret the study sites and the criteria for selecting them departed from standard scientific procedures.

Industry sets terms

AFL-CIO job safety specialist Margaret Seminario charged that the "supposed independent government study" of 10 plants was "a repackaging of industry data under an NCI label." The Formaldehyde Institute, in helping to design the study, already knew the cancer mortality rates at four of the 10 plants because they were the subject of previous industry studies.

She was joined by Auto Workers Safety Director Dr. Franklin E. Mirer and Clothing & Textile Workers Safety Director Eric Frumin.

Seminario pointed out that the study, whose parameters were drawn by the industry group, did not include even one worker out of some 26,000 studied who received a cumulative exposure at a level permitted by OSHA's current standard of 3 parts formaldehyde per million parts air.

Only about 800 workers had been exposed to levels of 1 ppm, a revised limit OSHA is considering.

The labor witnesses identified five key obstacles to occupational health research, listing access to data and the workplace by independent scientists as the largest obstacle. Funding has become nearly as great an obstacle, they stressed, especially under the Reagan Administration. One NCI researcher, facing layoff during the study, was hired by the E.I. Dupont de Nemours Co. and allowed to continue to work on the study—"a potentially damaging conflict," the panel said.

The practice of using staff from affected companies should end, the union witnesses said the Congress should provide more funding for more effective research.

Actors win increased share of videocassette revenues

Los Angeles—Two major actors' unions won 10-percent wage increases and a bigger share of the lucrative videocassette sales market in a three-year contract, averting a walkout that could have delayed the start of the fall television season.

The 92,000 members of the Screen Actors Guild and the Television & Radio Artists will share 4.5 percent of the first $1 million in cassette sales and 5.4 percent of everything above that amount. Last year's videocassette sales totaled a hefty $1.5 billion and the market is growing.

In addition, the unions accepted a $3-million lump-sum payment to settle claims on past cassette sales. The money will go to a fund benefiting needy actors.

The two unions won 5-percent increases in initial compensation and network prime-time residual ceilings, retroactive to July 1, with an additional 5-percent hike effective Jan. 1, 1988.

AFTRA and SAG members had voted by a nearly 7-to-1 margin to authorize a walkout if a agreement wasn't reached before the old contract expired July 30.

The tentative agreement was approved by a 42-10 vote of the joint union board and is subject to ratification by mail ballot. Results are expected by the end of August.

In a major victory, the contract with the Alliance of Motion Picture & Television Producers imposes the provisions of California's stringent child labor laws on all film production anywhere in the nation.

Concern for the safety of child actors has escalated since the 1983 incident in which two Vietnamese children and veteran screen actor Vic Morrow were killed while filming "The Twilight Zone" movie. A jury is currently being selected in Los Angeles Superior Court for a criminal trial stemming from that tragedy.

Benefit gains

The contract gives SAG and AFTRA members improved health and pension benefits, affirmative action hiring and increased safety procedures for stunt people.

In the final hours of negotiation, AFTRA beat back a management demand that would have given producers the right to exploit in the pay-TV, cable and cassette markets prime-time programs made as far back as 1952 without the consent of either performers or their union.

Gannon voices concern

Fire Fighters focus on job hazards

Las Vegas, Nev.—Fire Fighters convention delegates, underscoring heightened concern over safety and health hazards, called for improvements in safety gear, contract language and illness prevention programs.

IAFF President John A. Gannon, in his keynote address, stressed that a "prime objective of the IAFF must be to make fire fighting less dangerous—to reduce the toll of deaths and injuries. We know the hazards, but we also know that the hazards can be brought down to a minimum."

Gannon noted that within the past two years the union established an occupational safety department which is pushing programs to improve protective clothing, to tighten contract safety language, to abate noise exposure and to help prevent heart attacks and cancer.

The delegates gave their final farewell with a period of silence to the 95 members who died in the line-of-duty since the last convention.

Gannon was re-elected to a fourth two-year term, defeating David McCormack, former head of a New York local and more recently an IAFF staff member and consultant. Gannon drew 81,154 votes to McCormack's 61,067.

Sec.-Treas. Alfred K. Whitehead of Los Angeles was re-elected without opposition to a third term. Two new vice presidents were elected: William Jordan of Minneapolis defeated incumbent Leroy Waite of Beloit, Wis., and Jerry Ritchie of Burnaby, B.C., was elected to succeed William Copeland of Vancouver, who retired.

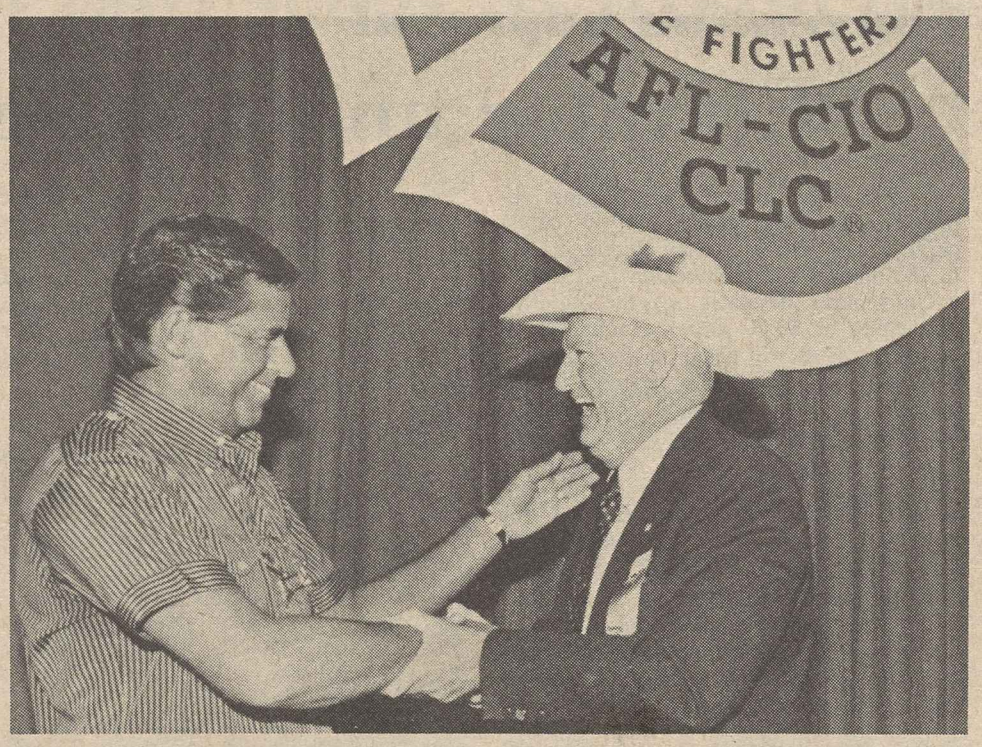
The more than 1,400 delegates acted to increase the terms of the president and secretary-treasurer to four years, beginning with the 1988 election. Vice presidents will continue to be elected to two-year terms. The change in the term of office was one of nearly 30 recommendations made by an organizational study committee of local, state and provincial leaders.

Per capita increase

Delegates voted to increase monthly per capita payments by 24 cents effective Sept. 1 to $3.72 and by at least 18 cents next year. Included in that will be 4 cents each year for FIRE-PAC, the union's political education fund and 12 cents this year and 14 cents next year to cover increased costs. The remainder of the per capita increase is spread across a variety of projects, including a drive to gain passage of more state cancer-presumptive laws—measures that presume that a fire fighter who gets cancer most likely got the disease from on-the-job exposure to toxic substances.

The convention sent a message of strong support to the Steelworkers who were locked out by the USX Corp. In a letter to USWA President Lynn Williams, the delegates said, "We are completely in your corner in your determined resistance to this corporation's efforts to smash the wage standards and working conditions built up by your union through collective bargaining."

Entertainer Jerry Lewis, head of the national Muscular Dystrophy Association, thanked the delegates for the union's decades of support for MDA, noting that over the past 32 years, the union had been responsible for raising $53 million.



Entertainer Jerry Lewis thanks IAFF President John A. Gannon for the union's substantial contributions to the Muscular Dystrophy Association.

Foreign threat mounts

Maritime unions rally to save U.S. shipping

Luxembourg—Eight American maritime unions launched a stepped-up drive to stem the tide of foreign competition that is eroding jobs along American waterfronts and aboard U.S.-flag vessels.

The unions adopted a four-point resolution to deal with what they termed "the precarious condition of the U.S. maritime industry."

The joint action came during the 35th world congress of the International Transport Workers Federation, a worldwide labor organization representing more than 6 million transport workers in 78 countries of the free world.

Signing the resolution were Presidents Thomas W. Gleason of the Longshoremen, Frank Drozak of the Seafarers, Shannon Wall of the Maritime Union, William Steinberg of the American Radio Association, Robert Lowen of the Masters, Mates & Pilots, Raymond McKay of the Marine Engineers, Thomas Harper of the Radio Officers and James Herman of the unaffiliated Longshoremen & Warehousemen.

The union leaders expressed concern over the rate-cutting war being waged by foreign-flag operators, pointing out that this predatory competition has denied U.S.-flag vessels "an equitable share of tonnage" moved in worldwide shipping.

"Since the U.S. government has agreed to subsidize grain sales to Russia and China, and may also subsidize sales to other nations," the resolution declared, "maritime unions will take all the necessary steps to achieve a minimum goal that 50 percent of all such sales shall move in U.S.-flag ships."

The union leaders also pledged to:

- Establish and implement a program to achieve the goals of revitalizing the lagging U.S. maritime industry.
- Meet periodically to discuss a broad range of issues that affect workers at port facilities and aboard ship.
- Give "all necessary assistance" to the ILA in its current collective bargaining with waterfront management. Present contracts expire on Sept. 30.

The ITF congress heard Drozak, president of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Dept., issue a blistering attack on the "disgraceful specter of apartheid in South Africa." He reminded delegates of the ongoing boycott of Shell Oil Co. products to protest that company's support of the white minority government and its anti-union policies.

Boycott coordination

The boycott being conducted in the United States by the AFL-CIO was launched at the request of South African unions and is being carried out in conjunction with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Drozak denounced the Reagan Administration's "morally bankrupt position" against sanctions. A crackdown on the Pretoria regime is the only way to end South Africa's racial strife, he pointed out. Reagan's stance, Drozak declared, "makes a shameful mockery" of America's commitment to "liberty and justice for all."

In other actions, the ITF:

- Adopted an anti-terrorism resolution submitted by the SIU urging government action to improve security and protect the lives of passengers and crews on ship.
- Reaffirmed a policy position calling for coverage of fishermen under the International Labor Organization's seafarer instruments.
- Pressed free world governments to enact legislation curbing pollution in the interest of the marine environment, workers in the fishing industry and consumers.

The congress also dealt with the issues of full employment, nuclear power and nuclear waste, privatization of public transportation systems, and trade union rights —particularly in South Africa and South America.

Timber unions ratify contracts at Weyerhaeuser

Portland, Ore.—Some 7,500 timber workers, members of two unions, voted to end their six-week strike against Weyerhaeuser Co. and accept new two-year contracts that provide a profit-sharing plan in exchange for rollbacks of wages and benefits.

Meanwhile, bargaining continues on contracts covering another 14,000 workers in the Northwest timber country. At Willamette Industries, some 800 members of the Lumber, Production & Industrial Workers Council of Carpenters have been on strike since July 21. They have voted down Willamette's proposals by better than a 2-to-1 margin. Another 600 members of the Woodworkers also voted down an identical offer.

The Woodworkers' 6,500 members at Weyerhaeuser voted to approve the contract by a 2-to-1 margin. The 1,000 members of the LPIW voted acceptance by a narrower margin.

The profitsharing plan, which will be based on a mill-by-mill basis, will give the workers a third of the profits above 5 percent, rolling them into the wage base. When the wage base has increased by $1.20 an hour, the workers' share of the profits will drop to 10 percent—to be distributed quarterly and not added to the wage base.

The agreement is retroactive to June 1 and the profit sharing began Aug. 1. Weyerhaeuser's second quarter profits were 15 percent higher than for the same period a year earlier.

Willamette, Boise-Cascade Corp. and Champion International Corp. are demanding wage and benefit cuts totaling $2.90 an hour, with no profit-sharing plan or other provision for recouping the lost pay.

Philippine workers play their part in the global assembly line.

Video documentaries focus on labor history

Two television documentaries—one reviewing a special time in the history of working women and the other exploring a less-attractive present—will be broadcast on public television stations following the Labor Day weekend by the Public Broadcasting System.

"The Global Assembly Line" looks at working conditions around the world, from locked factory gates in the United States to modern-day sweatshops in Mexico and the Philippines, where young women make electronics, computer parts and blue jeans for multinational corporations seeking the lowest possible labor costs.

In a moving segment, the women tell of being locked in their factories for days at a time, staring into microscopes to make the tiny components. The program will be aired Sept. 2 at 10 p.m. EDT.

The second documentary, "The Women of Summer," brings viewers to the 50-year reunion of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, a pioneering labor education program.

More than 1,700 women attended the summer sessions held from 1921 through 1938, with graduates continuing their educations to become teachers and community organizers.

"The Women of Summer" will be broadcast on Sept. 3 at 10 p.m. EDT.

The programs received underwriting funds or post-production support from the Clothing & Textile Workers, Ladies' Garment Workers, Electronic Workers and the AFL-CIO Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

Barry named to head IBEW, Pillard retires after 18 years

Charles H. Pillard, president of the Electrical Workers since 1968, will retire Aug. 25. The IBEW executive council appointed Vice President John J. Barry to succeed Pillard, who was named president emeritus.

Barry, of White Plains, N.Y., will serve the remainder of the term which expires during the IBEW's convention next month in Toronto. Delegates will elect officers to four-year terms.

Pillard, 67, is a 46-year member of the IBEW. He first was elected to union office in 1952, when he became business manager of IBEW Local 41 in Buffalo.

Appointed to the international union's executive council in 1961, Pillard was named IBEW president in 1968, replacing Gordon Freeman who resigned.

He was elected to his first full-term as president at the union's convention in 1970 and was re-elected by delegates at the following three conventions. He went on the AFL-CIO Executive Council in 1976.

Pillard is a member of the executive boards of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept., Metal Trades Dept., Industrial Union Dept. and Public Employee Dept. He is the chairman of the federation's Committee on Housing and also serves on the standing committees on Economic Policy, Social Security, Public Relations and Organization & Field Services, and on the board of directors of the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

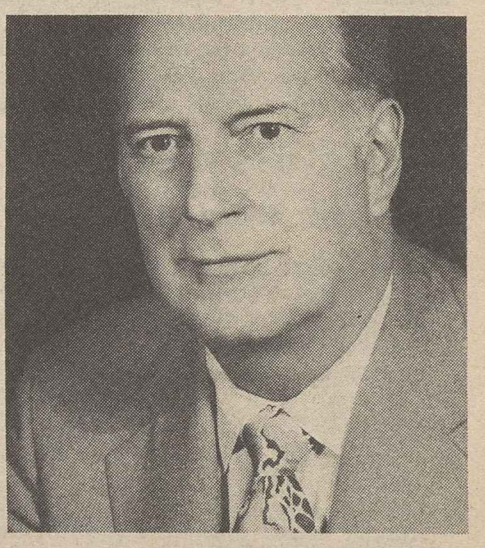
Public service

Active in community affairs, Pillard is a member of the board of governors of the United Way and served as vice chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped for five years.

Pillard also served as a director of the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center and as a trustee for the federation's American Institute for Free Labor Development.

Barry, 62, has been an IBEW vice president since 1976. Earlier, he served as international representative from 1968 until 1976, when he became vice president of IBEW's third district, covering Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania.

Barry has been in the IBEW for 43 years, joining IBEW Local 43 in 1943 and elected business manager in 1962.



John J. Barry

Blaylock raps union-busters

AFGE unfurls agenda for growth

Las Vegas, Nev.—The Government Employees opened their 30th biennial convention on a union-building theme, looking toward an era of growth and solidarity.

The federal workforce is not immune from the attacks on the nation's trade union movement, AFGE President Kenneth T. Blaylock told the 1,300 delegates. Their fellow workers who sent them to the convention, he said, want and need a strong union "that can stand between them and the political forces of power that would do away with our government, that would destroy our jobs."

The "union-busters," Blaylock said, are "the same forces that would balance the budget on the backs of our members, the poor, the veterans, the senior citizens and the other workers of this country."

The AFGE has some 210,000 members but bargains for more than three times that number, and closing the gap between representation and membership is a key union goal.

Blaylock won a sixth two-year term as AFGE president, outpolling four other candidates. Delegates also re-elected Executive Vice President John N. Sturdivant and Women's Dept. Director Barbara B. Hutchinson. Blaylock and Hutchinson both serve on the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

In a contest for secretary-treasurer, Allen H. Kaplan defeated Nicholas J. Nolan, who had held the post since 1974. Kaplan is an AFGE national vice president based in Chicago.

Responding to change

Federation Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue stressed in his convention address the need for unions to respond to changing conditions and plan for the future.

"The status quo won't make it," Donahue said. The challenge is to "make the future serve your members' interests, to look at new methods and new forms that you can apply to organize and better represent the workers."

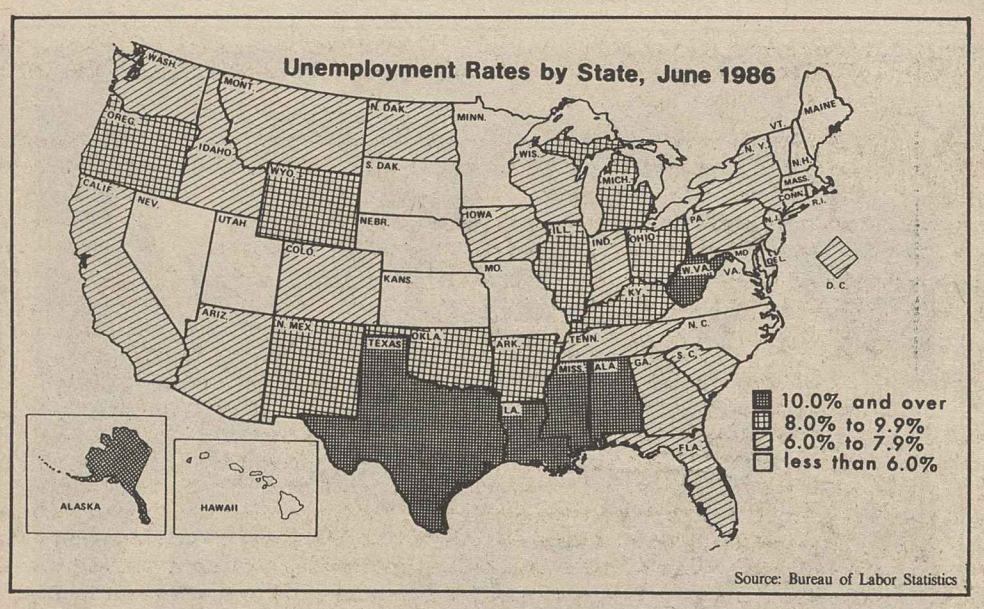
New structures, he urged, should be designed to "draw people into your organization and give them a larger voice in their union."

Donahue assailed the Reagan Administration for "still trying to blame everything on the federal employee" despite having been in charge of government for five and one-half years. "If the problem is the budget deficit, he noted, "the scapegoat is federal benefits and federal pensions."

The convention theme is "unity is power," and the Rev. Jesse Jackson noted it in his address to the convention.

It's "more than a slogan," he said. "It is the truth. Without this unity, we are weak. When we are divided—black against white, brown against black, Jew against Gentile, man against woman, young against old, private-sector worker against government worker—we cannot succeed."

Still ahead for the convention was action on an array of policy resolutions and proposed constitutional changes.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Job losses in southern states stir more fears on economy

Continued from Page 1

cial components—particularly the money supply and the stock market.

- Construction spending rose only one-tenth of 1 percent in June, the weakest showing in three months, with spending running at an annual rate of $275.1 billion. Setting the pace was a 1.7-percent increase in construction of single-family and multi-family units.

On the downside, factory construction was off 3.6 percent, government building fell 2.1 percent, spending on shopping centers and other commercial structures was down 1.4 percent, and office building declined seven-tenths of 1 percent.

- Sales of new single-family homes sank 9.9 percent in June, the third consecutive monthly decline. Despite the drop, sales of single-family homes in the first six months of the year were running 18 percent above the same period in 1985.
- Housing starts edged down eight-tenths of 1 percent in June to an annual rate of 1.85 million units. The June decline followed a sharp 7.9-percent drop in May. Even with the back-to-back losses, housing starts in the first half of the year were 9 percent ahead of the 1985 pace.
- Productivity grew at a sluggish 1.7-percent annual rate during the second quarter, compared to a 4.3-percent climb in the first three months. Manufacturing output was off 1.5 percent—the first quarterly decline since the bottom of the Reagan Recession in 1982. Hours worked dropped at a 3.4-percent annual pace.
- Factory orders fell three-tenths of 1 percent in June, the fourth decline in the last six months. Orders for manufactured goods totaled $191.5 billion—$586 million below the May level and 4.9 percent below the high of $201.2 billion in December.
- The National Association of Purchasing Management reported a "disturbing" downward trend in July as virtually all of its indicators that measure new orders, inventory levels, employment and plant closings were lower than the previous month.
- Business sales picked up five-tenths of 1 percent in June following a steep 1.6-percent plunge the previous month. However, the Commerce Dept. said, inventories on shelves and back lots climbed four-tenths of 1 percent in June as manufacturers waged a losing battle against a build-up of unwanted merchandise. The failure to work down these inventories has triggered plant shutdowns and job layoffs.

Music group hits sour note as CWA strives for harmony

New York—The Communications Workers are using an innovative organizing technique among technicians at ASCAP—the American Society of Composers, Authors & Publishers—to counter the anti-union tactics of a recalcitrant employer.

The technicians—who monitor radio station broadcasts to make certain that the people who write the words and music get their royalties whenever one of their compositions is played on the air—have run into a stonewall of management opposition to their unionizing efforts.

CWA has accused management of engaging in intense anti-union activities, including harassment on the job and threats of firing. ASCAP has also resorted to delaying tactics before the National Labor Relations Board, demanding protracted hearings and attempting to redefine the scope of the bargaining unit.

Rather than allow ASCAP to tie the union up in extended hearings, or to dilute its strength by demanding a wall-to-wall election instead of one involving only the technicians, CWA withdrew its original petition for a representation election.

Now it's advising the technicians how to elect their own shop stewards and keep their members together in an informal union arrangement until management can be brought to the bargaining table.

The employees intend to "function as a union regardless of whether ASCAP chooses to recognize them as such," CWA said. Thus far they have submitted grievances on such basic issues as poor quality equipment, and an infestation of roaches and mice in the facility at Poughkeepsie.

In addition, CWA is working to bring outside pressure on management. It has contacted songwriters urging them to register strong protests with ASCAP President Morton Gould over management's intense anti-union activities.

The union has also asked songwriters to place any new compositions with ASCAP's chief competitor, Broadcast Music Inc., unless management comes to terms with the technicians.

Fred Ross dies at 84, retired union editor

Fred U. Ross, a retired union journalist and an early member of the Newspaper Guild, died Aug. 8 of cancer at the age of 84 in Washington.

He was an assistant editor of the CIO News from 1946 until the AFL-CIO merger in 1955. After merger, Ross served as assistant editor of the American Federationist until 1958.

Ross was born in Harrisburg, Pa., and as a reporter helped organize a local of the Newspaper Guild there.

Rollcall votes in Senate on pay protection issues

These Senate rollcalls on Aug. 8 were on labor-supported amendments by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) to the Defense Dept. authorization bill. They sought to eliminate from the bill provisions seriously weakening prevailing wage requirements of the Service Contract Act and the Davis-Bacon Act. In terms of the AFL-CIO position, R is a right vote, W is wrong. Other symbols: PR—paired right; PW—paired wrong; A—absent.

***Vote No. 1** is the 62-34 victory to keep the Service Contract Act intact by rejecting changes that would come close to repealing it. On this vote, 44 Democrats and 18 Republicans were right; 34 Republicans voted wrong.*

***Vote No. 2** is the 51-44 defeat for labor's position, which left in the Senate bill a provision that excluded construction contracts of under $250,000 from Davis-Bacon Act wage standards. Thirty-four Democrats and 10 Republicans were right; 41 Republicans and 10 Democrats voted wrong.*

	1	2
ALABAMA		
Denton (R)	W	W
Heflin (D)	R	R
ALASKA		
Murkowski (R)	R	R
Stevens (R)	R	R
ARIZONA		
Goldwater (R)	W	W
DeConcini (D)	R	PW
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers (D)	R	W
Pryor (D)	R	W
CALIFORNIA		
Wilson (R)	W	W
Cranston (D)	R	R
COLORADO		
Armstrong (R)	W	W
Hart (D)	R	R
CONNECTICUT		
Weicker (R)	A	A
Dodd (D)	R	R
DELAWARE		
Roth (R)	W	W
Biden (D)	R	R
FLORIDA		
Hawkins (R)	W	W
Chiles (D)	R	W
GEORGIA		
Mattingly (R)	W	W
Nunn (D)	R	W
HAWAII		
Inouye (D)	R	R
Matsunaga (D)	R	R
IDAHO		
McClure (R)	W	W
Symms (R)	W	W
ILLINOIS		
Dixon (D)	R	R
Simon (D)	R	R
INDIANA		
Lugar (R)	W	W
Quayle (R)	W	W
IOWA		
Grassley (R)	W	W
Harkin (D)	R	R
KANSAS		
Dole (R)	W	W
Kassebaum (R)	W	W
KENTUCKY		
McConnell (R)	W	W
Ford (D)	R	W

	1	2
LOUISIANA		
Johnston (D)	R	R
Long (D)	R	R
MAINE		
Cohen (R)	W	W
Mitchell (D)	R	R
MARYLAND		
Mathias (R)	R	R
Sarbanes (D)	R	R
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy (D)	R	R
Kerry (D)	R	R
MICHIGAN		
Levin (D)	R	R
Riegle (D)	R	R
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz (R)	R	W
Durenberger (R)	R	R
MISSISSIPPI		
Cochran (R)	W	W
Stennis (D)	R	W
MISSOURI		
Danforth (R)	R	R
Eagleton (D)	A	A
MONTANA		
Baucus (D)	R	R
Melcher (D)	R	R
NEBRASKA		
Exon (D)	R	W
Zorinsky (D)	PW	W
NEVADA		
Hecht (R)	W	W
Laxalt (R)	W	W
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Humphrey (R)	W	W
Rudman (R)	W	W
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley (D)	PR	PR
Lautenberg (D)	R	R
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici (R)	R	W
Bingaman (D)	R	R
NEW YORK		
D'Amato (R)	R	R
Moynihan (D)	R	R
NORTH CAROLINA		
Broyhill (R)	W	W
Helms (R)	W	W
NORTH DAKOTA		
Andrews (R)	R	R
Burdick (D)	R	R

	1	2
OHIO		
Glenn (D)	R	R
Metzenbaum (D)	R	R
OKLAHOMA		
Nickles (R)	W	W
Boren (D)	R	W
OREGON		
Hatfield (R)	R	W
Packwood (R)	R	R
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz (R)	R	R
Specter (R)	R	R
RHODE ISLAND		
Chafee (R)	R	W
Pell (D)	R	R
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Thurmond (R)	W	W
Hollings (D)	R	W
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Abdnor (R)	W	W
Pressler (R)	W	W
TENNESSEE		
Gore (D)	R	R
Sasser (D)	R	R
TEXAS		
Gramm (R)	W	W
Bentsen (D)	R	W
UTAH		
Garn (R)	W	W
Hatch (R)	W	W
VERMONT		
Stafford (R)	R	A
Leahy (D)	R	R
VIRGINIA		
Trible (R)	W	W
Warner (R)	W	W
WASHINGTON		
Evans (R)	R	W
Gorton (R)	R	W
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd (D)	R	R
Rockefeller (D)	R	R
WISCONSIN		
Kasten (R)	R	W
Proxmire (D)	R	R
WYOMING		
Simpson (R)	W	W
Wallop (R)	W	W

House prods EPA on school asbestos cleanup

Continued from Page 1

subject to final approval by the House and Senate, would pump $9 billion over five years into the depleted Superfund that Congress established in 1980 to get rid of the hazardous chemical wastes.

The Environmental Protection Agency was originally given a five-year mandate to compel offenders to clean up hazardous chemical dumps.

If the firms responsible for the dumping could not be identified, EPA was to tap a $1.6 billion Superfund accumulated from a tax on chemical manufacturers to pay for the cleanup.

Unions strongly supported the program from the start, but expressed disappointment at the slow pace of the EPA effort. It also became clear that hazardous dumps were more widespread and posed greater health risks to people than had been anticipated.

With the original program running out, both the House and Senate passed bills last year to continue and expand the cleanup, but attempts to reconcile differences between the two versions repeatedly broke down.

Meanwhile, it has been kept going through various stopgap measures that provided temporary funding.

Varying levels

The new agreement is closer to the $10 billion the House had voted than to the $7.5 billion voted by the Senate and the $5.3 billion proposed by the Reagan Administration.

The legislation also includes an important new "right-to-know" provision requiring chemical companies to make public information on emissions and provide state and local authorities with lists of stored chemicals that might pose a community hazard or endanger firefighters responding to an emergency.

Still to be resolved is whether the added funds would come primarily through a tax on petrochemicals as the House bill originally provided.

The Senate had proposed a form of value-added tax on manufacturing, which the chemical industry favored, but the House conferees refused to agree to such a plan.

A conference made up of members of the House Ways & Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee will seek to agree on a formula for replenishing the Superfund.

While the expansion of the program has broad bipartisan and public support, the Reagan Administration has warned of a possible presidential veto if Congress goes above the $5.3-billion level the President requested.

EDITORIALS

Deadly Dumps

THE GOOD NEWS is that the congressional deadlock over the future of the toxic waste cleanup program appears to be close to resolution, and it's about time.

The bad news is that the problem of deadly and reckless man-made pollution is greater than had been envisioned in 1980, when Congress launched a five-year cleanup program with a Superfund tax on chemical manufacturers.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the danger to life and health from these toxic dump sites.

The cleanup program mandated by Congress was marred in its first years by scandals in the Environmental Protection Agency—the sweetheart deals that President Reagan's appointees made with polluters. Only after the ouster of more than 20 EPA officials did the program get back on track.

The original Superfund has long since been exhausted and its replenishment has been blocked since last December by a House-Senate deadlock. The cleanup has limped along with temporary funding.

THAT'S WHY the House-Senate conference agreement on legislation that would require and enable EPA to accelerate its cleanup schedule is so welcome.

It would also direct OSHA to set health and safety standards for workers engaged in cleanup of hazardous wastes, as the AFL-CIO and its unions have strongly urged. The standards would have to cover training, medical surveillance, protective equipment, engineering controls and maximum exposure limits.

And it would providing the funding levels an effective cleanup program needs.

Episodes such as the Love Canal contamination awoke the nation to the health hazards from years of poorly regulated chemical waste dumping. The danger has not significantly receded. Congressional action is overdue.

Get Rid of the Best

THERE WAS a time when the federal government sought the best available people to administer the nation's laws and carry out federal programs. The public service was held up as an honorable career.

Even the Reagan Administration, you would certainly assume, would want able men and women in government offices.

You would be wrong. The advice the U.S. Office of Personnel Management is giving to career civil servants is that they will be better off leaving government—either voluntarily or by getting laid off—and looking for a better job in the private sector.

OPM's glossy magazine called "Management"—the issue with a beaming President Reagan on its cover—features the success stories of two people who left government and are glad of it.

One was a mid-level government professional who quit to "become an executive at a private consulting firm" with a salary "300-400 percent larger than his federal paycheck."

The other success story is that of a government secretary whose job was abolished but "refused to settle for long-term unemployment and welfare checks." Now she's making more money than she ever did and is quoted as testifying that "being a hard worker in government usually doesn't pay."

In the Reagan Administration, it would appear, management's mission is to encourage the most competent workers to quit the government service.

And what does that say about some of the OPM officials who are still on the payroll dishing out such garbage?

The Not-So-Secret Agenda

WAGE-BUSTING employer groups and their allies in Congress make no secret of their desire for outright repeal of prevailing wage laws applying to government contracts. Since they don't have the votes for repeal, their strategy is to keep nibbling away with weakening amendments.

Their frankness is commendable. But why would any member of Congress who doesn't want prevailing wage laws repealed go along with this strategy?

Washington Window

OSHA retreat on job safety malady of Reagan takeover

By Press Associates Inc.

The Reagan Administration was in office only two months when the Occupational Safety & Health Administration ordered the withdrawal and destruction of a booklet alerting textile workers to the hazards of cotton dust.

Then OSHA chief Thorne G. Auchter explained that the cover photo of Louis Harrell—a 44-year veteran textile worker who died of brown lung or byssinosis caused by the inhalation of cotton dust fibers—made "a clearly biased statement" that lengthy cotton dust exposure can kill.

The bias that became all too clear to organized labor in the following months and years was that Reagan's OSHA stood ready to kill the messenger whenever workers' safety and health needs collided with the interests of business.

A new report by the nonprofit Public Citizen research group, "Working in the Dark: Reagan and the 'Right to Know' About Occupational Hazards," details just how broad the attack on job safety and health information has been.

Meat-ax approach

According to Public Citizen, "Under the Reagan Administration, programs that generate toxicity and exposure data, that educate and train the public about hazards, that provide technical or practical assistance and that ensure public access to health and safety data are being cut back, seriously reducing" the ability to control on-the-job dangers.

Here are just a few of the many areas hurt by Administration policies:

- Toxic labeling—The Administration killed a broad toxic labeling rule issued during the Carter Administration and then adopted a weaker version, called the hazard communication rule, that preempted stronger state and local laws. In a case brought by organized labor, a federal appellate court ordered OSHA to extend coverage to sectors outside manufacturing and held up OSHA's broad "trade secrets" limitation.
- Employee access to medical and exposure records—OSHA proposed to slash the number of chemicals and workers covered by the rule, to shorten the time employers are required to retain employee exposure records and to enact trade secret requirements similar to those proposed under the hazard communication standard. Unions and public health scientists say these changes would severely limit source materials for future epidemiological studies of toxic exposure-related diseases.
- Job safety and health statistics—Despite evidence of serious underreporting of work-related injuries and illnesses, the Administration consistently denied requests by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to review employer recordkeeping practices.
- Surveillance—Although rulemaking on toxic substances is seriously hampered by the lack of data on exposure-related disease, the Reagan Administration has cut support for programs to increase job disease surveillance capabilities at the state level.
- Research—Under the Reagan Administration, funding for the National Institute for Occupational Safety & Health, whose research of workplace hazards serves as a basis for OSHA standard setting, has been cut from $80.4 million in fiscal 1980 to $67.7 million this year.
- Worker notification—NIOSH has identified more than 250,000 workers as being at potentially high risk of disease from workplace opposed any comprehensive notification program despite the benefit of such information in saving or prolonging workers' lives.
- Educational resource centers—Congress rejected Administration proposals to end funding for federal centers that train most of the nation's job safety and health professionals. But funding cutbacks reduced the annual number of program graduates from 781 in 1981 to 439 in 1984.

The sum total of these actions, Public Citizen said, is that "the Reagan Administration is returning to the 'Dark Ages' when industry's economic successes were fueled by an ignorant and compliant workforce."

AFL-CIO news

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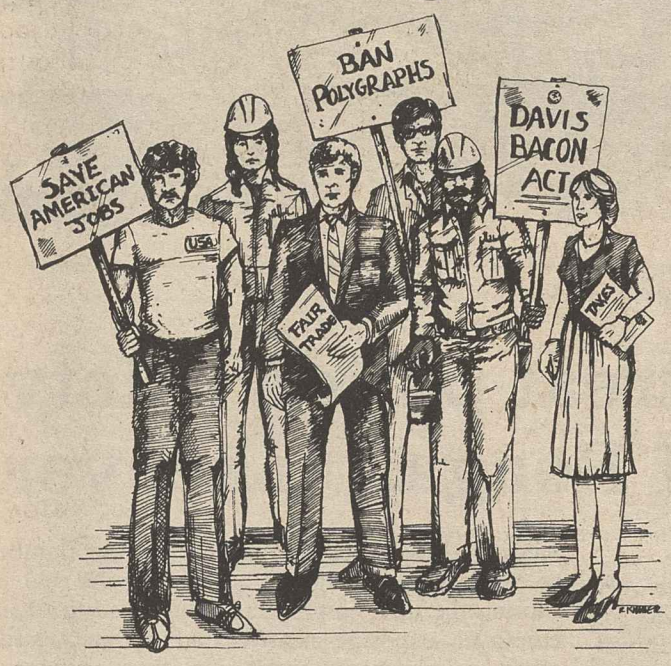
AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

Victories On Service Contract Act And Use Of Union Dues

Grassroots Efforts Make The Difference: Don't Let Remaining Worker's Issues Get Lost In Year End Crunch



While there have been several important worker victories in recent weeks, there is still much more to be done. With only a few weeks left in the 99th Congress, both chambers are moving on a variety of legislation affecting workers. However, the time left on the congressional calendar is so jammed with unfinished items that without continued pressure legislators may not complete action on all the issues that are important to you, your family, or your work.

Four of this month's key votes demonstrate the importance of sustained pressure on Congress:

* On August 6, the House voted for a procedural motion which prevented Rep. Cobey (R-NC) from offering an anti-labor amendment, designed to restrict the use of union dues for political purposes, to the Treasury/Postal Appropriations bill. The vote was 249 to 168, a 34 member gain for workers since the same amendment was voted on last year.

* On August 8, the Senate voted 62 to 34 to remove language from the Department of Defense (DOD) authorization bill which would have nullified the protections of the vital Service Contract Act.

* At the same time, however, the Senate also voted to keep language which raises the threshold on DOD contracts which are covered by Davis-Bacon Act protections from $2,000 to $250,000, thus threatening the ability of construction workers to obtain a fair wage, and increasing the likelihood of sub-standard workmanship at defense installations. This measure passed the Senate by just 7 votes, 51 to 44.

(An amendment on Davis-Bacon standards on DOD contracts will also be considered in the House before the August recess, leaving resolution to a September conference.)

* Although the House failed to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to override the President's veto of the Textile and Apparel Trade Act on August 6, the final count was 276 to 149, just 8 votes short, and 21 votes higher than when the bill originally passed the House last year.

All four of these votes show that the concerted grassroots lobbying efforts of union members on the local level is having an effect in Washington, but they also show that every vote counts. Congress has just left for a three week recess. Make sure your Representative and Senators hear from you on one or more of the following issues before they have a chance to cast another vote --it might just spell the difference between victory or defeat in a fight to protect your rights, benefits, or your health and safety.

Omnibus Trade Bill

H.R. 4800, the International Economic Policy Reform Act of 1986, which was passed by the House in May was an important step in the right direction. Now it is up to the Senate. Tell your Senators to work for passage of a bill which brings our trade laws up to date on relief to industries and workers injured by imports, reduces excessive bilatral trade deficits, and protects worker rights abroad.

High Risk Notification

The High Risk Occupational Disease Notification Act (H.R. 1309 and S. 2050) should reach the House floor in September. Urge your Representative and both of your Senators to support this measure which would provide notification, information and medical monitoring to workers who are at high risk of developing diseases after exposure to toxic substances on the job.

Tax Reform

Contact House and Senate conferees and ask them to push for full deductibility of state and local sales taxes, fair treatment of federal and postal employee pension payments and preservation of the miscellaneous deduction that includes union dues.

Davis-Bacon Act

There may be continued attempts to weaken or completely scuttle prevailing wage laws in the House. Contact your Representative as soon as possible and make sure he or she works to protect this landmark law.

Polygraph Protection

Urge your Senators to work toward passage of S. 1815, the polygraph protection bill. This vital measure to protect your right to privacy will reach the Senate floor after the recess.

Asbestos In Schools

The Asbestos Hazard Emergency Response Act, S. 2083, should be out of committee and on the Senate floor soon. Urge your Senators to support this bill to reduce the danger from asbestos in public buildings.

Airline Worker Protection

Ask your Representative to support H.R. 4838 which should be on the House floor in September. This bill would protect the thousands of airline employees threatened by the rash of mergers and realignments that have occured since deregulation of the airline industry.

What's Charm Got To Do With It?

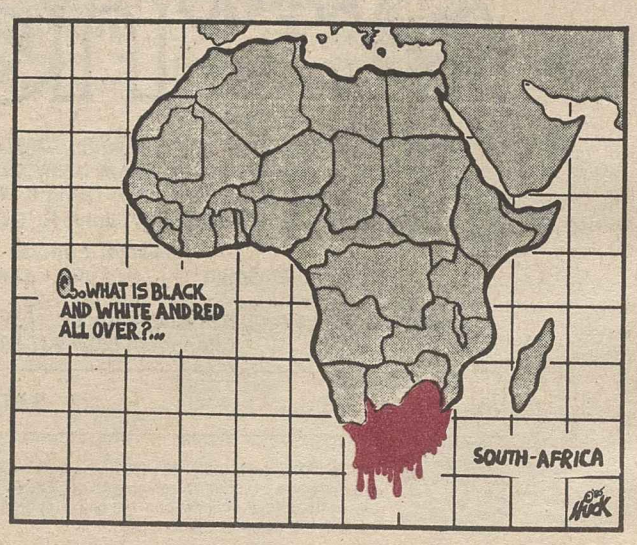
Although it's been known for a long time that the Administration is willing to use some very questionable back-room pressure tacticts to get its anti-worker legislation through Congress -- from promising appointments for home-state supporters to threatening to withhold endorsements during elections -- we have to admit to being surprised by the lengths taken in efforts to uphold the override of the textile trade bill. The following story, entitled "Department of Twisted Arms" ran in the August 7 New York Times:

Representative Duncan L. Hunter, a third-term Republican from California, was taken aback a few days ago when he telephoned Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger to talk about strategic home porting of Navy vessels, an issue of some interest to Mr. Hunter as a member of the Armed Services Committee. He managed to make most of his points, but Mr. Weinberger suddenly made it clear he wanted to talk about something else: Mr. Hunter's position on efforts to override President Reagan's veto of the textile trade bill.

Mr. Hunter assured Mr. Weinberger he had given the matter serious thought but could not in good conscience vote in support of the President on the matter.

Yesterday, minutes before the veto was narrowly upheld, Mr. Hunter got another call, this one from Vice President Bush, who tried to change his mind on the vote. But in the midst of Mr. Bush's entreaties, the bell rang signaling the matter was on the House floor, and Mr. Hunter politely but firmly said that he had to ring off and that he still could not vote to sustain the veto.

Mr. Bush said, "Well, I hope you break a leg on the way over." Mr. Hunter laughed. The Vice President was kidding. He thinks.



Homework proposal hit as return to sweatshops

By Candice Johnson

The Reagan Administration's scheme to lift a 44-year ban on industrial homework in six apparel-related industries was assailed by the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions as opening the gate to the return of kitchen sweatshops and widespread child labor abuses.

Labor Sec. William E. Brock has endorsed a White House-backed proposal to allow employers in the six industries—women's apparel, jewelry, gloves and mittens, buttons and buckles, handkerchiefs and embroidery—to hire homeworkers. Under the proposal, the employers must agree to meet minimum wage and overtime requirements and obtain a certificate from the Labor Dept.

After many years of abuses and labor law violations, the Labor Dept. outlawed homework in six industries, as well as knitted outerwear, in 1942.

Jay Mazur, president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, called the proposed rules "a return to the industrial Dark Ages" for workers and served notice that the ILGWU is prepared for an all-out fight to stop the Labor Dept. from lifting the prohibition against homework.

"Industrial homework and the sweatshop go hand in hand," Mazur declared. "When factory work is done in the home, there is no way to enforce minimum wage, child labor, health, safety or any of the laws created to protect American workers," he stressed.

AFL-CIO economist John Zalusky agreed, declared that "it is virtually impossible to enforce minimum wage laws, maintain working conditions, or to even know who is really doing the work."

Additional concerns about homework include the possibility of work being performed under unsanitary conditions at home, Zalusky said. In the case of some computer homework, he noted that access to information usually kept confidential, like bank statements or medical records, becomes more widespread.

Service Employees President John Sweeney said the proposed revisions "will lead

Continued on Page 4

AFL-CIO news

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AUGUST 23, 1986

Trade deficits stunt economy in 2d quarter

The nation's import-battered economy came close to a standstill during the second quarter, as the gross national product crept along at an annual rate of six-tenths of 1 percent—the slowest pace since the 1982 Reagan Recession.

Last month, the Commerce Dept. predicted that the GNP—the nation's output of goods and services—would reach an annual growth rate of 1.1 percent for the April to June period.

But the worsening monthly trade deficits, running at an annual clip of $168 billion for most of 1986, forced the sharp downward revision in the Commerce Dept.'s preliminary figures.

The adjustment was made necessary by a $4.2-billion decline in net exports since the initial Commerce Dept. report. The gap between imports and exports soared $24.6 billion in the April-June quarter. Exports shrank by $5.3 billion, while imports ballooned by $19.3 billion.

In an attempt to stimulate the faltering economy, the Federal Reserve Board reduced its discount rate from 6 percent to 5.5 percent. The discount rate is the lending rate for loans made by the Federal Reserve to financial institutions.

New cuts feared

The slowdown in the GNP fueled fears that deficit targets set by Gramm-Rudman balanced budget provisions cannot be met without threatening further deep cuts in federal spending.

AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald expressed concern that the drastic spending cuts called for by Gramm-Rudman could further weaken the economy.

Although Congress can delay the reductions if the GNP falls below 1 percent for two consecutive quarters, third-quarter data will not be available before it acts on end-of-fiscal-year appropriations, Oswald pointed out. That could mean that the impact of Draconian cuts would hit before another poor GNP report is issued.

In a separate report, the Commerce Dept. noted that after-tax corporate profits rose 4.2 percent in the second quarter, a sharp contrast to the overall growth rate of six-tenths of 1 percent.

Oswald said the increase in profits was further evidence that the distribution of gains "disproportionately benefits the wealthy, while workers are furloughed or their wages reduced."

Michael Evans, a Washington economic analyst, agreed. He cited the discrepancy between rising business profits and a weaken-

Continued on Page 3

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8/23/86

Tax reform bill edges closer to fairness goals

Pittsburgh protest

Community support bolsters members of Service Employees Local 29 picketing the Mellon Bank in Pittsburgh after the bank replaced its unionized janitorial service with a nonunion contractor. The take-home pay of the 80 SEIU janitors was slashed to an average of $38 a week. Local 29 filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board, and is suing the bank in federal court. (Story on Page 7.)

Final version still flawed by inequities

By David L. Perlman

The tax bill shaped by a House-Senate conference committee will edge closer to the AFL-CIO's tax justice goals for most people and corporations, but not for all.

House and Senate conferees broke a deadlock on tax reform legislation before Congress began its summer recess, paving the way for final action in September. Because of the complexities of the legislation, the tax-writing committees are expected to consider some fine-tuning changes in the law in the next Congress to deal with unintended inequities.

In general, corporations that have paid the least taxes on their profits will be hit with the biggest increase under the new law. And some 6 million low-income households will no longer have to pay income taxes. These changes will make the tax system fairer, as the AFL-CIO sees it.

Uniform rates

Another step towards fairness is the decision to tax capital gains income from investments at the same rates applied to paychecks. At present, investors pay less taxes than workers on the same amount of income.

The House-Senate conferees also incorporated in their final product provisions of a labor-urged bill that will give most workers earlier pension vesting rights, starting in 1989.

But some provisions of the bill will be steps backward in terms of labor's concerns. And some taxpayers who itemize deductions will end up owing more taxes despite a drop in the top tax rate. This is especially true in the 1987 transition year,

Continued on Page 3

House votes down move to weaken Davis-Bacon

The House refused to weaken the Davis-Bacon Act and voted 244-167 against an Administration-backed proposal to exclude military construction contracts under $250,000 from the prevailing wage law.

That's the cutback in coverage the Senate approved earlier this month. It will be one of the many controversies to be resolved in a House-Senate conference on separate versions of legislation authorizing nearly $300 billion in Defense Dept. spending.

After defeating the $250,000 exclusion, which would have awarded most Defense Dept. construction contracts to firms paying the lowest wages and providing the fewest benefits, the House adopted a labor-supported amendment raising the threshold for Davis-Bacon Act coverage from $2,000 to $25,000. The $2,000 figure was set more than 50 years ago and was never adjusted for inflation.

In a letter to House members before the vote, Labor Sec. William E. Brock said the Reagan Administration favored an even more drastic curtailment of the Davis-Bacon Act, to exclude military contracts under $1 million. But he said the $250,000 threshold adopted by the Senate and pro-

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MEMO FROM COPE

PAGE 8

New public sector contracts average 6 percent increase

Public sector collective bargaining agreements negotiated in the first half of 1986 provide wage increases averaging 6.1 percent for the first year and 6 percent a year over the term of the contracts, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

State employees won slightly higher average increases than their local government counterparts, BLS noted. The state contracts give workers first-year gains of 7 percent compared to 5.3 percent at the local level. State employees also fared slightly better over the term of the pact—averaging gains of 6.3 percent a year to 5.7 percent for local government workers.

When the same parties last negotiated contracts—one to three years ago—pay increases averaged 4.6 percent in 1985 and 5.1 percent in 1984 over the life of the agreements.

The BLS report shows that all state workers covered by the survey will receive

Continued on Page 2

High-priority agenda awaits return of Congress

Congress will face an agenda crammed with high-priority issues when it returns from its summer recess on Sept. 8, including Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction targets, tax and trade legislation, military spending and final action on South African sanctions.

Among an array of labor-supported bills competing for House and Senate floor time are measures to revive the Superfund program to clean up chemical dumps, to alert workers who have been exposed to hazardous substances on the job, and to protect farm workers against dangerous pesticides.

House-passed bills awaiting Senate action would curb polygraph testing by employers, prevent double-breasted contractors from evading union hiring agreements, and set standards for removal of asbestos from schools.

The Senate also has two Supreme Court nominations and the impeachment of a federal judge to consider in the final weeks of an election-year session.

Funding bills

Appropriations and authorization bills awaiting final action will affect staffing of state employment offices, postal rate increases for union publications and Davis-Bacon Act coverage for military construction, along with highway, transportation and housing programs that all are important to large groups of workers.

If spending cuts are needed to hold the federal budget deficit under the Gramm-Rudman ceiling, Congress will have to vote to impose them when it returns from its recess.

After the Supreme Court nullified the original plan to have the General Accounting Office enforce the deficit reduction law, the Senate voted to shift the authority to the Office of Management & Budget, an arm of the Executive Branch. But the House refused to go along.

The supposedly simple deficit-reduction law Congress passed to achieve a balanced budget by 1991 now has the Democratic House, the Republican Senate and the Reagan White House trying to wiggle out of an economic straitjacket.

With budget deadlines overdue and budget reconciliation measures still pending, no one is quite sure what additional spending cuts will be needed to hold the fiscal 1987 deficit under the Gramm-Rudman ceiling.

There is a possibility that an across-the-board cut can be avoided because the one-time revenue surplus from the pending tax bill may bring the budget deficit below the Gramm-Rudman trigger.

Escape clause

Or the sagging economy might trigger a Gramm-Rudman escape clause that lifts the deficit-reduction obligation when economic growth is less than 1 percent for two consecutive quarters.

Otherwise, if Congress wants to comply with the Gramm-Rudman deficit ceiling, it will have to vote to impose the spending cuts in a resolution that will require the President's signature.

New agreements raise pay 6% for public employees

Continued from Page 1

first-year wage increases, as will 85 percent of local government workers. However, wage increases won by 25,000 local workers—more than 70 percent of those classified as not receiving an increase—were not included in the calculations, BLS said. Wage gains for those workers went into effect in 1986, but stemmed from "prolonged negotiations that began a year ago or more," the bureau pointed out.

The BLS survey for the first half of 1986 is based on 118 settlements covering 429,000 workers in bargaining units of at least 1,000 persons.

An additional 135 contracts covering 436,000 workers expired before July 1, but new contracts had not been settled or ratified by June 30. During the second half of the year, 71 contracts covering 177,000 public workers will expire.

The BLS report does not include compensation increases won by municipal workers after strikes in Philadelphia and Detroit this summer.

Following a 19-day strike in Detroit, members of the State, County & Municipal Employees, the Amalgamated Transit Union and the unaffiliated Teamsters won three-year contracts that included a 5-percent wage increase in the first year.

Philadelphia pact

AFSCME members in Philadelphia, after 19 days on the picket line, also won first-year raises averaging 5 percent.

BLS monitors wage and benefits data for 2.2 million unionized public workers, about half the total of state and local government workers, who negotiate over wages. The bureau also reports wage changes put into effect during the first six months of the year that result from contract settlements, agreements reached earlier and cost-of-living adjustments.

Pay increases for 790,000 workers affected by a wage change averaged 4.9 percent. When prorated over the 2.2 million workers, the gains averaged 1.8 percent.

Earlier, BLS reported that settlements covering private sector employees for the first half of the year included average wage gains of 1.2 percent. However, it warned against comparing the settlements of public workers with those in private industry, citing differences in bargaining practices and settlement characteristics.

Summer graduating class at George Meany Center.

UFCW presses job security as Safeway entertains buyout

New York—The Food & Commercial Workers are set to file unfair labor practice charges against Safeway Stores Inc., the world's largest food retailer, because of the company's refusal to consult with the union on its plans for a leveraged buyout.

UFCW President William H. Wynn, in announcing the plan to file charges with the National Labor Relations Board and possibly to seek court action to force Safeway to the bargaining table, said the union's main priority "is to protect jobs. The best situation would be if we could bargain with the company and get involved with the new owners to assure that they continue to use our people."

$4.1 billion debt

The leveraged buyout was the firm's response to a hostile takeover bid by the Dart Group, a Washington-based retail chain. The takeover was thwarted, but one result is that Safeway will incur $4.1 billion in debt from the buyout, an amount that Wynn said could only be recouped by selling off numerous stores and ending the jobs of thousands of workers.

UFCW represents 117,000 Safeway workers at nearly 2,000 stores nationwide. About a third of the union's contracts with Safeway are due to expire within the next 12 months. While most contracts contain successorship clauses, the effectiveness of such provisions in the grocery industry is diminished by the high-turnover rate and the large number of part-time workers.

Wynn noted that Safeway closed seven stores in the past two weeks and announced the layoff of 300 administrative and clerical workers at its Oakland, Calif., headquarters and at its supply operations in Walnut Creek, Calif. Safeway Chairman Peter A. Magowan admitted that job cutbacks will be part of the "major restructuring of operations. Inevitably, Safeway will become a smaller company."

Meanwhile, to emphasize the impact the company's actions could have on its workers, UFCW members staged rallies at the corporate headquarters in Oakland, and in Denver, Little Rock, Ark., Houston, Dallas, Albuquerque, N.M., and in Sacramento, Calif.

Two unions ratify Willamette pact

Portland—Timber workers ratified new two-year agreements at Willamette Industries Corp., ending a nearly month-long strike at the firm's 10 mills. But the contracts, which continue a concessionary trend, are now setting the pattern for the rest of the depressed western lumber industry.

In nearly identical contracts covering some 1,200 members of the two unions—Woodworkers and the Lumber Production & Industrial Workers division of the Carpenters—wages were trimmed by $1.25 to $1.65 per hour, depending on job classification. Also five holidays were dropped, vacation bonuses eliminated and the employer contribution to the health and welfare fund reduced by 35 cents an hour. The unions coordinate negotiations under the U.S. Forest Products Joint Bargaining Board.

Members of both unions had earlier rejected a company offer that had also moved the fourth week of vacation from 20 to 25 years of service. When that was restored and other language changes made, the contract was accepted by the IWA members in a 225-181 vote and by LPIW by "a narrow margin."

LPIW members are now voting on a new offer from Boise-Cascade Corp., which is nearly identical to the Willamette pact.

Balloting on a similar offer by Champion International Corp. will finish by Aug. 25.

Meanwhile, in the South, the two unions reached a tentative settlement with Boise-Cascade covering 800 workers in three Louisiana mills. That accord, subject to ratification, would provide a 3 percent increase the first year and 4 percent in each of the following two years. The last contract there had expired on July 15.

17 win degrees in labor studies at Meany Center

Seventeen trade unionists received baccalaureate degrees in labor studies from Antioch University through the George Meany Center for Labor Studies. They make up the largest graduating class ever at the studies center.

Commencement speaker Joyce Miller, an AFL-CIO Vice President, commended the graduates and said the program clearly demonstrates "the value the labor movement historically has placed on education."

The program gives labor representatives the opportunity to earn a college degree while carrying out their union jobs and responsibilities. Students also can earn credits toward their degree for accomplishments and skills learned on the job.

Courses include collective bargaining, labor law, economic problems, sciences, organizing and labor history. The program is open to all AFL-CIO union members. Since the program began in 1974, degrees have been awarded to 99 trade unionists.

Students attend classes at the labor studies campus for two one-week sessions each year. Some college credits earned at other institutions are accepted toward the degree, as well as vocational and noncredit labor education programs and union experience.

The 17 graduates are: Corky Andersen and Thomas Csekey, Service Employees; Suzanne Balzer and Mary Ann Forbes, Flight Attendants; Diane Bricco, Wisconsin AFL-CIO; Nathaniel Brown, Rubber Workers; Patricia Donnelly, Government Employees; Earl DuVall, Carpenters; Emil Gaydoscik, Ladies' Garment Workers; Bobby Gilmore, William O'Keefe, John Pinto and James Thomas, Operating Engineers; Herman Lawton, State, County & Municipal Employees; John Seddon, Teachers; Kenneth Shirk, Amalgamated Transit Union, and Kenneth Yunger, Railway & Airline Clerks.

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On South Africa

Senate sanctions vote rebuffs Reagan policy

The Senate voted 84-10 to impose labor-supported economic and trade sanctions against South Africa to step up pressure for an end to government-imposed racial discrimination.

While short of the total disinvestment voted by the House in June, the Senate action signaled a strong bipartisan repudiation of President Reagan's policy of relying on friendly persuasion to dismantle an oppressive apartheid system.

The Senate adopted several amendments strengthening the bill its Foreign Relations Committee had approved, including an immediate ban on importation of South African textiles. That amendment by Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), adopted 67-29, would nullify the trade agreement the Administration recently negotiated that would allow South Africa to increase textile exports to the United States by 4 percent a year.

In a letter to senators, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten noted that the black South African trade union movement supports "the strongest possible effective sanctions." Black workers there are willing to bear economic sacrifices "to dismantle the vicious and unjust system of apartheid," he stressed.

While rejecting a labor-endorsed amendment to include all the provision of the House-passed bill, the Senate adopted other measures to strengthen the legislation. These included amendments offered by Senators Lowell P. Weicker (R-Conn.), Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.) to tighten sanctions.

As passed, the Senate bill would bar any new investment by U.S. companies in South Africa, ban imports of South African steel, iron, uranium, coal and agricultural products as well as textiles, end landing rights in the U.S. for South African Airways, and impose some curbs on U.S. exports. It would also write into law the mild sanctions imposed by President Reagan last September to head off passage of legislation. Sanctions would be ended if South Africa:

Conditions listed

- Frees political prisoners, including African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.
- Repeals the state of emergency and releases all persons detained under its provisions.
- Allows all political parties to operate.
- Repeals the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, which restrict where nonwhites can work and live.
- Commits itself to good-faith negotiations with "truly representative" black leaders, without preconditions.

The legislation, which now must be reconciled with the House bill, also imposes stiff penalities for violations of the sanctions.

A real big charge

Giant replica of the first credit card issued under the federation's new Union Privilege Benefit Programs is presented to AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue in Chicago. Service Employees President John J. Sweeney made the presentation to Donahue, a long-time SEIU member. The SEIU is one of 25 federation affiliates to sign up for the credit card service.

House rejects attempt to cut Davis-Bacon Act protection

Continued from Page 1

posed in the House by Rep. William L. Dickinson (R-Ala.) would be "a meaningful step in the right direction."

House Democrats and a breakoff group of Republicans strongly disagreed. **(Rollcall on Page 6.)**

The only way to achieve the "savings" claimed by the supporters of the Dickinson amendment would be "to force down wages" and use untrained workers, House Education & Labor Committee Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) said.

Rep. Austin J. Murphy (D-Pa.), who heads the subcommittee with jurisdiction over the Davis-Bacon Act, noted that 43.6 percent of the prevailing wage determinations the Labor Dept. has made this year set rates at $5.30 an hour or less.

House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.) said the issue is whether to use the powers of government to reduce wages. "That is the wrong direction for our society to take," he insisted.

With the defeat of the Dickinson amendment, the House then adopted the Hawkins amendment for a $25,000 threshold by a 406-5 vote.

CORRECTION

Sen. Wendell H. Ford (D-Ky.) supported labor's position and cast a "right" vote against weakening Davis-Bacon Act coverage. He was mistakenly listed as having voted wrong in the rollcall carried in the Aug. 16 AFL-CIO News.

Nation's economy stunted by mounting trade deficits

Continued from Page 1

ing economy as evidence that corporations are holding down labor compensation.

The Reagan Administration found good news in the economy's sluggish performance and continued to predict that economic growth for the year would reach 3.2 percent.

But most economists reject that scenario, pointing out that the GNP would have to grow by at least 4 percent for the rest of the year to reach that level. During the first half of 1986, the economy grew at an annual rate of 2.2 percent.

In other economic developments:

- Industrial production in July fell one-tenth of 1 percent, marking the third consecutive month that production of the nation's factories, mines and utilities has dropped. The July decline follows a drop of three-tenths of 1 percent in June and five-tenths of 1 percent in May.

The Federal Reserve Board said that production of manufacturing plants remained unchanged in July after falling off last month. Slowdowns in oil and gas drilling led the indicator of mining activity to its ninth consecutive monthly decline. Output of auto assemblies and home consumer goods also fell, while business equipment remained unchanged and communications equipment rose by 1.4 percent.

- Factories operated at 78.2 percent of capacity in July, marking the third straight month of declines. Production capacity for July dropped two-tenths of 1 percent and some analysts predicted the decline would continue into the fall, influenced by work stoppages in the steel industry.
- Construction of new homes edged downward 1.8 percent in July, the Commerce Dept. said, marking the third consecutive month that new housing starts declined and the sharpest drop in home construction since 1981.

Private single and multi-family housing starts reached an annually adjusted rate of just 1.8 million, compared to April when the rate stood at 2 million, a drop for July of 10 percent.

Building permits were issued at an annual rate of 1.75 million, a decline of 2.1 percent.

- Producer prices fell four-tenths of 1 percent in July, led by a 11.9 percent drop in energy prices, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported. The price index has fallen every month this year, with the exception of June when there was no change. The declines in energy prices—19.3 percent in gasoline and 17.2 percent in heating oil—offset an increase in wholesale food prices, up 1.9 percent in July and 3.5 percent above the year-ago month.

Tax bill meets some fairness tests, fails others

Continued from Page 1

before the full rate reduction is in place.

While top tax rates will go down, so will allowable deductions. For example:

Although taxpayers can continue to deduct state and local income taxes, they will no longer be able to take a deduction on sales taxes paid on purchases or interest paid on credit cards or installment payments.

Union dues and some other work-related expenses are fully deductible on itemized returns under present law. But under the new law, that category of miscellaneous deductions is allowed only for amounts above 2 percent of adjusted gross income.

Working families that have had enough disposable income to put aside money in a tax-deferred individual retirement account (IRA) may be affected by various limitations of the new legislation. Some higher-income workers will not be able to exclude the money they put into such plans from that year's taxable income. But the interest earned on their contribution will continue to be tax-deferred. Limitations put on 401k plans will mostly affect higher-paid executives.

Medical deductions would be curtailed and charitable contribution deductions would be limited to persons who itemize their returns. The two-earner deduction available to working couples would be eliminated, and so would the tax credit for political contributions.

Because tax examples in newspaper stories of the tax bill are based on average or typical households at various income levels, listings of "winners" and "losers" may not always be accurate.

One change that the trade union movement opposed affects the method of taxing the benefits of persons who retire under contributory pension plans, including federal and postal workers. The conferees made the change retroactive to July 1, 1986, to prevent an anticipated surge in government retirements before the new law takes effect. Those affected will pay higher taxes in the first few years after they retire than under present law.

Rate structure

The two-rate income tax structure when the new rates are in place isn't as progressive as the four-step system the House originally adopted, which the AFL-CIO favored. However, as various tax shelters are eliminated, the amount of taxes paid by many wealthy individuals will rise even though the top rate is lowered.

The personal deduction would rise from $1,080 for each taxpayer and dependent to $1,900 next year, $1,950 in 1988 and $2,000 in 1989, with an inflation adjustment thereafter. But the extra personal exemption for the elderly and blind would be replaced by an increased standard deduction available only to those who don't itemize their returns.

For some middle-income persons, especially those without big mortgage interest payments, the new law would make it more advantageous to take the increased standard deduction provided in the bill rather than itemize.

The various effective dates complicate the task of estimating the impact of the tax changes on a particular household.

For example, in the 1987 transition year, there will be a five-rate tax structure ranging from 11 percent to 38.5 percent. That will be replaced the following year by two rates—15 percent on the first $29,750 of income for married couples and 28 percent for amounts above that. But a phase-out of the 15 percent rate and eventually of the individual deduction will result in high-income taxpayers paying what amounts to a surcharge.

The change in pension vesting has minimal effect on tax law. But Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.), who with Rep. William L. Clay (D-Mo.) sponsored a labor-supported bill, succeeded in getting its provisions incorporated in the Senate version of the tax bill, and the House conferees quickly agreed to it.

The chief impact is on persons covered by single-employer pension plans, where the problem of pension vesting is substantially greater than in multiemployer plans where workers accumulate pension credits by working for any of the participating firms. Vesting entitles a worker who leaves a job to remain eligible for benefits based on length of service when he or she reaches the retirement age allowed under the plan.

Under present law, employers normally must vest pension rights after 10 years of covered employment. A seldom-used exception allows an alternative vesting formula of 50 percent vesting after five years, rising by annual steps to full vesting after 15 years.

The new law will provide an option for single-employer plans. They can either provide full vesting after five years of service or a plan that provides 20 percent of vesting after three years, rising 20 percent for each additional year to 100 percent vesting after seven years. The 10-year vesting requirement would be unchanged for multiemployer plans, but the stretchout option to 15 years would be dropped.

Effective in 1989

These changes, and a new limitation on social security offsets, would take place on Jan. 1, 1989, unless a collective bargaining agreement covering a pension plan expired at a later date. The change would then take place when the contract expired, but not later than Jan. 1, 1991.

Some pension plans specify that workers will receive a specified monthly retirement benefit, consisting of social security as a base and a company payment to make up the difference. The employer payment drops when social security benefits are increased.

In the collective bargaining area, most such contracts have been renegotiated to eliminate the offset or otherwise assure that lower-paid workers do not end up with nothing but social security payments while high-paid company officials profit from the pension plan. The new legislation will prevent the employer-paid share of the pension from being reduced more than 50 percent by a social security offset.

APWU President Moe Biller leads convention delegates in a show of solidarity with the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees local in San Francisco, which is seeking new contracts with the major hotels.

In convention resolutions

Postal Workers draft contract goals

San Francisco—The Postal Workers set a course of action for the next two years as the more than 3,300 delegates to the biennial convention approved bargaining and legislative goals aimed at protecting active and retired APWU members.

The key bargaining goals, hammered out at the convention and adopted unanimously, center on increasing job protections and call for establishment of a totally full-time workforce at the U.S. Postal Service.

The delegates made elimination of "casual" or temporary workers a top priority. The USPS, which is limited in the number of "casual" workers it can hire, has exceeded that ceiling, the union said. The convention also called for an absolute prohibition on supervisors doing bargaining unit work.

Other bargaining goals include improved protections and benefits for part-time "flexible" workers—career employees who can eventually work into full-time positions.

Legislative goals

In mapping out its legislative priorities, the convention stressed the need for continued Capitol Hill vigilance in preventing further attacks on retirees' benefits. The delegates supported measures that would assure continued cost-of-living adjustments for pensioners and urged that adjustments be made twice a year.

Strong opposition was voiced against any proposals to lower current civil service and military retirement benefits and against changes in the current exclusionary tax rule for federal pension benefits.

In other measures, the APWU urged repeal of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings balanced budget law and stressed its opposition to a constitutional balanced budget amendment, called for abolishment of the Hatch Act and supported legislation that would aid federal and postal workers in achieving equality in pay and working conditions with the private sector. The union backed enactment of measures to give postal and federal workers the right to strike and the right to negotiate union shops.

APWU President Moe Biller reported to the convention that the membership rolls had grown by 32,000 since March 1985 to more than 260,000—the largest gain in the 15 years since the union was formed from the merger of five unions.

This gain occurred because "all the efforts of the Reagan Administration to chill the atmosphere and discourage postal workers from joining unions" failed, Biller told the delegates. Branding Reagan the "Great Union-Buster" for his role in the firing of 11,000 air traffic controllers, Biller recounted how this signaled corporate America to "go after the labor movement."

Even so, Reagan's anti-labor forces have been "unable to stop the success of the APWU," he stressed.

Biller, Sec.-Treas. Douglas C. Holbrook and Executive Vice President Bill Burrus led the 3,000 delegates through the streets of San Francisco in a show of solidarity with the members of Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Local 2 who are trying to win a fair contract in bargaining with the city's major hotels. The delegates marched from the convention center to Union Square.

In an address to the conventions, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland pledged the federation's "full support" in the battle for fair treatment of postal pensions.

Kirkland noted that postal employees are saddled "with an Administration hostile to the very idea of providing public goods and services. The concept of a national postal service is under attack in the name of something called privatization" that could severely curtail services.

Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez urged the delegates to continue their support for the UFW's "Wrath of Grapes" boycott, charging that it is necessary to "combat the plague born of selfish men that is indiscriminately and undeniably poisoning us all." He explained how the misuse of agricultural pesticides poses serious health hazards to farm workers as well as consumers.

Protecting workers' interests

Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.), a senior ranking member of the House Post Office & Civil Service Committee, saluted the union's "stubborn perseverance and dedicated determination to protect the interests of working men and women," and attacked those appointed and elected officials who try to use postal workers as cannon fodder to balance the budget.

In other convention action, the delegates condemned South Africa's system of apartheid, unanimously voting to support the South African trade union movement. Delegates also called for divestment of union funds from companies that do business with South Africa and pressed for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

The convention also supported the Philippine trade union movement, backed pay equity and the Equal Rights Amendment, and opposed contracting out of USPS work, as well as the quality of worklife or "employee involvement" program at the Postal Service.

The delegates voted to increase the salaries of APWU's national officers, setting the president's salary at $96,595 and the secretary-treasurer and the executive vice president at $83,263.

Scheme to lift ban on homework scored

Continued from Page 1

to the erosion of working conditions for hundreds of thousands of workers." SEIU represents 8,000 jewelry workers who could be affected by the proposed rules.

"The enforcement of health and safety regulations and wage laws has historically been difficult within jewelry workplaces," he noted, adding "enforcement in the home would be impossible."

Sweeney also emphasized opposition to home-based clerical work because it undermines the standard of living and working conditions for women workers.

"While home-based clerical work is often heralded as the work solution for women with small children, it is a false solution and not an acceptable one to the lack of quality day care," he stated.

Sec.-Treas. Jacob Sheinkman of the Clothing & Textile Workers questioned how the Labor Dept. could enforce the new rules, "with compliance staff cut to the bone."

Stressing that numerous violations go undetected, Sheinkman said "it's time to broaden and strengthen the restrictions on homework, not weaken them."

Mazur noted that the Labor Dept.'s decision to lift the 44-year ban was not an isolated case, but was consistent with Administration policies that seek to end job protections for workers. The ILGWU estimated that 600,000 garment workers could be adversely affected by the new rules.

In 1981, the ILGWU challenged the Labor Dept.'s regulations allowing homework in the knitted outerwear industry and those rules were found invalid by the U.S. District Court of Appeals in 1983. In 1984, the Labor Dept. adopted the employer certification system for the knitted outerwear industry.

Violations found

Based on this 18-month period, the Labor Dept. claims it can effectively enforce wage and hour laws. In its proposed regulations, the agency reported that 56 of 58 requesting firms were granted certificates, although some were not covered by fair labor standards requirements and not subject to investigation. Of the 58 firms seeking certification, 37 investigations were completed, 17 employers were not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and not liable for investigation and 4 investigations were underway.

Labor Dept. investigators found wage violations in 23 percent of the cases and uncovered record-keeping violations by 77 percent of employers investigated.

The ILGWU charged that enforcement in that industry has been "an utter failure," stressing that the Labor Dept. investigates "on a complaint-only basis, despite the fact that homeworkers—out of desperation and fear—rarely complain."

The department has drastically reduced its staff since 1980 and hasn't seriously attempted since then to enforce the minimum wage law and other labor standards in the certified homework operations, the ILGWU declared.

"If this is the result in one relatively small industry, imagine how much worse conditions will be if legalization extends to industries which are much larger and far more vulnerable to sweatshop conditions," the union pointed out.

The government's first efforts to regulate homework came in the late 1800s, as businesses railed against what they termed unfair competition from homeworkers. Many states took action, adopting bans on homework more often to insure that the finished products would be sanitary rather than out of concern for workers and working conditions. Currently, 26 states have bans on homework in apparel-related industries.

CWA pacts resolve last Bell strikes

The Communications Workers have nearly wrapped up this year's round of bargaining, reaching tentative settlements covering 53,400 workers at Nynex, Michigan Bell and U.S. West Direct, a directory sales and publishing unit. Only a 400-member Ohio unit at Ameritech Publishing remains on strike.

CWA tallied new accords in 47 of 48 Bell operating units with only minimal strike activity. A nine-day walkout at Nynex was the only regional strike, as 39,000 workers went out—most at New York Telephone with about 1,000 at New England Telephone Co.

That settlement provides a combination of wage and cost-of-living increases estimated at 11.8 percent over the three-year life of the contract, along with a range of improvements in employment security and a 9-percent boost in pensions benefits in three steps.

Substantial gains were made in health benefits with the addition of a drug prescription plan, psychiatric coverage, a new substance abuse program, improved dental and vision care, along with coverage for birthing centers, home health care and hospice care.

IBEW settlements

The Electrical Workers concluded bargaining with all but one of the dozen Bell units employing IBEW members without a strike. Only the 252-member unit at U.S. West Direct in Denver hasn't reached an accord, the union reported.

IBEW's 50,000 Bell members had identical contracts until this year's bargaining, but the new three-year agreements vary in pay formulas. Illinois Bell settled first and it "sort of set a pattern with fixed wage increases, lump-sum payments and profit sharing," the union said. Only the Nynex workers bypassed lump-sum payments and most units accepted cost-containment measures on medical coverage.

IBEW units at Illinois Bell, Ameritech Services and Pacific Telesis have ratified their agreements and the remainder, except U.S. West Direct, are currently voting.

A three-day strike by 13,000 CWA members at Michigan Bell, a division of Ameritech, ended with a new three-year accord featuring 9.75 percent in guaranteed pay increases, along with additional cost-of-living adjustments and profit sharing payments of 4.1 percent. The settlement also included strengthened employment security provisions with a right-of-return policy on involuntary transfers, a 4 percent increase in pensions, job upgrades and health benefit improvements.

Takebacks thwarted

Ameritech was one of two regional operating companies that forced CWA to bargain on a company-by-company basis. The strike at Michigan Bell beat back the company's shopping list of takebacks.

At U.S. West Direct, 1,400 workers went on strike Aug. 11 over management's attempt to weaken grievance and arbitration procedures, to impose complete control in such areas as monitoring workers, and to limit the contract to 18 months.

The resulting three-year accord stopped cold the grievance and arbitration changes. It retains provisions against indiscriminate monitoring and calls for protections limiting contracting out of work. The package also improves sales compensation, upgrades 833 workers and provides a 3.5 percent general wage increase along with other improvements.

Ratification votes at the various regional and local operating companies have been set for September.

Oakland union leader Richard Groulx dies

Oakland, Calif.—Richard Groulx, who retired in January as executive secretary-treasurer of the Alameda County AFL-CIO, died of a heart attack Aug. 16. He was 61.

Groulx began his union career as a Teamster organizer in Hawaii and in 1946 was named chief organizer for the Office & Professional Employees in San Francisco. He also served as assistant secretary of the Alameda County labor body from 1956 until 1968.

Government Employees adopt growth programs, shape legislative goals

Las Vegas, Nev.—Delegates from 1,300 locals of the Government Employees wound up the AFGE's weeklong convention here with adoption of a program that looks to renewed membership growth by enrolling workers the union already represents at the bargaining table.

A convention resolution termed union growth a political and economic necessity and authorized expanded programs including adapting the AFL-CIO's "one-on-one" approach to the AFGE's needs.

The convention also approved a two-year plan for political action and legislative initiatives. A major goal will be reform of the Hatch Act, which restricts political participation by federal workers.

Delegates voted to table proposals for restructuring the union's geographical districts, putting off consideration of changes in the role of district vice presidents until the 1988 convention. They also voted to keep the union's per capita at present levels for the next two years.

Resolutions were considered at nine policy workshops before being brought to the floor of the convention. Among the measures adopted were strong reaffirmations of the AFGE's commitment to civil rights, including women's rights and the rights of disabled workers.

The convention urged expansion of the scope of collective bargaining in the federal service, to bring it in line with private-sector practices. It said bargaining should be expanded to cover pay rates and such issues as drug testing and anti-smoking regulations.

Delegates backed a strong program to protect jobs traditionally held by public workers from being lost through contracting out, and urged reform of Defense Dept. procurement procedures with stronger penalties for contractor waste and fraud.

Computer links

They favored strengthening the AFGE's communication tools at all levels of the organization and urged establishment of a nationwide computer network to link local unions.

The convention gave a warm welcome to Steelworkers President Lynn Williams and followed up his appearance with a resolution of active support for the Steelworkers locked out by USX in a contract dispute.

Earlier, delegates re-elected President Kenneth T. Blaylock, Executive Vice President John N. Sturdivant and Women's Dept. Director Barbara B. Hutchinson, and chose Allen Kaplan as the new secretary-treasurer.

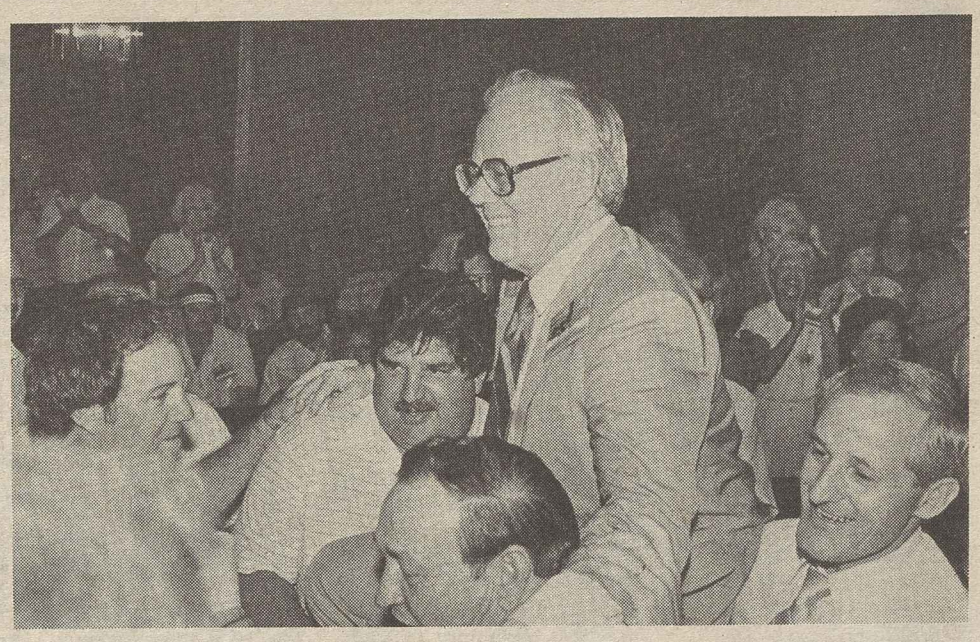
Shipbuilders approve 3-year pact with Todd

Los Angeles—The Marine & Shipbuilding Workers overwhelmingly ratified a new three-year contract with Todd Shipyards Corp. that provides improvements in medical and pension benefits in exchange for a freeze on wages.

The pact, the first settlement reached in this year's negotiations with West Coast shipbuilders, covers 1,700 workers. Shipbuilders, who have traditionally bargained through the Pacific Coast Shipbuilders Association, are bargaining on a company-by-company basis for the first time since the 1950s.

Marine & Shipbuilding Workers Local 9 President George Samanc said major gains were made in pension and health benefits, including an improvement in the indemnity plan, and dental and orthodontic coverage.

Wages will remain at $13.48 an hour and a new rate of $9.44 an hour was set for new hires, who will work up to the regular rate after three years.



Boilermakers President Charles F. Jones gets a post-election lift.

Boilermakers step up fight to curb 'double-breasting'

Hollywood, Fla.—The Boilermakers' convention called for tough measures to fight double-breasted contractors and reaffirmed programs to strengthen the union.

Those new strategies—in collective bargaining, organizing, political action, training, communications and administration—have helped union members overcome an "unfavorable political climate" that has harmed workers and unions, said President Charles Jones.

Voicing their approval of the union's agenda, the 1,092 delegates approved a two-step boost in the per capita payment, now $8.90 a month, with increases of $1.50 on Jan. 1, 1987, and $1 a year later.

Jones was elected to his first full five-year term in a contest for the union's top office. He was opposed by Henry Nacey, vice president for the Northeast region. Jones has served as president since 1983, when he was named by the executive council to complete the term of Harold J. Buoy on the latter's retirement.

In other election results, Henry W. Bechtholdt defeated incumbent at-large vice president Richard Northrip, and Michael Wood was elected vice president for the Great Lakes region, over incumbent Thomas E. Cooper. Paige Groton, legislative director for the Boilermakers, was elected vice president for the Northeast region, replacing Nacey.

Sec.-Treas. Donald G. Whan and Vice Presidents John Carroll, Eastern Canada; Richard C. Albright, Western Canada; R. Clay Parton, Northwest; Jack Sloan, Southern Pacific; Jerry R. Horseman, South Central, and Henry A. Harden, Southeast, were all returned to office.

Bargaining goals

In his keynote address, Jones lauded the union's campaign to win fair settlements in the cement industry and other sectors represented by the Boilermakers. Two negotiating and bargaining programs developed by the union—"Stay In-Fight Back" and "Solidarity and Unity"—are used across the country, he said.

Jones also reported that the union's pension fund now has $2 billion in assets and is expected to reach $3 billion during the next two years. Although the Boilermakers have experienced a net decline in membership since the 1981 convention, the merger with the Cement Workers in 1984 added 20,000 members to the union, he noted.

In other action, the delegates increased strike benefits to $75 a week from $50 and called on the union to investigate sound investment opportunities for union pension funds in boiler and cogeneration projects.

In a series of resolutions, the delegates called for amendments to the federal bankruptcy laws to better protect workers, endorsed a trade embargo against South Africa to protest apartheid, and reaffirmed support for pay equity and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Declaring that in the labor movement "change is our business," AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue stressed in an address to the delegates that unions have been adapting to changes in the workplace for more than a century and will continue to evolve.

Other speakers included AFL-CIO Vice President Robert A. Georgine, president of the Building & Construction Trades Dept.; President Howard Samuel, Industrial Union Dept.; President Paul Burnsky, Metal Trades Dept.; Al Barkan, retired AFL-CIO COPE Director; Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.), and James A. McCambly of the Canadian Federation of Labor.

Membership vote set

ITU delegates back merger plan

Hershey, Pa.—Typographical Union convention delegates endorsed a proposal to merge their union, the AFL-CIO's oldest affiliate, with the Communications Workers. If approved by a membership ballot this fall, the 75,000-member ITU would become the Printing, Publishing & Media Workers sector of the CWA.

ITU President Robert S. McMichen told the delegates following the vote that "by endorsing merger with the CWA, this convention has set the ITU on course for the next century. We've confronted head-on the problems we face today and we've taken positive action to address them."

CWA President Morton Bahr, in addressing the delegates a day before they voted, described how new technologies are impacting on both CWA and ITU members and pointed out the similarities between the two unions.

"No single union, whether the biggest or smallest, will be able to cope or survive with the very deep changes taking place in the global economy and our society," Bahr said. "Only by pooling our resources, our experience, our knowledge and the strength of our numbers can unions hope to deal with the outside forces that are tearing at our very being and existence."

Terming the merger agreement a "dignified, positive proposal that retains the identity of your union," Bahr stressed that it meets all the major ITU concerns in what has been a long search for a merger partner.

The convention endorsed the merger plan by a narrow margin of 14,266 to 14,042. Those voting in the minority expressed no dissatisfaction with CWA as a merger partner, but rather were supporting a proposal for further merger discussions to clarify and expand on some issues.

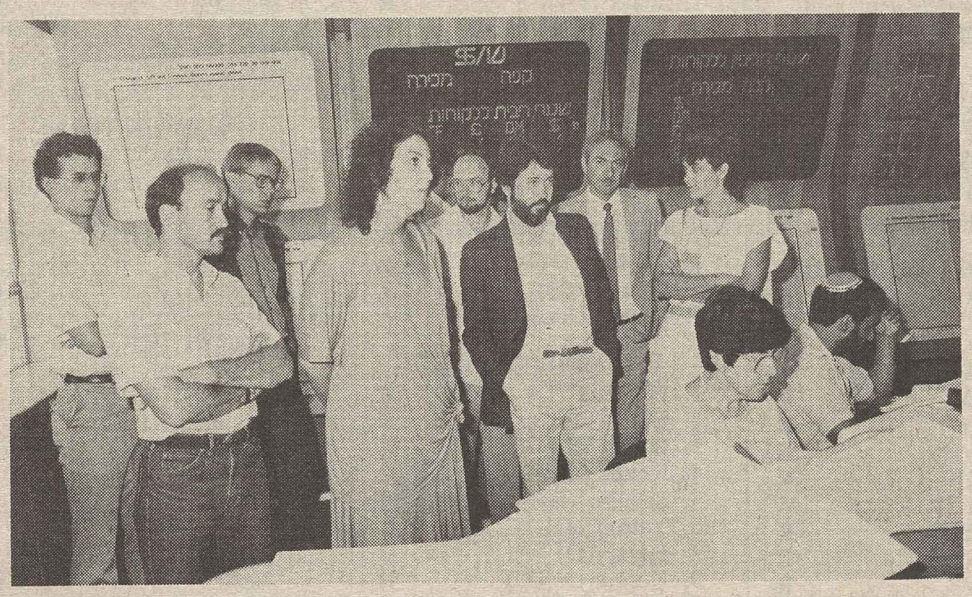
Another ITU referendum issue this fall will be the election of officers for a three-year term beginning Jan. 1, 1987. Under the merger plan, five ITU officers would remain in office until 1990, when the number would be trimmed to three.

McMichen will again run for the presidency and is being opposed by First Vice President Allan J. Heritage. Incumbent Sec.-Treas. Thomas Kopeck is being challenged by William Frazee, currently assistant to McMichen.

Incumbent Vice President William Boarman will run against a former ITU vice president, Robert Wartinger. Billy J. Austin, an incumbent vice president, is being challenged by Philadelphia Typographical Local President Jerry Miller. Competing for the Mailers' vice presidency being vacated by Heritage are President Joel K. Wilson of Detroit Mailers Local 40 and Fred Leathem of Southern California Typographical-Mailers Local 17.

Ballots on the referendum items will be mailed during the first week of October and must be returned by Nov. 19. The American Arbitration Association is conducting the referendum.

In other action, the delegates urged the ITU executive council to adopt two new portions of the AFL-CIO Union Privilege Benefit Programs. The resolution called for the union to make available labor's low interest credit card and legal services program to all ITU members, including those who are unemployed or retired.



Fair exchange

Members of the AFL-CIO's youth group, Frontlash, make a stop at union-owned bank during a 10-day visit to Israel. The trip is the first leg of exchange visits planned with their counterparts from Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation. While in Israel, the seven Frontlash members visited the Knesset, Israel's parliament, and stayed on a kibbutz. Here, the group met with officials of the Bank Hapoalim, part of the economic arm of Histadrut and one of Israel's largest financial institutions. A delegation of young Israeli trade unionists will visit the United States in November.

Broadcasts set

Labor Day messages by AFL-CIO officers will be broadcast over the holiday weekend, Aug. 30-Sept. 1, by the major radio networks.

President Lane Kirkland will be heard several times during the Labor Day weekend on stations of the NBC and CBS radio networks. Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue will be heard on ABC radio outlets.

The Labor Day statements will be available for radio stations to record directly from the AFL-CIO Audio Service in Washington. Local stations can call toll-free to 1-800-368-5744, starting at noon, Friday, Aug. 29.

House vote on Davis-Bacon coverage

The House on Aug. 15 defeated, 244-167, a labor-opposed amendment to eliminate Davis-Bacon Act prevailing wage protections from military construction contracts under $250,000.

Right votes (R) against the amendment were cast by 209 Democrats and 35 Republicans. Voting wrong (W) were 33 Democrats and 134 Republicans. Illinois Republican Harris Fawell voted right by mistake. He said he meant to vote for the amendment, which would have given him a "wrong" vote.

Numerals show congressional districts. A—absent and not paired. PR—paired right; PW—paired wrong.

ALABAMA

1.	Callahan (R)	W
2.	Dickinson (R)	W
3.	Nichols (D)	W
4.	Bevill (D)	R
5.	Flippo (D)	A
6.	Erdreich (D)	A
7.	Shelby (D)	R

ALASKA

AL	Young (R)	R

ARIZONA

1.	McCain (R)	W
2.	Udall (D)	R
3.	Stump (R)	W
4.	Rudd (R)	W
5.	Kolbe (R)	W

ARKANSAS

1.	Alexander (D)	R
2.	Robinson (D)	R
3.	Hammerschmidt (R)	W
4.	Anthony (D)	W

CALIFORNIA

1.	Bosco (D)	R
2.	Chappie (R)	PW
3.	Matsui (D)	R
4.	Fazio (D)	R
5.	Burton (D)	R
6.	Boxer (D)	R
7.	Miller (D)	R
8.	Dellums (D)	R
9.	Stark (D)	R
10.	Edwards (D)	R
11.	Lantos (D)	R
12.	Zschau (R)	A
13.	Mineta (D)	R
14.	Shumway (R)	W
15.	Coelho (D)	R
16.	Panetta (D)	R
17.	Pashayan (R)	R
18.	Lehman (D)	R
19.	Lagomarsino (R)	W
20.	Thomas (R)	PW
21.	Fiedler (R)	W
22.	Moorhead (R)	W
23.	Beilenson (D)	W
24.	Waxman (D)	R
25.	Roybal (D)	R
26.	Berman (D)	R
27.	Levine (D)	R
28.	Dixon (D)	R
29.	Hawkins (D)	R
30.	Martinez (D)	PR
31.	Dymally (D)	R
32.	Anderson (D)	R
33.	Dreier (R)	W
34.	Torres (D)	R
35.	Lewis (R)	R
36.	Brown (D)	R
37.	McCandless (R)	W
38.	Dornan (R)	W
39.	Dannemeyer (R)	A
40.	Badham (R)	W
41.	Lowery (R)	W
42.	Lungren (R)	W
43.	Packard (R)	W
44.	Bates (D)	R
45.	Hunter (R)	W

COLORADO

1.	Schroeder (D)	R
2.	Wirth (D)	R
3.	Strang (R)	W
4.	Brown (R)	W
5.	Kramer (R)	W
6.	Schaefer (R)	W

CONNECTICUT

1.	Kennelly (D)	R
2.	Gejdenson (D)	R
3.	Morrison (D)	PR
4.	McKinney (R)	R
5.	Rowland (R)	R
6.	Johnson (R)	R

DELAWARE

AL	Carper (D)	R

FLORIDA

1.	Hutto (D)	W
2.	Fuqua (D)	A
3.	Bennett (D)	R
4.	Chappell (D)	R
5.	McCollum (R)	W
6.	MacKay (D)	W
7.	Gibbons (D)	W
8.	Young (R)	W
9.	Bilirakis (R)	W
10.	Ireland (R)	W
11.	Nelson (D)	W
12.	Lewis (R)	W
13.	Mack (R)	W
14.	Mica (D)	R
15.	Shaw (R)	W
16.	Smith (D)	R
17.	Lehman (D)	R
18.	Pepper (D)	R
19.	Fascell (D)	R

GEORGIA

1.	Thomas (D)	R
2.	Hatcher (D)	W
3.	Ray (D)	W
4.	Swindall (R)	W
5.	Fowler (D)	A
6.	Gingrich (R)	W
7.	Darden (D)	W
8.	Rowland (D)	R
9.	Jenkins (D)	W
10.	Barnard (D)	W

HAWAII

1.	Vacancy	
2.	Akaka (D)	R

IDAHO

1.	Craig (R)	W
2.	Stallings (D)	W

ILLINOIS

1.	Hayes (D)	R
2.	Savage (D)	R
3.	Russo (D)	R
4.	Vacancy	
5.	Lipinski (D)	R
6.	Hyde (R)	W
7.	Collins (D)	R
8.	Rostenkowski (D)	R
9.	Yates (D)	R
10.	Porter (R)	W
11.	Annunzio (D)	R
12.	Crane (R)	W
13.	Fawell (R)	R
14.	Grotberg (R)	A
15.	Madigan (R)	R
16.	Martin (R)	W
17.	Evans (D)	R
18.	Michel (R)	W
19.	Bruce (D)	R
20.	Durbin (D)	R
21.	Price (D)	R
22.	Gray (D)	R

INDIANA

1.	Visclosky (D)	R
2.	Sharp (D)	R
3.	Hiler (R)	W
4.	Coats (R)	W
5.	Hillis (R)	A
6.	Burton (R)	R
7.	Myers (R)	W
8.	McCloskey (D)	R
9.	Hamilton (D)	R
10.	Jacobs (D)	R

IOWA

1.	Leach (R)	W
2.	Tauke (R)	W
3.	Evans (R)	A
4.	Smith (D)	R
5.	Lightfoot (R)	W
6.	Bedell (D)	A

KANSAS

1.	Roberts (R)	W
2.	Slattery (D)	R
3.	Meyers (R)	W
4.	Glickman (D)	R
5.	Whittaker (R)	W

KENTUCKY

1.	Hubbard (D)	R
2.	Natcher (D)	R
3.	Mazzoli (D)	R
4.	Snyder (R)	W
5.	Rogers (R)	W
6.	Hopkins (R)	W
7.	Perkins (D)	R

LOUISIANA

1.	Livingston (R)	W
2.	Boggs (D)	R
3.	Tauzin (D)	W
4.	Roemer (D)	W
5.	Huckaby (D)	W
6.	Moore (R)	A
7.	Breaux (D)	A
8.	Long (D)	R

MAINE

1.	McKernan (R)	W
2.	Snowe (R)	W

MARYLAND

1.	Dyson (D)	R
2.	Bentley (R)	A
3.	Mikulski (D)	R
4.	Holt (R)	W
5.	Hoyer (D)	R
6.	Byron (D)	W
7.	Mitchell (D)	R
8.	Barnes (D)	R

MASSACHUSETTS

1.	Conte (R)	R
2.	Boland (D)	R
3.	Early (D)	R
4.	Frank (D)	R
5.	Atkins (D)	R
6.	Mavroules (D)	R
7.	Markey (D)	R
8.	O'Neill (D) Speaker	
9.	Moakley (D)	R
10.	Studds (D)	R
11.	Donnelly (D)	R

MICHIGAN

1.	Conyers (D)	R
2.	Pursell (R)	W
3.	Wolpe (D)	R
4.	Siljander (R)	W
5.	Henry (R)	W
6.	Carr (D)	R
7.	Kildee (D)	R
8.	Traxler (D)	R
9.	Vander Jagt (R)	W
10.	Schuette (R)	W
11.	Davis (R)	R
12.	Bonior (D)	R
13.	Crockett (D)	R
14.	Hertel (D)	R
15.	Ford (D)	R
16.	Dingell (D)	R
17.	Levin (D)	R
18.	Broomfield (R)	W

MINNESOTA

1.	Penny (D)	R
2.	Weber (R)	W
3.	Frenzel (R)	W
4.	Vento (D)	R
5.	Sabo (D)	R
6.	Sikorski (D)	R
7.	Stangeland (R)	W
8.	Oberstar (D)	R

MISSISSIPPI

1.	Whitten (D)	R
2.	Franklin (R)	W
3.	Montgomery (D)	W
4.	Dowdy (D)	R
5.	Lott (R)	W

MISSOURI

1.	Clay (D)	R
2.	Young (D)	R
3.	Gephardt (D)	R
4.	Skelton (D)	R
5.	Wheat (D)	R
6.	Coleman (R)	W
7.	Taylor (R)	W
8.	Emerson (R)	W
9.	Volkmer (D)	R

MONTANA

1.	Williams (D)	R
2.	Marlenee (R)	W

NEBRASKA

1.	Bereuter (R)	W
2.	Daub (R)	R
3.	Smith (R)	W

NEVADA

1.	Reid (D)	R
2.	Vucanovich (R)	W

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1.	Smith (R)	W
2.	Gregg (R)	W

NEW JERSEY

1.	Florio (D)	R
2.	Hughes (D)	R
3.	Howard (D)	R
4.	Smith (R)	R
5.	Roukema (R)	W
6.	Dwyer (D)	R
7.	Rinaldo (R)	R
8.	Roe (D)	R
9.	Torricelli (D)	R
10.	Rodino (D)	R
11.	Gallo (R)	R
12.	Courter (R)	R
13.	Saxton (R)	R
14.	Guarini (D)	R

NEW MEXICO

1.	Lujan (R)	W
2.	Skeen (R)	W
3.	Richardson (D)	R

NEW YORK

1.	Carney (R)	W
2.	Downey (D)	R
3.	Mrazek (D)	R
4.	Lent (R)	R
5.	McGrath (R)	R
6.	Waldon (D)	R
7.	Ackerman (D)	R
8.	Scheuer (D)	R
9.	Manton (D)	R
10.	Schumer (D)	R
11.	Towns (D)	R
12.	Owens (D)	R
13.	Solarz (D)	R
14.	Molinari (R)	W
15.	Green (R)	R
16.	Rangel (D)	R
17.	Weiss (D)	R
18.	Garcia (D)	A
19.	Biaggi (D)	R
20.	DioGuardi (R)	R
21.	Fish (R)	R
22.	Gilman (R)	R
23.	Stratton (D)	R
24.	Solomon (R)	W
25.	Boehlert (R)	R
26.	Martin (R)	W
27.	Wortley (R)	R
28.	McHugh (D)	R
29.	Horton (R)	R
30.	Eckert (R)	W
31.	Kemp (R)	R
32.	LaFalce (D)	R
33.	Nowak (D)	R
34.	Lundine (D)	R

NORTH CAROLINA

1.	Jones (D)	R
2.	Valentine (D)	W
3.	Whitley (D)	W
4.	Cobey (R)	W
5.	Neal (D)	W
6.	Coble (R)	W
7.	Rose (D)	R
8.	Hefner (D)	W
9.	McMillan (R)	W
10.	Vacancy	
11.	Hendon (R)	W

NORTH DAKOTA

AL	Dorgan (D)	R

OHIO

1.	Luken (D)	R
2.	Gradison (R)	W
3.	Hall (D)	R
4.	Oxley (R)	W
5.	Latta (R)	W
6.	McEwen (R)	W
7.	DeWine (R)	W
8.	Kindness (R)	W
9.	Kaptur (D)	R
10.	Miller (R)	W
11.	Eckart (D)	R
12.	Kasich (R)	W
13.	Pease (D)	R
14.	Seiberling (D)	R
15.	Wylie (R)	R
16.	Regula (R)	R
17.	Traficant (D)	R
18.	Applegate (D)	R
19.	Feighan (D)	R
20.	Oakar (D)	R
21.	Stokes (D)	R

OKLAHOMA

1.	Jones (D)	R
2.	Synar (D)	R
3.	Watkins (D)	W
4.	McCurdy (D)	W
5.	Edwards (R)	W
6.	English (D)	W

OREGON

1.	AuCoin (D)	R
2.	Smith, Robert (R)	W
3.	Wyden (D)	R
4.	Weaver (D)	R
5.	Smith, Denny (R)	W

PENNSYLVANIA

1.	Foglietta (D)	R
2.	Gray (D)	R
3.	Borski (D)	R
4.	Kolter (D)	R
5.	Schulze (R)	R
6.	Yatron (D)	R
7.	Edgar (D)	R
8.	Kostmayer (D)	R
9.	Shuster (R)	W
10.	McDade (R)	R
11.	Kanjorski (D)	R
12.	Murtha (D)	R
13.	Coughlin (R)	R
14.	Coyne (D)	R
15.	Ritter (R)	W
16.	Walker (R)	W
17.	Gekas (R)	W
18.	Walgren (D)	R
19.	Goodling (R)	W
20.	Gaydos (D)	R
21.	Ridge (R)	R
22.	Murphy (D)	R
23.	Clinger (R)	R

RHODE ISLAND

1.	St Germain (D)	R
2.	Schneider (R)	R

SOUTH CAROLINA

1.	Hartnett (R)	A
2.	Spence (R)	W
3.	Derrick (D)	W
4.	Campbell (R)	A
5.	Spratt (D)	W
6.	Tallon (D)	R

SOUTH DAKOTA

AL	Daschle (D)	R

TENNESSEE

1.	Quillen (R)	W
2.	Duncan (R)	W
3.	Lloyd (D)	R
4.	Cooper (D)	R
5.	Boner (D)	R
6.	Gordon (D)	R
7.	Sundquist (R)	W
8.	Jones (D)	R
9.	Ford (D)	R

TEXAS

1.	Chapman (D)	R
2.	Wilson (D)	R
3.	Bartlett (R)	W
4.	Hall (D)	W
5.	Bryant (D)	R
6.	Barton (R)	W
7.	Archer (R)	W
8.	Fields (R)	W
9.	Brooks (D)	R
10.	Pickle (D)	R
11.	Leath (D)	W
12.	Wright (D)	R
13.	Boulter (R)	W
14.	Sweeney (R)	W
15.	de la Garza (D)	R
16.	Coleman (D)	W
17.	Stenholm (D)	W
18.	Leland (D)	R
19.	Combest (R)	W
20.	Gonzalez (D)	R
21.	Loeffler (R)	W
22.	DeLay (R)	W
23.	Bustamante (D)	R
24.	Frost (D)	R
25.	Andrews (D)	W
26.	Armey (R)	W
27.	Ortiz (D)	R

UTAH

1.	Hansen (R)	W
2.	Monson (R)	W
3.	Nielson (R)	W

VERMONT

AL	Jeffords (R)	W

VIRGINIA

1.	Bateman (R)	W
2.	Whitehurst (R)	W
3.	Bliley (R)	W
4.	Sisisky (D)	R
5.	Daniel (D)	W
6.	Olin (D)	R
7.	Slaughter (R)	W
8.	Parris (R)	W
9.	Boucher (D)	R
10.	Wolf (R)	W

WASHINGTON

1.	Miller (R)	W
2.	Swift (D)	R
3.	Bonker (D)	R
4.	Morrison (R)	W
5.	Foley (D)	R
6.	Dicks (D)	R
7.	Lowry (D)	R
8.	Chandler (R)	W

WEST VIRGINIA

1.	Mollohan (D)	R
2.	Staggers (D)	R
3.	Wise (D)	R
4.	Rahall (D)	R

WISCONSIN

1.	Aspin (D)	R
2.	Kastenmeier (D)	R
3.	Gunderson (R)	W
4.	Kleczka (D)	R
5.	Moody (D)	R
6.	Petri (R)	W
7.	Obey (D)	R
8.	Roth (R)	W
9.	Sensenbrenner (R)	W

WYOMING

AL	Cheney (R)	W

EDITORIALS

Still a Dumb Idea

CONSISTENCY IS not always a virtue, but if it were the Reagan Administration would get high grades.

The first months after President Reagan took office saw the scrapping of worker protections that the Chamber of Commerce had branded "costly and burdensome"—including pending regulations dealing with job safety and health, prevailing wages and overtime pay.

Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of the changed mission of the Labor Dept. was the proposal by Sec. Raymond J. Donovan to allow a return to the era of kitchen sweatshops. He sought to lift the 40-year ban ban on industrial homework in apparel-related and costume jewelry industries that exploited an earlier generation of immigrant workers and flouted minimum wage and child labor laws.

Donovan defended the attempt to roll back the clock as a move that would "open up job opportunities" and allow workers to report minimum wage violations "without fear of losing their jobs." That last assertion was made even as the Labor Dept. was cutting back sharply on its wage-hour enforcement staff.

His proposal was met by a deserved barrage of criticism, and not just from unions. Manufacturers protested that a return to industrial homework would be a disaster for fair employers.

THE PUBLIC outrage was such that the Administration backed off and settled instead for a foot-in-the-door attempt to legalize the "cottage industry" that had grown up in knitted outerwear. And even there, it took some three years to develop a regulation that could pass court scrutiny.

Now, inexplicably, Labor Sec. William E. Brock has chosen to follow the same backward path as his predecessor by reviving the discredited proposal to lift homework restrictions from the remaining six covered industries.

In a close paraphrase of Donovan's 1981 statement, the Labor Dept. tells us that prohibiting industrial homework "reduces an employee's incentive to file a complaint regarding minimum wage violations since a successful complaint may lead to a loss of the homeworker's job."

That was nonsense five years ago and it's nonsense now.

No Vacation

WHILE MOST mortals take a vacation once in a while, and are glad to do so, our workaholic House of Representatives chooses to proclaim a "district work period" when it takes a few days off.

This harmless vanity is supposed to convey the impression that, while ordinary folk work from sun to sun, a congressman's work is never done. But in an election year such as this, there's more truth than fiction in the phrase.

Granted that incumbents have an advantage, a House member who loses touch with his constituency won't keep his seat very long. And that's as it should be.

But between the district work period and the election, there is an important interlude that might by called a congressional work period. Many of the bills that are high on the trade union movement's priority list are on the crowded agenda that Congress will face in its final weeks.

The report card on the 99th Congress is still being written.

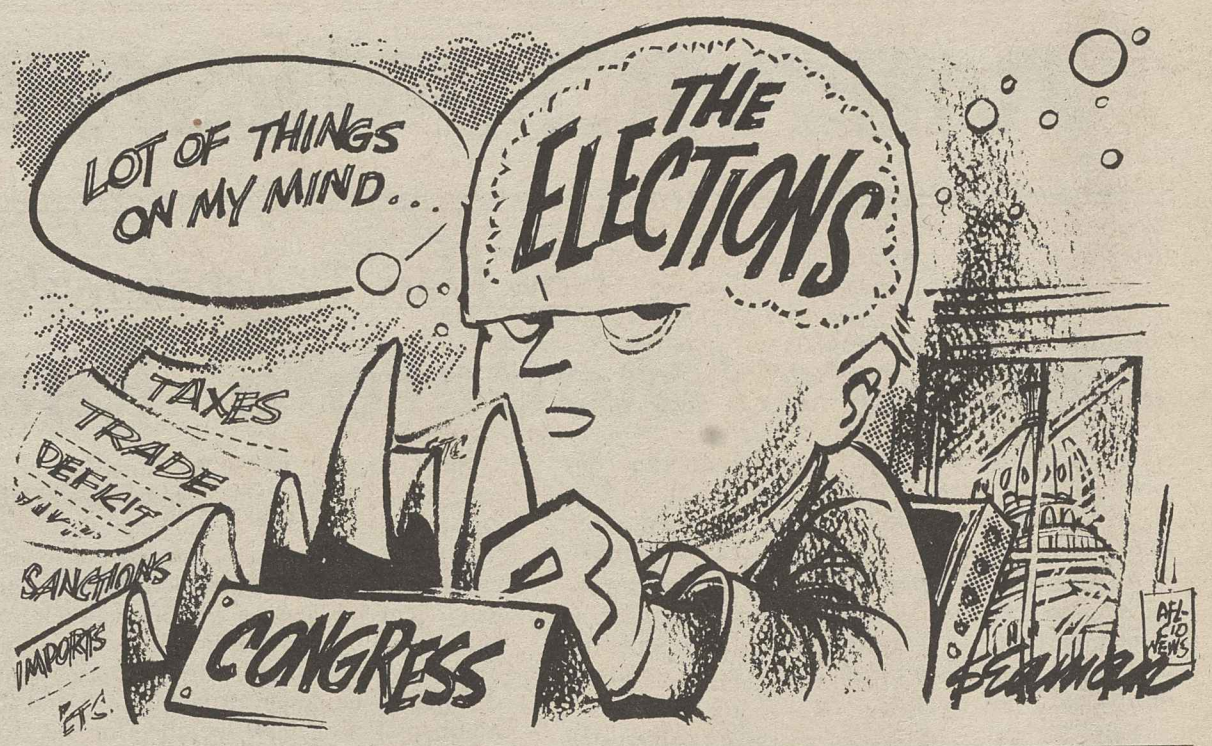
Prescription for Growth

IT'S MIGHTY hard for the economy to grow at a rate sufficient to provide the jobs and revenue that our nation needs if the already enormous gap between imports and exports continues to widen. But somehow, the message still hasn't gotten across to our government's policymakers.

As an item on the COPE Memo page of this issue notes, the U.S. trade representative can brag about the bargain he got on Korean-made suits and brush off criticism by remarking that "trade goes both ways."

The problem, of course, is that it doesn't. If imports and exports were anywhere near balance, economic growth wouldn't be at a near standstill.

Jobs and buying power are still the best prescription for an ailing economy.



Washington Window

Mellon Bank hammers its lowest-paid workers

By Press Associates Inc.

Mellon Bank proclaims itself a friendly sort of bank, one with a heart. It's advertising slogan insists that the bank is "a neighbor you can count on."

Indeed, the Mellon family long has been associated with philanthropy on a grand scale. But to some 80 men and women who clean and maintain two of Mellon's largest office buildings in Pittsburgh, the bank has become a symbol of corporate greed and heartlessness.

On Feb. 1, these loyal and mostly long-term employees suddenly were relegated to part-time status with lower wage rates, drastically reduced hours, and no pension or health insurance benefits. With the cutback in working hours, their average take-home pay was slashed from $220 to $38 a week.

Many of the 80 janitors have worked at Mellon for 15, 20 and 30 years, and nearly two-thirds are between 40 and 70 years old. About a third of them are women and about half are minorities. The average worker is either the head of a household or its sole source of income.

The Service Employees, who have represented the janitors since 1951, charged that Mellon fired its unionized janitorial contractor to bring in a nonunion firm to bust the wages and benefits of its long-term workers.

Bank funds used

The SEIU found that Mellon Bank supplied $110,000 to finance the formation of the new cleaning company, which refused to recognize the union as the bargaining agent and hired an additional 60 part-time janitors who had not worked for the replaced unionized contractor.

The bank switched contractors shortly after SEIU Local 29 signed a new collective bargaining agreement. The general manager of the former contractor is the same man who now heads the new firm and who refuses to recognize the terms of the contract signed last December.

Mellon's union-busting move came in the wake of a successful struggle by SEIU Local 29 against takebacks. An association representing most of Pittsburgh's building owners and managers had sought to impose wage and benefit cuts on 450 janitorial workers at 18 downtown office buildings.

An 11-week lockout—marked by an SEIU-led community campaign for justice—ended in January when a new, no-takeback contract was signed. In February, Mellon became the lone holdout by taking the path of union-busting.

Community support

Again, the union is enlisting community, church and labor organizations in its dispute with Mellon. Rallies and picketing have been staged at the bank's office buildings. In a recent ad in the Wall Street Journal, the union posed "The Mellon Question: Why would a bank with assets of $34 billion cut its janitors to $38 a week?"

Local 29 has filed a lawsuit in federal court against Mellon, charging it with breach of contract, among other things. The union also has filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board, resulting in a complaint by the NLRB regional office against the new contractor. Further, it filed an age discrimination suit with the city's human relations commission.

Meanwhile, Delores McCoy, who worked nights at a Mellon building for 16 years, struggles to get by on the $81.13 she takes home each week. She had been netting $220 a week. Her hours were cut to 20 a week, less of a cutback than most of her co-workers have sustained. Like the other janitors, her $7.75-an-hour pay was cut to the $4-to-$5.25 range.

Because she lost her health insurance coverage like the others, McCoy, 52, has put off medical treatment for an eye injury. On Aug. 1, her financial hardship was compounded when her partial state jobless benefits expired.

Carroll Harrison, 48, a cleaner at Mellon for 13 years, had been netting $243 a week. Now he takes home $32 and as a part-time worker is without his former "life support" benefits. "The whole situation is very unfair," Harrison told a Pittsburgh newspaper.

AFL-CIO news

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MEMO FROM COPE

How Press/TV Labels Mislead Voters

Media's 'Moderate' Really a Mossback

This is about Ed Zschau, the Republican congressman now running for the U.S. Senate seat in California against incumbent Sen. Alan Cranston. But Zschau is used here primarily as an example:

An example of how major national news providers—press, television, radio—mislead news consumers by trying to describe with a simple label the candidates and office-holders they cover. It's not intentional—just sloppy.

Take Zschau. The media insists on advertising him as a "moderate." As a congressman and candidate, in the description of a recent Washington Post story—echoed by other papers and commentators—Zschau comes from "the pragmatic middle of the Republican Party." Others speak of him as a "centrist Republican."

The media folks aren't doing their homework. They aren't checking the record. Merely because Zschau doesn't join the right-wing clamor on social issues, the media take him for a "moderate."

But his record where it counts—in his votes on people-serving programs—shows he's isolated at the extreme right of the Republican Party with those few who aren't content merely to squeeze every nickel they can out of people-helping programs, but seem bent on getting rid of them entirely (even including drug and alcohol abuse programs).

Following is a sampling of votes by this media-described "moderate Republican," and the small number of his fellow members of the House who joined him. (These are even worse over-all than Zschau's record on the AFL-CIO scorecard, which shows him 89 percent "wrong.")

* Proposal to permit farmers in certain circumstances to postpone payment of Farmers Home Administration loans. Zschau *against.* Carried 378-35, or 11-1.

* Proposal to help unemployed veterans facing foreclosure meet payments on VA home loans. Zschau *against.* Carried 394-23, or 17-1.

* Proposal to let National Traffic Safety Board spend $22.6 million on driver safety programs. Zschau *against.* Carried 372-43, or 9-1.

* Proposal to extend supplemental jobless benefits for long-term unemployed, and to extend payment of social security disability benefits for recipients appealing enforced termination of benefits. Zschau *against.* Carried 327-92, or 3½-1.

* Proposal to reauthorize volunteer programs administered by ACTION. Zschau *against.* Carried 312-30, or 10-1.

* $20 million appropriation for work-study programs under Higher Education Act. Zschau *against.* Carried 336-72, or 4½-1.

* Proposal to help fund improvement and construction of public libraries. Zschau *against.* Carried 357-39, or 9-1.

* Proposal to help fund programs to prevent family violence and provide shelter for victims of it. Zschau *against.* Carried 367-31, or 11½-1.

* Proposal to help fund alcohol abuse, drug abuse and mental health programs. Zschau *against.* Carried 360-33, or 11-1.

* Proposal to expand the range of unfair trade practices by U.S. trading partners eligible for retaliation by U.S. Zschau *against.* Carried 259-95, or 2½-1.

* Proposal to fund five child nutrition programs. Zschau *against.* Carried 367-59, or 6-1.

There are more, but you get the picture.

Of course, there are many votes, too, on which he had plenty of company, but you'd have to strain to find any member of Congress—Republican or Democrat—more often on the short end of such lopsided votes.

This is a "moderate?" This is the "pragmatic middle" of the GOP? Jesse Helms a progressive?

It says a lot about Zschau and, for that matter, a good deal about the media that cover him and other politicians.

The media's "moderate" is a mossback.

No Comment

The following is reprinted from the Washington Times without comment, though the urge to comment is almost beyond resisting:

"Amidst all the political talk emanating from all the VIPs (at a State Dept. luncheon), the men at (U.S.) Trade Ambassador Clayton Yeutter's table were talking about what the boys are wearing. Said Mr. Yeutter, he recently had two suits made in Korea—after only a 30-minute fitting—for $150 each. 'They would be $500 a piece here,' he said.

"What about buying American? 'Trade goes both ways,' he replied. He also revealed there's a photo of Ronald Reagan in a tailor shop in Korea wearing a jacket he had made there—in his pre-presidential days. And there's a picture of George Bush in the Peninsula Hotel's shirt shop in Hong Kong because G.B. patronized it."

1 (Absentee) Vote Counts

Never underestimate the power of an absentee ballot.

Edward Tyler doesn't. He knows absentee balloting is important—and he's got two elections under his belt to prove it.

In the recent mayoral election in Fieldsboro, Pa., Tyler went to bed election night knowing there was one absentee ballot—secured in an envelope—waiting to be opened. It would settle the outcome, because Tyler was locked in a 110-110 tie with his opponent.

It was opened the next day. It was for Tyler. He won by one vote, 111-110.

Eight years ago, when he ran for mayor for the first time, Tyler won narrowly—but because his opponent was indicted for tampering with absentee ballots.

****

In nearby Easthampton, Pa., Donald Pike also learned the importance of absentee ballots. Thirteen of them gave him the edge for a town council seat, 184-182.

One (absentee) vote counts!

Odds 'n Ends

DID YOU KNOW that for every $1 billion in auto imports the U.S. loses $1.2 billion in auto production; $184 million in steel and fabricated parts; $98 million in machine tools; $496 million in rubber, plastic, non-ferrous metals and other manufactured parts; $348 million in wholesale and retail sales margins, transportation, warehousing and utilities; $47 million in mining; $39 million in financing and insurance; $16 million in plant construction? Total loss to the economy: $2.43 billion.

SOME REPUBLICANS probably are *not* running for the Presidency, but they haven't surfaced yet. The ranks of those who are, or might, swell hourly. Pierre du Pont, former governor of Delaware, formally announced his candidacy recently. Hinting willingness to run lately are former Nixon aide and Reagan Secretary of State, Gen. Alexander Haig, and retiring Sen. Paul Laxalt (Nev.), the latter highly favored among right-wing leaders (although one of "new right" kingpins, Richard Viquerie, leads Rep. Jack Kemp). Former Sen. Howard Baker (Tenn.) is in the "exploratory" stage, with formal announcement expected. Add in Kemp, Dole, Rev. Pat Robertson, Bush etc., others who might yet show interest, and you'll have enough to make up a full marching band.

OH, YUH, ONE OTHER possibility for the GOP, guy named Ronald Reagan. Not a real prospect, to be sure, but some Republicans and right-wingers are urging quick repeal of the 22nd Amendment that limits a President to two terms. They want it in time to permit Reagan to go for a third. The President himself supports repeal but, he says, not until he's left office. Main reason for the drive by GOP and right wing is as direct-mail fundraiser. For example, GOP Congressional Campaign Committee mailed appeal to 300,000 people, saying: "Ronald Reagan is one of the greatest Presidents of all time, and we want to keep him on the job." However, GOP and right-wing rally for "four more years" for Reagan drew only 200 to park across street from White House, most of them from GOP committees and Capitol Hill offices.

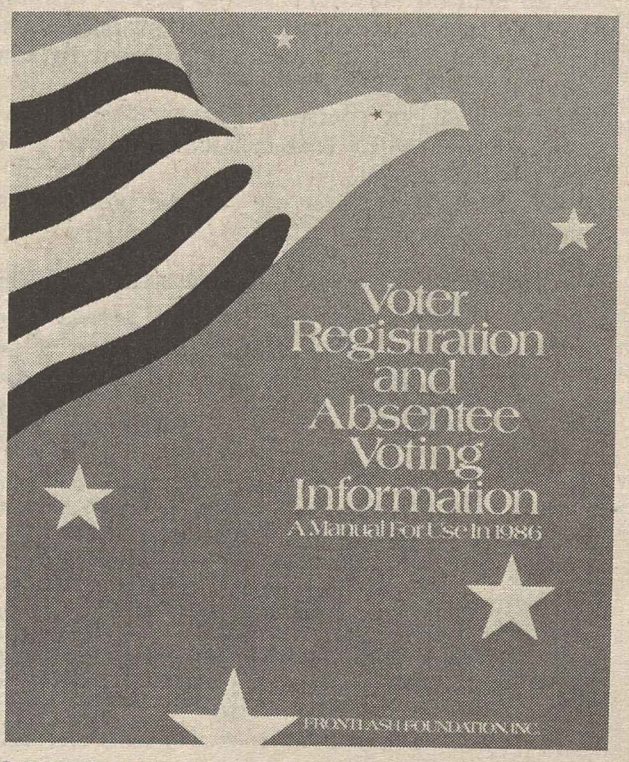
PUBLIC FUNDING plan for gubernatorial candidates is adopted by Florida, making it seventh state to go that route. Others: Hawaii, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Wisconsin. Systems differ some in detail, but add up to same: equal resources for candidates.

AND IN U.S. SENATE, 69-30 vote calls for restricting campaign contributions by PACs to congressional candidates. Proposal would limit total amount candidates may accept from PACs and would lower maximum allowable PAC gift per candidate to $3,000 from present $5,000. Includes ban on PAC contributions to political parties. It's in doubt that any final action on this, or any other PAC bill, will occur in this session of Congress.

CAMPAIGN FUNDING figures released by Federal Elections Commission show congressional candidates raised $262 million as of June 30, a 23-percent increase over 1984, with PAC funds accounting for about 25 percent, itself a 29-percent boost over 1984.

BEATEN IN GOP PRIMARY, Rep. Mark Siljander (Mich.) blames loss on tape he sent to district ministers uring them "to break the back of Satan" by supporting his candidacy. It brought him a lot of publicity, a lot of criticism but not votes.

EDGING BACK UP, Democratic Party recaptures some of ground lost to GOP in national voter party identification. Gallup Poll shows Democrats reached low point in early 1985 when they led just 37-35 percent in voter support. Now, it's up to seven points, 39-32. Harris Poll shows similar recovery, slightly different numbers: 39-29 for Democrats.



Manual above contains complete state-by-state data on voter registration and absentee balloting requirements. Available from Frontlash, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Cost: $20, plus $2.50 postage/handling.

AFL-CIO news

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Kirkland: Imports threaten standard of living

By Arlee C. Green

The United States faces an economic crisis spawned by the Reagan Administration's infatuation with the "long-dead theory of 'free trade,' " AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland warned in his Labor Day message.

He said millions of workers are drowning in the torrent of imports that is affecting all sectors of the economy through plant closings, farm foreclosures, bankruptcies and recession-level unemployment.

Kirkland called for quick Senate action on trade reform legislation passed by the House in May, a measure that President Reagan threatens to veto. He said the question before the Senate is "which side are you on?"

The growing menace to America's standard of living formed a pervading theme in the Labor Day statements of Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue. It is the duty of the labor movement to resist this Administration's blind allegiance to so-called free and open markets, Kirkland said, and to prevent the U.S. standard of living from sinking to the world's lowest common denominator.

"The task before us is . . . to strive for the highest that human beings can possibly achieve, in our own land and around the world," he said.

The trade bill is designed to keep the "supply side" from vanishing and is not a "protectionist" measure, Kirkland declared. "It is a response to the virulent protectionism by which other countries exclude American products from their markets while flooding ours with theirs. Its goal is to expand international trade by making trade a two-way street."

The AFL-CIO president said Reagan's adherence to failed trade policies has caused nearly all Americans to learn "the lessons of international trade . . . from lost jobs, lost incomes, lost dignity and devastated communities that surround them," but the Administration itself "has learned nothing."

Decrying the Administration's stubborn refusal to "disenthrall itself from the free-trade fantasy," Kirkland cited this statement from Reagan's 1986 Economic Report:

"Our economic policy rests firmly on

Continued on Page 3

Lane Kirkland spells out strategies to bolster Steelworkers.

Labor mobilizes support to combat USX lockout

By Candice Johnson

Pledging "solidarity today, success tomorrow," the AFL-CIO launched a nationwide campaign supporting the struggle of locked-out Steelworkers seeking a fair contract settlement with USX Corp.

The federation's Steelworkers Support Committee, chaired by President Murray Finley of the Clothing & Textile Workers, met with 70 coordinators designated by affiliated unions to work with the USWA on expanding community activities to bolster the union's effect to gain justice at USX. Serving on the committee are Presidents William Winpisinger of the Machinists, Owen Bieber of the Auto Workers, Larry Dugan Jr. of the Operating Engineers and Howard D. Samuel of the Industrial Union Dept.

In a "brainstorming session," the group planned strategies and coordinated picket line demonstrations for 25 sites where thousands of USWA members have been locked out since Aug. 1. The company is calling the stoppage a strike even though it chained plant gates shut against workers who wanted to continue working under the terms of their expired contract.

Federation President Lane Kirkland scored USX as "an X-rated company that has thrown overboard the rules of civilized collective bargaining."

By "arbitrarily depriving 22,000 hard-working men and women of their livelihood, " Kirkland declared, "USX has challenged the 13 million members of the AFL-CIO's affiliated unions with the question, 'what are you going to do about it.' "

Continued on Page 3

Real earnings fall third month in row

Prices stable, but paychecks buy less

Bad economic news for workers and their families continued as real earnings fell five-tenths of 1 percent in July, the third straight month of declines. The decrease resulted from a slight drop in both average weekly hours and average hourly earnings, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

BLS said an unchanged consumer price index coupled with a decline of two-tenths of 1 percent in average hourly earnings and a drop of three-tenths of 1 percent in average weekly hours pushed real earnings lower for the third consecutive month. A drop of six-tenths of 1 percent was registered in June following a decline of one-tenth of 1 percent in May.

Although it showed no change over the month, the CPI was up 1.2 percent from the July 1985 level, with medical care 7.6 percent higher, food costs up 3.5 percent and housing up 2.8 percent.

In terms of real wages adjusted for inflation, workers found themselves just three-tenths of 1 percent better off than they were a year ago, BLS said. But real pay has declined 7 percent from the level of July 1979, federation economist Ann Draper said.

Family income sags

Median family income is still well below the 1973 level, Draper said, with family income for 1985 posted at $27,735 against the 1973 figure, expressed in 1985 dollars, of $29,172.

Draper pointed out that the distribution of family income has skewed toward the wealthy during the Reagan years. In 1985, the Census Bureau figures show that the bottom fifth of families in terms of income held 4.6 percent of the nation's total income while the top 20 percent received 43.5 percent and the top 5 percent got 16.7 percent. The share of total income for the top 5 percent figure was up from 15.3 percent in 1980, while the share for the poorest families was down from 5.1 percent.

The poverty rate for 1985 declined by four-tenths of 1 percent to 14 percent, the Census Bureau reported, as 33.1 million Americans were listed as below the poverty level in 1985. But Draper pointed out that the 14 percent rate equals the poverty level of 1981 and exceeds the poverty rate during the 1970s and late 1960s.

The government data showed there was no improvement for working families at or below the poverty level, Draper added. In 1984, 7.5 percent of all working households were trapped in poverty. That figure was unchanged in 1985.

While Administration officials were

Continued on Page 2

Glass union wins 'givebacks' from bottle companies

Renegotiated contracts will recoup past pay concessions for some 17,000 union members in the glass container industry and provide additional gains over the next three years.

The Glass, Pottery & Plastics Workers sought and achieved a new round of bargaining after the industry returned to profitability. Last year, when plant closings reflected the industry's economic plight, the union had agreed to pass up a scheduled 31-cent hourly raise. And in return for a severance pay provision, it agreed to extend the pay freeze to Mar. 31, 1987, a year after the contract normally would have expired.

With improving profit margins, helped by the success of some new product lines such as wine coolers, it was management's turn to come to the bargaining table before the contract expiration date.

Continued on Page 6

Continued job loss belies recovery

An estimated 1.4 million American workers lost their jobs through plant closings or permanent layoffs in 1983 and 1984, the years of economic recovery from the nation's worst postwar recession.

Few of them got any help from government-funded programs for dislocated workers. And those that did generally ended up with jobs paying substantially less than they had previously earned.

These are some of the grim findings of a General Accounting Office "briefing report" put together at the request of Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.).

The GAO report identifies imports as a principal cause of jobs loss—directly in the case of most manufacturing cutbacks and indirectly in many trade and service jobs eliminated by the ripple effect of manufacturing shutdowns.

The report notes that more than 35 percent of all the plant closings and layoffs by establishments with 100 or more employees were in industries identified by the Labor Dept. as having been harmed by the deep import penetration of American markets.

Toll of imports

The direct import factor was greatest in manufacturing, accounting for more than 425,000 of the 695,000 job loss.

During the nation's economic rebound from the severe Reagan Recession, plant closings and layoffs hit 13 percent of all manufacturing establishments with 100 or more workers and wiped out 5 percent of manufacturing jobs.

Apart from the job losses stemming from increased imports, the GAO data show that 18 percent of firms that cut back employment during the "recovery" years cited limited access to foreign markets as a factor. As to the ripple effect, the report notes that the job loss in wholesale trade was heaviest in the durable goods sector where the largest manufacturing job loss occurred.

Only about 8 percent of workers who lost their jobs permanently received federal employment and training assistance, the report indicates.

It notes the near-elimination of trade ad-

Continued on Page 2

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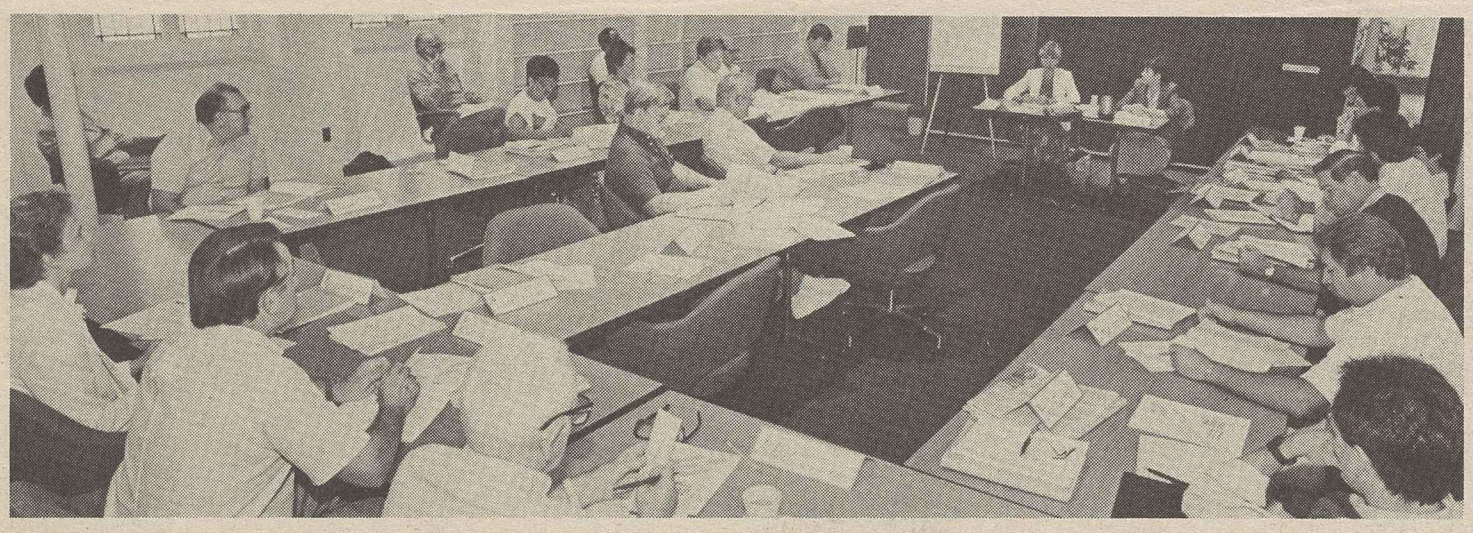

Countering plant closings

Participants from 17 AFL-CIO unions and state federations explore ways to help workers and communities hit by plant closing during a three-day conference at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies. They discussed dislocated worker projects and reviewed problems faced by jobless workers and their families. The conference, sponsored by the AFL-CIO and the Labor Dept., included a keynote address by Stephen Schlossberg, deputy undersecretary for labor-management relations.

Public sale gets right-of-way on Conrail system

Legislation to clear the way for a labor-urged public sale of Conrail, the government-operated freight railroad system, is expected to be put on a fast track when Congress returns after Labor Day.

The AFL-CIO and the multi-union Railway Labor Executives' Association welcomed the scrapping of an Administration plan to sell the government's 85 percent share of Conrail to the competing Norfolk Southern Corp. at a fire-sale price.

The Senate last February approved the terms of the sale proposed by Transportation Sec. Elizabeth Dole, despite protests that both the government and the public would be shortchanged. But the Senate bill has been blocked in the House Energy & Commerce Committee, where Chairman John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) and Transportation Subcommittee Chairman James J. Florio (D-N.J.) are strong advocates of a public sale.

With time running out and the opportunity for a big tax windfall threatened by the pending tax reform legislation, Norfolk Southern withdrew its offer, all but assuring a public sale.

An RLEA task force is monitoring legislation affecting the Conrail sale. Richard I. Kilroy, president of the Railway & Airline Clerks and executive secretary-treasurer of RLEA, said rail unions will seek to assure the continuation of Conrail operations in any sale arrangement.

Workers' role

Conrail was formed in 1975 out of the bankrupt Penn Central Railroad and several smaller lines. Railroad workers, who exchanged part of their paychecks for a 15 percent share of Conrail stock, helped return the line to profitability.

A resolution adopted at last year's AFL-CIO convention called for a public sale of Conrail "as an independent company." It charged that a Norfolk Southern sale would "reduce competition, raise freight rates and cost up to 10,000 jobs."

With just four workweeks left to the 99th Congress and a crowded agenda, a new Conrail sale bill will face heavy competition for floor time. But the budget deficit ceiling will be an added incentive to action, since anticipated revenue from a Conrail sale has been included in the budget calculations.

Factory job losses continue but federal assistance shrinks

Continued from Page 1

justment assistance to workers whose jobs were wiped out as a direct result of imports. Outlays shrunk from $1.6 billion in 1980, the last full pre-Reagan year, to $54 million in 1984.

The Job Training Partnership Act, which is supposed to fund training and job-finding assistance to workers displaced by shutdowns or large layoffs, has taken up only part of the slack, the GAO notes, and it also has been hampered by budget cuts.

A GAO study of assistance under JTPA Title III, which provides funds for states to aid dislocated workers, notes that those who received assistance tended to be younger and better educated than the average displaced worker.

While the programs in which they were enrolled generally had high placement rates, the new jobs they found paid on an average less than the workers had made in their previous employment. The average was $6.61 an hour, but two-thirds of the placements were below that level. By comparison, the national average hourly wage in March 1985 was $8.52.

While a substantial number of employers provided assistance to workers whose jobs were eliminated, white-collar workers generally fared better than blue-collar workers.

Some examples: 53 percent of establishments provided severance pay for white-collar workers, but only 34 percent gave such a benefit to blue collar workers.

While 42 percent of firms continued health insurance for white-collar workers, only 32 percent did so for blue-collar workers. That differential applied to job placement help as well.

In the job search area, 21 percent of firms let white-collar employees take time off for a job search while they were still on the payroll. Only 9 percent had a comparable provision for blue-collar workers. Only in occupational training was the advantage reversed, but the number affected was minute. Three percent of firms provided occupational training assistance to blue collar workers whose jobs were being abolished and only 1 percent did so for white-collar employees, who in most cases had job skills more easily transferable.

Lead victims to share record damage award

Eleven former Steelworkers employed by a Dallas-based metals firm will share a $140,000 damage settlement, the largest ever awarded under the medical removal provisions of the federal rule covering worker exposure to lead.

"We're pleased these workers finally got justice in the end, although we're sorry it took so long," said Jack Golden, director of USWA District 37. "We're also happy that the lead standard has again been upheld, and we think that our victory in this case should seen a clear message to any other employer who tries to deny our members' rights."

The settlement resulted from a complaint filed with the Occupational Safety & Health Administration in 1979 by USWA Local 3721 on behalf of the 11 employees of Murph Metals.

The workers were removed from their jobs and some were fired after routine tests showed they had elevated levels of lead in their blood.

OSHA investigated the complaint and found the company had willfully violated the lead standard.

The settlement has now been approved by the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission on remand from the 5th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, which had upheld the commission's earlier decision that the company's violations of the lead standard were "willful."

Exposure limits

The lead standard provides that workers with high lead levels in their blood be moved to other jobs where the risk of exposure is less, without a reduction in pay.

But RSR Corp., which at the time owned Murph Metals, moved the workers to other jobs at lower pay rates, placing the difference in wages in an escrow account while the lead standard was being challenged in court. Eventually, certain of the workers were terminated before the end of the 18-month waiting period provided in the standard.

None of the 11 workers is still employed by Murph Metals and RSR no longer owns the company.

Contempt of court

Garment boss jailed as pay cheat

Pittsfield, Mass.—A garment manufacturer is in jail for defying a court order to pay back wages and damages totaling $1.3 million to workers at his defunct Workroom for Design factory.

Sidney Sisselman was sentenced by U.S. District Court Judge Frank H. Freedman to a period "not to exceed six months or until . . . he demonstrates to the court's satisfaction that he is willing and able to begin complying with the court's lawful order."

Since a finding of contempt against Sisselman in 1985, the garment maker has paid "not one cent" nor has he made any efforts to arrange "a reasonable plan" for retribution, the judge admonished.

Declaring that "the court had been patient but its patience has run out," Freedman sent Sisselman off to jail.

The Sisselman saga began in February 1982, when 60 of the 76 employees at Workroom for Designers signed authorization cards naming the Ladies' Garment Workers as their bargaining agent.

A month later, Sisselman fired one worker because of her support for the union. With that, the remaining 59 union supporters walked out and set up a picket line protesting Sisselman's unfair labor practices. All 60 were fired.

Strikers assulted

A long list of labor law violations as of well as threats and assaults on the ILGWU strikers was disclosed in testimony before an administrative law judge of the National Labor Relations Board.

During the five-month strike, Sisselman and members of his family threatened and harassed the striking workers and physically assaulted some pickets, according to NLRB findings. In May 1982, Sisselman's son ordered a truck driver to mow down some pickets (the driver refused) and threatened to kill ILGWU business agent Warren Pepicelli and his family, the NLRB hearing records show.

Administrative Law Judge Michael O. Miller, in a decision for the NLRB, ordered Sisselman to bargain with the union and to reinstate the strikers with full back pay.

Sisselman signed a consent degree in the federal court, agreeing to pay $210,000 covering the workers' back pay into an escrow account and pledging to rehire the strikers.

Instead, he paid only $10,000 into the fund and moved the sewing operations to another factory. Sisselman's failure to comply found him facing a charge of civil contempt, and in 1985 Freedman ruled that Sisselman had "brazenly and intentionally" defied the court.

In addition to the back wages plus interest, Sisselman was ordered to pay expenses incurred by the ILGWU and NLRB during the investigation and court costs for the special master's hearings.

Sisselman was to pay the first installment of what the NLRB estimates to be a $1.3 million bill last February, but he again ignored the court's instruction. When Sisselman did not appear for a hearing scheduled later that month, Judge Freedman issued a federal warrant for his arrest.

The Sisselman trail led to Guatamala, where the garment manufacturer and his wife were staying courtesy of the International Executive Services Corp., an agency that sends retired businessmen to foreign countries to offer advice.

After returning to the United States, Sisselman appeared in federal court for sentencing. Still pending are contempt charges lodged against Sisselman's wife, daughter, son, two former attorneys and a former shop supervisor.

Real earnings fall for third month in row

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quick to credit "economic recovery" for the improvement, Robert Greenstein, director of the Center on Budget & Priorities, said income gains have gone primarily to the richest 40 percent of the population, who have seen their salaries rise an average of $2,915 from 1980 to 1985, while the poorest 40 percent have lost an average of $200 during the same period.

And Robert Fersh, director of the Food Research & Action Center, expressed concern that "three years into economic recovery, the poverty rate appears to have leveled off at a relatively high plateau."

According to the bureau, a family of three is considered below the poverty level if its cash income was less than $8,573 in 1985. For a family of four, the poverty level begins at $10,989.

In other economic developments:

- The federal deficit for the first 10 months of the fiscal year hit the $200 billion mark, as the Treasury Dept. reported a July shortfall of $2.22 billion.
- The number of bank failures this year has hit 94 with the collapse of First National Bank in Rifle, Colo. and the reopening of banking institutions in Texas and Kansas under receivership. The collapse of the Danbury Bank in Texas marked the 15th bank failure in that state.
- The nation's largest bank—Citibank—and several competitors reduced their prime lending rate to 7.5 percent from 8 percent. The prime interest rate is what the banks charge on loans to their most credit-worthy business customers.
- Orders for heavy manufactured goods jumped 4.3 percent, or $4.4 billion, in July, the biggest one-month surge since November 1984, the Commerce Dept. reported. But most of the rise resulted from a hefty increase in military orders, which soared 46.6 percent and accounted for about three-fourths of the overall gain. Excluding defense-related goods, orders for manufactured goods rose only 1.1 percent.

Strategies outlined

Union coordinators rally USWA support

Continued from Page 1

Labor's response will be sharp and clear, Kirkland promised, and will "continue as long as may be necessary until our brothers and sisters at USX secure a just and honorable settlement."

Union coordinators will work with the USWA in the nine states where USX operates on activities ranging from organizing car caravans for picket lines and rallies to running fund-raisers and food banks for locked-out USX workers and their families. Participating union representatives will work with an AFL-CIO central body coordinator at each of the 25 sites, Federation Organizing Director Charles McDonald said.

Other support activities will include:

- Newspaper advertisements presenting the Steelworkers' case in each lockout community and flyers for local distribution.
- Formation of a national citizens committee including clergy, civil rights leaders, entertainers and athletes to publicize support for the locked-out steelworkers.
- Regular information bulletins with updates on the campaign.
- Development and coordination of corporate strategies and tactics to bring public pressure on USX.

During the strategy meeting, coordinators also noted that the AFL-CIO's support groups—Frontlash, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement and the A. Philip Randolph Institute—have programs in place at many of the target sites and can broaden student and community participation in support of USWA's locked-out members.

The committee's strategy includes an informational campaign at Marathon Oil Co. The oil company was purchased by USX in 1983 after the nation's largest steelmaker reneged on its promise to renovate steel plants in exchange for wage and benefit concessions.

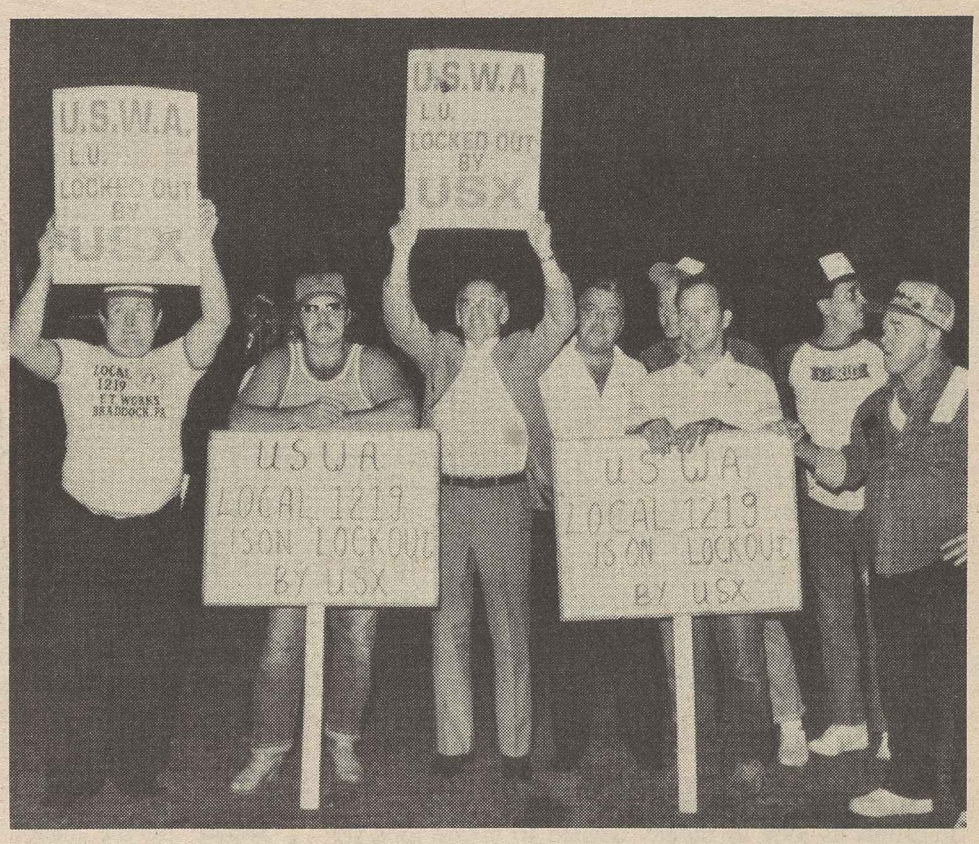
The Marathon effort is not a formal boycott, but a means of "providing information to customers" at more than 2,200 Marathon-owned gas stations in 18 states, USWA President Lynn Williams stressed. "We think the customers who care will exercise their best judgment." The campaign will include handbills and advertisements to be distributed to Marathon customers.

Contract violations

In opening the USWA's 50th anniversary convention in Las Vegas, Nev., Williams charged that USX is attempting to "get as much low-paid nonunion labor as possible," was relying heavily on outside contractors and eliminating jobs. The union estimated that nearly 1,000 grievances are pending against USX over the use of nonunion contractors and workers who are performing jobs that should be done under USWA contract provisions.

In addition to the 22,000 workers that USX has locked out, 23,000 others are on layoff status. The USWA has denounced the steelmaker's insistence on deep wage and benefit cuts, pointing out that the union's last offer would have brought USX's costs slightly below the industry average as calculated by the American Iron & Steel Institute.

No negotiations are scheduled, but the union is prepared to go back to the bargaining table when USX makes a "substantive proposal," said USWA Treas. James McGeehan, the union's chief negotiator.



USWA President Lynn Williams joins locked-out workers in Braddock, Pa.

Five states grant jobless pay to workers in USX lockout

The dispute between the Steelworkers and USX Corp. that has idled 22,000 workers since Aug. 1 has been deemed a lockout by employment officials in five states.

Ohio steelworkers were the latest to receive word that they are entitled to unemployment compensation benefits following a finding by the state's Bureau of Employment Services that more than 2,500 USWA members were locked out of their jobs by the giant steelmaker.

Earlier, Pennsylvania Labor & Industry Sec. David Knepper determined that because USX "was unwilling to permit work to continue under the old agreement . . . the company must bear the burden of responsibility for the work stoppage." The Pennsylvania ruling extends eligibility for jobless pay to 6,200 USWA members.

USX rejected the union's offer to keep working under the terms of the expiring contract while negotiations continued, and turned away workers who reported for their shifts before the Aug. 1 deadline.

State officials in Minnesota and Texas also determined the dispute to be a lockout, enabling 2,100 USWA members in those states to draw unemployment compensation. In Alabama, the 1,400 steelworkers furloughed by USX before Aug. 1 also can receive jobless benefits, the state ruled, but those locked out on Aug. 1—about 400 workers—were ruled ineligible.

In Illinois, however, the Dept. of Employment Security rejected the claims of 750 USWA members at Chicago's South Works because the work stoppage resulted from a contract dispute. And Utah denied jobless pay to 1,950 steelworkers, terming the dispute a strike. Those decisions will be appealed, the USWA said.

Jobless benefits

Maximum unemployment benefit rates in the five states range from $120 to $220 a week. The union's welfare fund pays jobless workers $60 a week, based on need.

USX has filed an appeal in Texas and announced it would contest the Ohio and Pennsylvania decisions. The company also has told workers it will end health care and hospitalization insurance coverage as of Sept. 1 and will bill each worker $278.98 for coverage during August.

The U.S. Dept. of Agriculture also has ruled that the USX work stoppage is not a strike, making the locked-out steelworkers eligible for food stamps if they meet income requirements.

State officials in Indiana and Michigan have not yet ruled whether locked-out workers are eligible for jobless benefits. The decisions affect 13,000 active and laid-off workers at the Gary Works in Indiana, and about 90 workers in Michigan.

Bieber protests Pretoria jailings

Johannesburg—Auto Workers President Owen Bieber, in South Africa at the invitation of that nation's metal unions, demanded the release of trade union members detained without trial and told reporters that he was "sickened" by the first-hand accounts of inhumane treatment he had heard.

Bieber said he had sent a strong protest to South Africa's police commissioner—the minister responsible for the detentions-protesting the "inhumane" government actions and reminding him that "the eyes of the world are upon you."

Bieber, who made the trip at the request of the South African Council of the International Metalworkers Federation, said the police refused permission for him to visit Moses Mayekiso, head of the Metal & Allied Workers, who is reportedly being held in solitary confinement in Pretoria.

He rejected as "ridiculous" the government's claim that Mayekiso and other labor leaders were arrested for reasons other than their trade union roles. He said former detainees had told him they were interrogated extensively about their union work and that union files were seized.

"Time and again," Bieber said, "I was informed that these union detainees had been denied access to lawyers. Although questioned and some beaten and tortured, none were ever charged with any crime."

Anti-worker policy hit in Labor Day messages

Continued from Page 1

the foundation of free and open markets. The benefits of free trade are well known: it generates more jobs, a more productive use of a nation's resources, more rapid innovation, and high standards of living both for this nation and its trading partners."

"But where are the open markets?" Kirkland asked. "Not among our trading partners" in the European Community, or Japan, Brazil, Korea, Mexico or Taiwan.

"Where are the jobs that such 'free and open' trade is supposed to generate," he continued, pointing to the persistent high rate of joblessness that envelops 8 million workers, with another 6.5 million trapped in part-time work or too discouraged to continue looking for work.

"Where are the higher living standards that are so well-known a blessing of free trade," he wondered, citing the 9 percent decline in workers' real average weekly earnings between 1977 and 1985.

The "free-trade evangelists" blame American workers for having "priced themselves out of the market," Kirkland said, and they contend that prudent employers have no choice but to "auction off their jobs to the lowest bidders among the exploiters and slavemasters of other lands.

"What they are auctioning off is not only the jobs that sustain millions of American families, but the standard of living that sustains the entire nation."

Donahue's Labor Day message highlighted the recent gains made by organized labor as "unions are moving ahead on all fronts and have begun to recover lost ground." But he stressed that "we are under no illusion that all the trials and troubles of working men and women in America are behind us."

Pointing to jobless levels that would have been declared recessionary in any other Administration and to the steady erosion of real earnings, Donahue warned that "some elements of our society see these trends as worthy of celebration."

He warned that those who "delight in lower wage costs or in the decline of unions" should reflect on what that means for the nation. "Lower wages mean a lower standard of living. The standard of living we enjoy today is the direct result of the broad purchasing power in the hands of the American public—much of its won by unions in tough negotiations with employers."

Economic erosion

The danger of a lower standard of living can be seen "clearly and starkly" in economically shattered communities, he noted. "Whether we speak of Youngstown or Johnstown, Houston or Greensboro, realtors, bankers, merchants, doctors, lawyers, mechanics all suffer when plants close and industries collapse."

In recent years, Donahue observed, working men and women and their unions "have been hit hard by plant closings, technological change, sudden and disruptive deregulation, the unfair trade practices of our trading partners and the unwise trade and economic policies of our own government."

This Labor Day 1986 finds "the American labor movement once again undergoing the process of renewal and revitalization," he said, citing "scores of aggressive organizing campaigns [that] are under way in new and previously non-unionized sectors of our economy."

Also Donahue noted, "Unions are making available a range of new services and benefits that enhance the value of union membership, both in the market and the workplace . . . and labor is gaining strength in the House of Representatives and the Senate."

Labor Day messages from leaders of AFL-CIO constitutional departments focus on the challenges facing American workers and their unions.

"We'll win much more than we lose if on this Labor Day 1986, we firmly resolve to act together in the mutual interests of all construction workers," said President Robert A. Georgine of the Building & Construction Trades Dept.

Calling for unified action to meet head-on the problems facing construction workers, Georgine said there is little difference between this Labor Day and those past as "most of the same problems are still here—a different twist, a different turn, but basically the same."

He credited recent legislative victories to united action, including House passage of a prohibition against "double-breasting" by contractors, defeat of an attempt to use the Hobbs Act anti-racketeering provisions against legitimate unions activities and blockage of destructive amendments to the Davis-Bacon prevailing wage law.

"It is by no means an easy road we travel," he said. "It demands courage, generosity and determination."

Election challenge

Howard D. Samuel, president of the Industrial Union Dept. focused on this year's elections, terming them a "special challenge" as the Democrats seek to regain control of the Senate.

Not all Democrats are inclined to go to bat for labor's goals, Samuel observed, suggesting that they might have "grown accustomed" to labor's support. But many Republicans "vote against us automatically" without serious consideration of the issues, he said, and labor thus has a significant stake in returning control of the Senate and its committees to the Democrats.

Labor Sec. William E. Brock credited working men and women for producing "our country's high living standards." He said the government's foremost obligation is to provide workers adequate job opportunities and training. He called for increased labor-management cooperation in structuring jobs, work schedules, leave policies, day care arrangements and other issues that affect worker well-being.

Kirkland on Labor Day

'Flood of imports' destroying jobs

By Lane Kirkland

On Labor Day 1986, the United States faces an economic crisis caused by the Administration's infatuation with the long-dead theory of "free trade." To begin dealing with that crisis, the Senate must act quickly on the trade reform legislation passed last May by the House.

Scores of American industries, thousands of companies and millions of workers are drowning under a flood of imports generated by foreign government initiatives and U.S. government neglect.

The effects are being felt in every sector of the economy through plant closings, farm foreclosures, bankruptcies and recession-level unemployment.

Nearly all Americans have learned the lessons of international trade, not from textbooks or headlines about endless negotiations, but from the lost jobs, lost incomes, lost dignity and devastated communities that surround them. A growing constituency understands that the economy cannot recover from the doldrums as long as money needed to create jobs at home is sent overseas to find the cheapest goods made for the lowest wages.

The Administration has learned nothing. It stubbornly refuses to disenthrall itself from the free-trade fantasy espoused by President Reagan in his 1986 Economic Report:

"Our economic policy rests firmly on the foundation of free and open markets. The benefits of free trade are well known: it generates more jobs, a more productive use of a nation's resources, more rapid innovation, and high standards of living both for this nation and its trading partners."

In the same report, the President's Council of Economic Advisers brushed aside the visible proof of the falsity of the free-trade premise by proclaiming that job losses in the industrial sector are simply the result of improved efficiency and high wages and that anyone who says otherwise has "an inadequate understanding of the benefits of trade." In other words, nobody's at fault but the victims.

Empty slogan

But free trade doesn't exist, except as an empty slogan. Not a single product, commodity or service —including money—moves across any border except ours under conditions that the classical economists who invented the term would recognize as free trade.

Much of the world flatly disavows a market economy altogether, and more of it practices the most brutal form of protectionism: the protection simply of mercantile power and profit.

The world trade boom doesn't reflect open trade, but directed trade—trade directed by governments in support of national policies or opportunism on the part of multinational corporations that routinely move labor-intensive production to whichever country offers the most exploitable workforce.

Where are the open markets on which President Reagan bases his trade policy? Not among our trading partners in the European Community. Not in Japan, Brazil, Korea, Mexico or Taiwan—not unless "free and open markets" means import quotas, discriminatory performance and inspection requirements, buy-national policies, export subsidies and incentives, industrial targeting programs, controlled currency exchange rates, barter agreements and co-production requirements.

Where are all those well-known benefits? Where are the jobs that such "free and open trade" is supposed to generate?

Over the five years that the Administration has pursued its "free and open trade" policies, unemployment has rarely dipped below 7 percent. In any given month, no fewer than 8 million workers have been without jobs, and at least 6.5 million more have either given up the search or found only part-time work.

The Labor Dept. reports that between 1979 and 1984, 11.5 million workers lost their jobs because of plant closings or layoffs due to slack work. The Commerce Dept. says that in 1984 alone, 2.3 million manufacturing workers were displaced because of trade imbalance, for a net loss to the economy of 1.1 million jobs.

Where are the higher living standards that are so well-known a blessing of free trade?

Shrinking wages

Real average weekly earnings for U.S. production workers declined by 9 percent from 1977 to 1985. Average weekly earnings of manufacturing workers in 1985 amounted to $385. For workers in finance, insurance and real estate, the average was $289. In retail trade, it was $177, and in other service jobs, $261. Nearly half of the workers displaced from manufacturing who were lucky enough to find jobs at all were forced to accept lower pay and reduced living standards.

What about the gains supposedly won by foreign workers? Too many less developed nations are enjoying export booms precisely because their workers are paid rock-bottom subsistance wages, are forbidden to organize or bargain collectively and have no health and safety protection, no pensions and no security.

If "free trade" is bringing higher living standards to anyone, at home or abroad, it is not to working people, but to the international manipulators who depress wages in order to inflate profits.

They are, of course, absolved of all guilt by the "free-trade" evangelists, whose slogan might as well be: "Blame America first."

The fault, they say, lies with "overpaid" American workers, who have "priced themselves out of the market." Therefore, the argument runs, prudent employers have no choice but to auction off their jobs to the lowest bidders among the exploiters and slavemasters of other lands.

What kind of America do they envision, these people who applaud a business strategy aimed at extracting high American prices from the American marketplace, while paying wages that barely support lives of poverty, ignorance, disease and despair, in shantytowns that are made of tin cans and tarpaper?

What they are auctioning off is not only the jobs that sustain millions of American families, but the standard of living that sustains the entire nation.

This Administration came into power promising to energize and transform America's supply side, but the supply side is being demolished.

The enormous sums that were handed over to business in the 1981 tax cuts have been squandered in corporate raids and acquisitions that have produced not a dollar's worth of goods or services. Company after company is no longer a domestic producer, but a "hollow corporation," a mere relabeler and distributor of imports.

In hundreds of cities and town that used to identify themselves proudly with the products made by their citizens, closed factories are being bulldozed or remodeled into convention centers, theme parks or shopping malls. But the foreign-label goods sold there cost no less than the things that used to be made by Americans. The only difference is that none of the money is returned as wages and payroll taxes to the community where it is spent.

In 1986, the need to do something about the supply side is far more urgent than it was in 1981. The need now is to keep the supply side from vanishing. That is what the comprehensive trade bill now before the Senate is designed to do.

Don't let anybody kid you that it is a "protectionist" measure: It is anti-protectionist. It is a response to the virulent protectionism by which other countries exclude American products from their markets while flooding ours with theirs. Its goal is to expand international trade by making trade a two-way street that is conducted on even terms.

President Reagan has promised to veto the trade bill the minute he gets the chance.

His supporters tell us that it's dangerous to try to get our trading partners to stop strangling us, because they might "retaliate."

They argue that America has no moral right to require our trading partners to adopt humane labor standards—to allow democratic freedom of association, to end the cruel exploitation of children, to require employers to pay their workers a living wage, or to protect them from being killed or crippled or poisoned on the job.

Bashing workers

If other nations choose to treat workers like dirt, they say, we have to accept "cultural differences." And if American corporations make fat profits because of those cultural differences, well, that's what free trade is all about.

If you accept that, you have to accept the proposition that it is fair to allow other countries—aided and abetted by business and government—to slash the American standard of living and the American standard of human decency to the level that those growing rich off the free-trade myth praise as "competitive."

To resist that program is not just a right, but a duty—a duty the American labor movement has faithfully carried out since its beginning.

The task before us is not to lower American standards but to raise them—and to raise the standards of the world to that level. We must never accept the lowest common denominator, but strive for the highest that human beings can possibly achieve, in our own land and around the world.

The question before the Senate is "Which side are you on?" How that question is answered should be uppermost in every voter's mind on Election Day.

AFTRA tunes up organizing push

Dallas—Delegates to the 49th annual convention of the Television & Radio Artists backed plans for a stepped-up organizing effort and voiced strong opposition to network efforts to merge editorial and technical duties in news coverage.

The 66,000-member union re-elected its top officers, including President Frank Maxwell, and gave a go-ahead to proposals advanced by Executive Sec. John Hall to strengthen AFTRA.

Hall proposed hiring organizers, establishing staff training programs and improving services to members.

"Where local unions have not organized their jurisdiction," he said, "the national union will put organizers in the field to do it for them." A special target, he indicated, will be unorganized "jingle houses" and phonograph recording operations.

Demands by ABC, CBS and NBC for combining technical and reporting functions on news coverage have been a major stumbling block in current network contract negotiations. A convention resolution gave strong support to the union's News Caucus on the issue.

Delegates called for strong congressional sanctions against South Africa and urged AFTRA's pension trustees to pursue divestiture of fund investments in firms doing business in South Africa.

The convention also urged its locals to monitor the employment practices of stations with which the union has collective bargaining agreements and ensure enforcement of equal employment laws.

AFTRA's George Heller Memorial Gold Card Award for outstanding service to the union was presented to Bill Bransome, who has been president of the Philadelphia local for 25 years. The local's membership is 20 times greater than it was when he first took office.

An afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of the ongoing talks with the Screen Actors Guild on merger proposals.

AFTRA's Merger Study Committee will continue its work under guidelines set by the convention.

Maxwell noted that AFTRA was born as a radio union and when television came along, "none of the performer unions knew what to do with it" and the opportunity for merger at that time was "muffed."

Some 350 delegates from 38 AFTRA locals attended the convention. First Vice President Ann Loring of New York and Second Vice President Len Dressler of Chicago were re-elected. Other officers elected were Vice Presidents K.T. Stevens, Robert Schakne, Belva Davis, Ten Henning, Becki Davis, Chris Ward and Lee Lawson, along with Treasurer Kenneth Roberts and Recording Sec. Mike Botula.

TV news headliners affirm union's stance

Top television network news broadcasters joined in a statement supporting their union's opposition to contract demands by ABC, CBS and NBC that would merge technical and editorial duties.

"The gathering of facts and the reporting of these facts is a full-time job," the statement released by the Television & Radio Artists stressed. It warned that the quality of news coverage will suffer if reporters also perform as technicians.

Tom Brokaw, John Chancellor, Roger Mudd, Mike Wallace, Eric Severeid, Harry Reasoner, Leslie Stahl, Douglas Edwards, Sam Donaldson and Peter Jennings were among the 55 signers of the statement.

Label week

Union Label Week will be observed Sept. 1-6, the AFL-CIO Union Label & Service Trades Dept. announced.

The week that includes Labor Day is traditionally used to draw public attention to union-made products and services.

Department Sec.-Treas. John Mara pointed out that "there is a groundwell of interest in this country emphasizing a movement of 'Buy American.'"

He urged trade unionists to lead the effort to help correct the foreign trade imbalance and to save American jobs by choosing high-quality union-made and American-made products and services.

Special observances are planned in a number of communities, including parades, rallies, floats, booths at fairs and other events, many in cooperation with employers and merchants.

Many local and state governments have issued "Union Label Week" proclamations, Mara said.

Per capita raised

Virginia delegates vote to broaden structure

Norfolk, Va—The Virginia AFL-CIO convention voted to expand the state federation's executive board, lengthen the officers' terms and raise the per capita tax by a nickel, as delegates set goals for the next two years.

A key constitutional change gives one additional executive board seat to each affiliated union with more than 3,000 members. As a result, the board was expanded by eight seats and now has 45 members.

The new at-large delegates are: Mike Earman of Food & Commercial Workers, Jack Dotson of Communications Workers, Harry Zahn of Electrical Workers, Wallace Mergler of Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers, Gerald Roberts of Paperworkers, Steve Spain of the Machinists and Bruce Dunton of the Clothing & Textile Workers.

Other new executive board members are Sandra Brandt of Office & Professional Employees, Tom McNutt of UFCW, W.E. Bryant of IBEW, Marian Flickinger of the Teachers, Gordon Maxey of IAM, Jim Leaman and Ira Lutz of CWA and Dick Drake of the Sheet Metal Workers.

The terms of office were increased from two years to four. State AFL-CIO President David Laws, Sec.-Treas. Daniel G. LeBlanc and Vice President Russell N. Axsom, all re-elected by acclamation, were sworn into office at the convention.

The per capita increase approved on the last day of the convention will lift the monthly payment from 45 cents to 50 cents next Jan. 1.

Advancing labor's message

In his keynote address, Laws spelled out the challenges facing the labor movement, stressing the need to expand political participation of rank-and-file members, and to advance labor's message in public schools where "our future business leaders and policymakers are learning about trade unionism from the right-to-work for less committee and the Chamber of Commerce."

He said the labor movement has the opportunity to "take a leadership role in organizing coalitions around consumer and progressive issues" during the next General Assembly session.

The 1984 convention goal of adding 48 new affiliates was surpassed 10 months ago, Laws told the delegates, adding that the federation posted a net gain of 11,000 members in the two-year period.

Candidates for local, state and congressional seats in this year's elections warmed to the idea of being endorsed by labor as candidates and actively sought labor's help. The result was that the delegates endorsed the Democratic candidates in every congressional race, except the 5th District where Rep. W.C. Daniel is running unopposed.

Election support

Gov. Gerald Baliles and Atty. Gen. Mary Sue Terry, both of whom shunned labor's endorsement in the last election, addressed the convention, as did Lt. Gov. Douglas Wilder, who credited labor's support for his victory. "Without it, I would not have been elected," Wilder told the delegates.

Gov. Baliles asked for labor's support for a $10 billion plan to improve the state's road system over the next 10 years. He pointed out that for each $1 billion invested in heavy construction, 23,000 new jobs are created.

Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.) told the delegates that the time is ripe for the Democrats and union members to take advantage of the public's growing frustration over the Reagan Administration's failure to address the nation's economic problems.

A key resolution strongly endorsed by delegates calls for a statewide industrial policy. It urges Baliles to convene business, labor and government leaders to explore the "targeting of new industries for development in areas of high unemployment," retaining jobs in basic industries, determining education and retraining needs, and marshalling funds for industrial loans.

Other resolutions called for an end to Reagan's "constructive engagement" policy toward South Africa's system of apartheid, supported increased labor history education in public schools, and urged programs to organize retirees for increased political participation, to identify potential women trade union leaders and to increase rank-and-file political participation.

MTD Sec.-Treas. Jean Ingrao welcomes scouts to AFL-CIO headquarters.

'Scouts of the Year' guests at Seafarers training school

Piney Point, Md.—Young scouts got a chance to test their sea legs and learn a bit more about the labor movement during a two-week stay at the Harry Lundeberg School of Seamanship—the Seafarers' education and training facility.

The 14 youngsters were named "Scouts of the Year" by the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Dept. They were selected by local port maritime councils, based on their school, scouting and community achievements. Travel expenses to the SIU school were paid by the MTD councils.

Seafarers President Frank Drozak, who heads the Maritime Trade Dept., said the program was established to enhance labor's relationship with local communities and "to inform the coming generation of wage earners about the union movement's commitment to America's workers."

The scouts' tour took them to AFL-CIO headquarters, where they met with MTD Executive Sec.-Treas. Jean Ingrao, President Robert Harbrant of the Food & Allied Service Trades Dept. and Alan Bosch of the federation's Dept. of Community Services.

Ingrao explained the workings of the AFL-CIO and the MTD, and offered a short history of the labor movement. She also outlined the federation's "Buy American" campaign, stressing the need for a strong, working economy in the United States.

The scouts—from eagle, explorer, sea explorer and regular scout troops—learned of the long partnership between organized labor and scouting organizations. The relationship began in 1912 with a letter from AFL President Samuel Gompers to James. B. West, scouting's first national director.

Harbrant, who serves on the executive board of the Boy Scouts National Committee, applauded the MTD program as an important "link between unions and the scouts." He also asked the young scouts for their advice on how the scouting program could be improved.

While in Washington, the young scouts visited their congressional representatives and made the rounds of famous landmarks, monuments and the Smithsonian Institution. Other stops during their two-week visit included Baltimore's Inner Harbor, the Patuxent Naval Air Base, the lighthouse at Solomon's Island in Chesapeake Bay and training on the variety of ships docked at the SIU school.

Donahue message

Labor pressing forward in spirit of renewal

By Thomas R. Donahue

This 92nd Labor Day finds the American labor movement once again undergoing the process of renewal and revitalization, as befits this most democratic of institutions in this most democratic of societies.

In recent years, working men and women and their unions have been hit hard by plant closings, technological change, sudden and disruptive deregulation, the unfair trade practices of other governments and the unwise trade and economic policies of our own government.

Throughout our history, the character of American labor has always been demonstrated best in its response to adversity and in its adjustment to change.

The old union of the Horse Collar Makers may have disappeared along with their industry, but the members who made up the union did not disappear. They looked for new ways to earn a living, and formed new unions to represent them.

Today, the story is no different. Unions are moving ahead on all fronts and have begun to recover lost ground.

Union outreach

Scores of aggressive organizing campaigns are under way in new and previously non-unionized sectors of our economy where workers want a voice in economic decisions that affect their lives and standard of living.

Unions are making available a range of new services and benefits that enhance the value of union membership, both in the market and in the workplace.

Labor is gaining strength in the House of Representatives and the Senate. In recent months, Congress has acted to bar the indiscriminate use of unreliable lie detector tests as a condition of employment. Congress also defeated proposals to tax non-wage benefits won by workers through negotiations with their employers, and has taken great strides toward closing tax loopholes open to the wealthy and corporations, while easing the burden on working Americans and the poor. And the House of Representatives has passed a comprehensive trade bill to halt the destruction of America's industrial base and the elimination of millions of decent-paying jobs. Organized labor scored these legislative successes for the benefit of our member and of the vast majority of Americans who work for a living.

Jobs shortage

For all our progress in recent months, we are under no illusion that all the trials and troubles of working men and women in America are behind us.

With more than 8.5 million Americans out of work, and another 7 million either forced to work part-time or too discouraged to look for jobs, the shortage of employment opportunities remains a national crisis.

Those who do have jobs find the standard of living steadily eroding. Average weekly earnings, after inflation, have declined 14.3 percent since 1973.

Some elements of our society see these trends as worthy of celebration. But those who delight in the lower wage costs or in the decline of unions, and those who are doing all they can to promote and continue those trends, should pause a moment and reflect on what they could mean for their country.

Lower wages mean a lower standard of living. The standard of living we enjoy today is the direct result of placing broad purchasing power in the hands of the American public—much of it won by unions in tough negotiations with employers, which set the standard that many nonunion employers were forced to follow.

Homebuilding, appliances, furniture, automobiles clothing, televisions and stereos, books and records and tapes—all these industries were created and are now sustained by mass purchasing power. And everyone, whether they were members of unions, corporation executives, or proprietors of small businesses, benefited from the rise in the American worker's wages and living standard.

The danger of a lower standard of living can be seen clearly and starkly today in communities where the economic foundation has been shattered. Whether we speak of Youngstown or Johnstown, Houston or Greensboro, realtors, bankers, merchants, doctors, lawyers, mechanics all suffer when plants close and industries collapse.

Labor is not merely a factor of production. Labor is one with the communities in which we live. And unions, unlike corporations, have no life apart from their members or their communities.

In industry after industry, in company after company, labor has proven it understands the realities of economic competition in the modern era. Labor understands the harsh facts better than anyone, because labor is the first to be laid off.

Unjust rewards

But despite the good faith efforts of workers and their unions, too many employers reward labor for its cooperation with prospects for further layoffs and cutbacks, while management continues to collect its bonuses, stockholders continue to reap dividends, and profits continue to build.

That is why unions came into being in the first place: to gain for their members their fair share of the contributions labor makes to the success of the enterprise.

American unions initiated the celebration of Labor Day to honor all the working men and women of America. As the American labor movement looks forward to its future, let us observe this Labor Day in that same spirit.

Labor prods civil rights enforcement

The Reagan Administration should end its "constant search for ways to weaken the nation's civil rights laws and instead commit itself to enforcing those laws vigorously and effectively," the AFL-CIO said.

The federation's statement came in response to reports that the President is still considering revisions to the affirmative action provisions contained in Executive Order 11246, which imposes nondiscrimination requirements in the employment practices of contractors and subcontractors hired by the federal government.

Richard Womack, director of the federation's Dept. of Civil Rights, pointed out that the federal commitment to affirmative action, embodied in the executive order issued by President Lyndon Johnson in 1968, has been supported by Republican and Democratic administrations for more than 40 years.

Womack stressed that while the President says his national goal is equal employment opportunity, "we see his goal as one to rid the United States of every vestige of affirmative action."

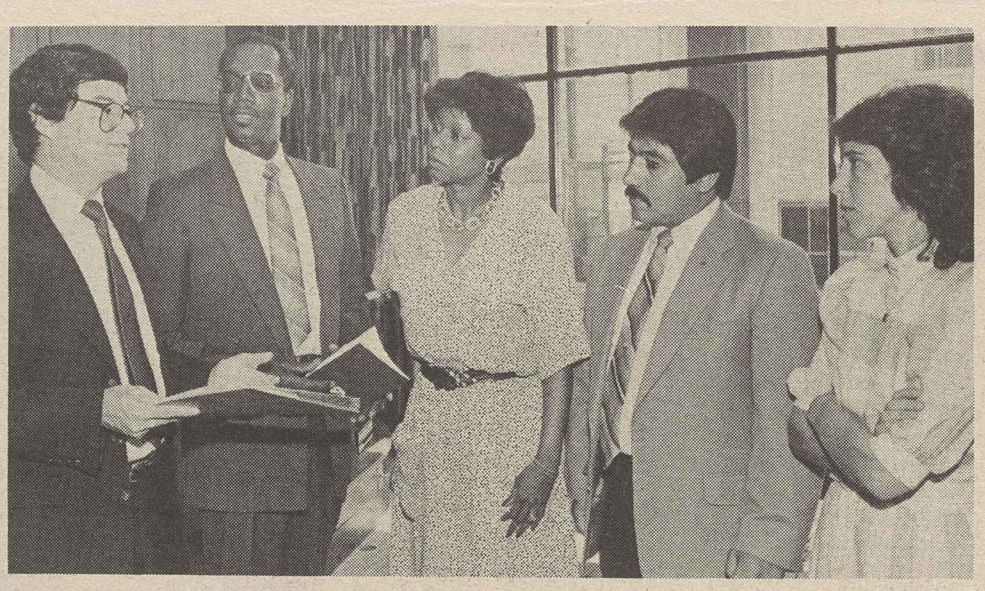
The existing executive order "has worked well in opening job opportunities to members of minority groups and to women who have been discriminated against for too many years," Womack said. "The labor movement will continue to work with its civil rights allies to oppose the revision of Executive Order 11246."

Reagan's order

Reagan recently indicated that he had personally ordered a delay in revisions until the White House has reviewed all the Supreme Court rulings on affirmative action, including two cases set for this fall.

In August 1985, a draft revision of the executive order proposed to make hiring goals and action timetables illegal. Labor, civil rights and women's groups and some business groups, continue to support the requirement of hiring goals.

While the Supreme Court earlier this year spurned the Justice Dept.'s arguments against affirmative action, it did not set boundaries for legal affirmative action. The two cases set for the fall term involve promotion quotas and the legitimacy of voluntary affirmative actions programs.



Civil rights conference

John Schmelzer, legal adviser to the director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, left, answers questions from participants at a one-day civil rights conference at AFL-CIO headquarters. From left, Director Richard Womack of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights; Clayola Brown, director of civil rights for the Clothing & Textile Workers; James Sierra, assistant director of civil rights for the Food & Commercial Workers, and Carpenters' staff attorney Robin Gerber.

Engineers convention surveys concerns of working parents

Bal Harbour, Fla.—Delegates to the Professional & Technical Engineers' convention explored the concerns of working parents in addressing the link between work and family life.

The convention also called for increased organizing efforts and measures to strengthen federal employee unions.

The 120 delegates approved a two-step per capita increase, raising the monthly payments from $4.20 to $4.50 as of Dec. 1, and to $4.70 a year later.

President Rodney Bower was re-elected to an eighth two-year term, and Sec.-Treas. John H. Dunne to a tenth term. Bower, who was opposed by James Sommerhauser of Puget Sound, Wash., was returned to office by a 3-to-1 margin. Dunne was unopposed.

The delegates also re-elected six vice presidents and elected Gregory Junemann the IFPTE's Midwest vice president, replacing Richard Mehrer, who did not run.

In his address to the convention, Bower reported that the IFPTE was continuing to grow, contrary to reports that "unions are no longer viable."

Bower outlined the union's initiatives for attracting new members, including participating in the AFL-CIO's benefits plan, new organizing techniques and community coalitions.

In focusing on work and family concerns, delegates stressed that so-called women's issues—equal pay, equal opportunity, and promotions—affect all workers and need more attention. The convention urged local unions to expand their women's committees to address concerns of working women—parental leave, flextime, child care, care of the elderly and other family issues.

Providing safeguards

The convention strongly opposed mandatory drug and alcohol testing of workers, stressing that local unions should bargain for "appropriate limits and conditions" on the use of such tests by employers.

"Few testing programs include procedures for workers to challenge inaccurate findings or secure relief from the result of error," the delegates pointed out, adding that the administration of these tests is degrading.

The IFPTE recommended that local unions "establish safeguards" for workers who show positive test results and work with employers to provide "helpful treatment" for those unable to do their jobs.

In another resolution, the delegates criticized government policies that require federal worker unions to represent all employees, including those who do not pay dues and support the organization. The volunteer efforts of many union members also benefit those who do not contribute to the cost of running an effective organization, the delegates pointed out.

The convention pressed for reforms in bargaining and representation requirements, including the right to charge non-members a service fee and the granting of official leave time to union members responsible for union administration.

The IFPTE also endorsed labor's boycott of Shell Oil Co. products, urging members to cut up their Shell credit cards and send half to the oil company.

Convention speakers included Gloria Johnson, director of social action for the Electronic Workers and treasurer of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Executive Director Al Bilik of the state/local division of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept.

Montana Fed endorses call for fairness in state taxes

Great Falls, Mont.—Fair state taxes topped the agenda of the Montana AFL-CIO convention as delegates voiced strong opposition to a proposed sales tax and called for reforms to close tax loopholes available to corporations and the wealthy.

The 105 delegates attacked a proposal introduced in the state legislature that would abolish or freeze property tax rates. The three-day convention also endorsed candidates for congressional and state offices.

Democrats Pat Williams and Richard O'Brien won the convention's support for election to the House of Representatives. The delegates heard from Williams, a four-term congressman, and Sen. Max Baucus (D), who urged his colleagues to act quickly on trade reform.

State AFL-CIO Executive Sec. James Murry scored the Reagan Administration's trade policies, charging that they have cost thousands of jobs. He said the nation must "stop exporting jobs overseas" and take prompt action to end the growing trade deficit.

Benefit curbs scored

He denounced the "selfishness" of state policies that limit general assistance or welfare payments to just two months a year as "an attempt to starve the poor out of Montana." Similar attacks on injured workers receiving workers' compensation are underway as the state legislature considers harsh reductions in benefit payments, he added.

State AFL-CIO President Jerry Driscoll criticized cuts in the state's budget that slashed "services to the needy, help for public education, revenue sharing for local governments, highway construction projects" and forced layoffs of state workers.

Driscoll, who represents the Billings area in the state legislature, predicted that "things are going to be worse in the 1987 session unless we elect friends of labor with the courage to raise needed revenue through closing tax loopholes on the rich and wealthy and corporations."

Blasting the "right-to-work" campaign underway in neighboring Idaho and a message the state federation received from the Idaho branch of the National Right to Work Committee promising to "see you soon," the delegates resolved to oppose the NRTWC's agenda through a united labor effort.

Enforcing right to know

The convention applauded the state's recently enacted "right-to-know" law, that gives workers and communities crucial information about hazardous substances in the workplace, but stressed that the state needs to provide effective enforcement to make it work.

The delegates also voiced strong opposition to South Africa's apartheid system and supported reforms in health care costs for state workers.

James McGarvey, chairman of the state body's Public Employees Committee, reported that Montana has lost 1,200 state jobs over the past nine years. The pressures on the remaining workers have increased, he said, but so has a false "perception that public employees do not perform meaningful work."

Other speakers included Lt. Gov. George Turman; AFL-CIO Regional Director Ed Collins; Executive Director Michael McMillan of the AFL-CIO Human Resource Development Institute, and President emeritus Marvin Williams of the Washington State AFL-CIO.

Glass union pact regains concessions

Continued from Page 1

Agreements reached by the GPPW cover some 6,500 workers at Brockway Inc., 4,300 at Anchor-Hocking Corp., 3,000 at Foster Forbes Glass Co., 2,100 at Incon Packaging Inc., and 1,100 at Ball Corp.

New contracts negotiated to date provide immediate restoration of the deferred 31-cent increase for all workers, with an additional 20 cents for skilled workers, who make up about 30 percent of the bargaining unit. All workers will get additional raises of 21 cents in April 1987, 26 cents the following April and 31 cents in April 1989. The average wage before the new agreements was $9.40.

Pensions will be increased by $1 a month times years of service as of April 1988 for all persons who retired after April 1986. The minimum pension for persons already retired will also be raised.

The union agreed to higher worker payments under health insurance plans but the company will increase the amount it puts into a trust fund for retiree health coverage. The severance formula agreed to last year was made permanent as was a provision for employer payment of the full 10 cents an hour into an advertising fund to promote glass containers. Workers had previously split the cost.

Deadlocked bargaining

Differences over health insurance coverage deadlocked negotiations with the industry's largest company, Owens-Illinois Inc., with some 12,000 employees. Talks are currently suspended.

Negotiations are continuing with another large firm, Diamond-Bathurst, covering some 5,000 workers in previously independent glass container companies obtained through mergers and acquisitions. And talks are scheduled to begin with a number of smaller single-plant companies.

Selikoff presses health risk rule

An early warning system for workers whose health has been endangered by on-the-job exposure to hazardous substances can save lives and should be established, a leading occupational cancer expert wrote House members.

Dr. Irving Selikoff, noted for his studies of occupational health risks, urged approval of the High Risk Occupational Disease Notification bill that is scheduled for an early vote in the House.

It would require the Dept. of Health & Human Services to identify and notify workers, including former employees, whose health may have been impaired by exposure to cancer-causing chemicals. The labor-backed bill would also make medical testing and counseling available to workers in the high risk category.

Selikoff noted in his letter the growing identification of cancer with occupation. He cited studies that linked liver cancer to exposure to vinyl chloride, bladder cancer to benzidine used in dye plants, mesothelioma from exposure to asbestos and many other identified job-linked cancers.

Since most cancer is environmental in origin, the ideal solution would be prevention, Selikoff noted. But he stressed that early awareness of the risk can help many exposed workers minimize the risk of contracting cancer.

Continuing medical surveillance of high risk groups, another feature of the bill, can assure early detection and treatment, Selikoff stressed.

Union Carbide loses bid to block penalties

Charleston, W.Va.—An administrative law judge refused to dismiss a $1.37-million fine levied against Union Carbide Corp. by the Occupational Safety & Health Adminstration, which charged the company with more than 200 safety violations.

ALJ James Burroughs said he will hold hearings on whether to uphold the fine, but set no date for the hearings to begin. The company insisted that OSHA had overlooked the violations for years and that the agency was required to issue citations within six months of the infractions.

OSHA's 227 citations against the chemical giant came after a six-month inspection of its Institute, W.Va., plant. That in-depth investigation was sparked by a chemical spill at that plant in August 1985 that sent 135 persons to hospitals for treatment and an earlier chemical disaster at the firm's plant in Bhopal, India, which killed more than 2,500 people and injured tens of thousands.

EDITORIALS

One-on-One

LABOR DAY is the trade union movement's special holiday, and all thanks to the brothers and sisters across the nation who by their participation in union events help keep it such.

For families with children, it is in most localities a final taste of summer before a not always unwelcome return to school.

After Labor Day, football games no longer seem ridiculously out of place and diehard baseball fans start working out the "what if" mathematics of a division title. Mets fans, of course, don't need a computer.

AND AFTER Labor Day, ears that had tuned out politics start opening to the sounds of an election campaign.

In some states, important primary elections gave an early start to the political season—especially for the thousands of COPE volunteers who have been staffing phone banks. The last scheduled primary is still some weeks off, but the main event is coming up fast.

Just as workers will turn out for a union meeting when there is a strike vote or a contract ratification, working families will turn out at the polls if they are convinced that their presence will make a difference.

That's our immediate job, in the one-on-one setting of a shop floor, office, factory cafeteria, hospital lounge or construction site.

If you've been reading the AFL-CIO News, you know the difference a handful of votes in the House and often a single vote in the Senate means in terms of bread-and-butter issues that affect us as workers and taxpayers.

WE KNOW, because we have seen it happen, that a one-way flow of trade washes away jobs.

We know, because we have scrutinized the rollcall votes, that wage standards would go down the drain if this Administration were given a rubber-stamp Congress.

We know, because we are seeing it happen, that if the Senate continues to give its consent to this Administration's court appointments, Manion clones will sit in judgment for years to come.

Didn't the AFL-CIO express similar concerns in the last election? We sure did.

Won't the labor movement be beating the drums just as hard in the next election? It sure will.

In this country, under our system of government, elections can make a difference. Thankfully.

If we can get that message across to our fellow workers and neighbors, this election will make a difference.

No Choice

THE LOCKOUT by USX against its workers is a lockout against the trade union movement and all that it stands for.

Steelworkers President Lynn Williams spoke about this at a recent news conference. He talked of the workers "who built this industry, who built the wealth of giant corporations like USX," and in the process "made such an enormous contribution to the prosperity and security of everyone in America."

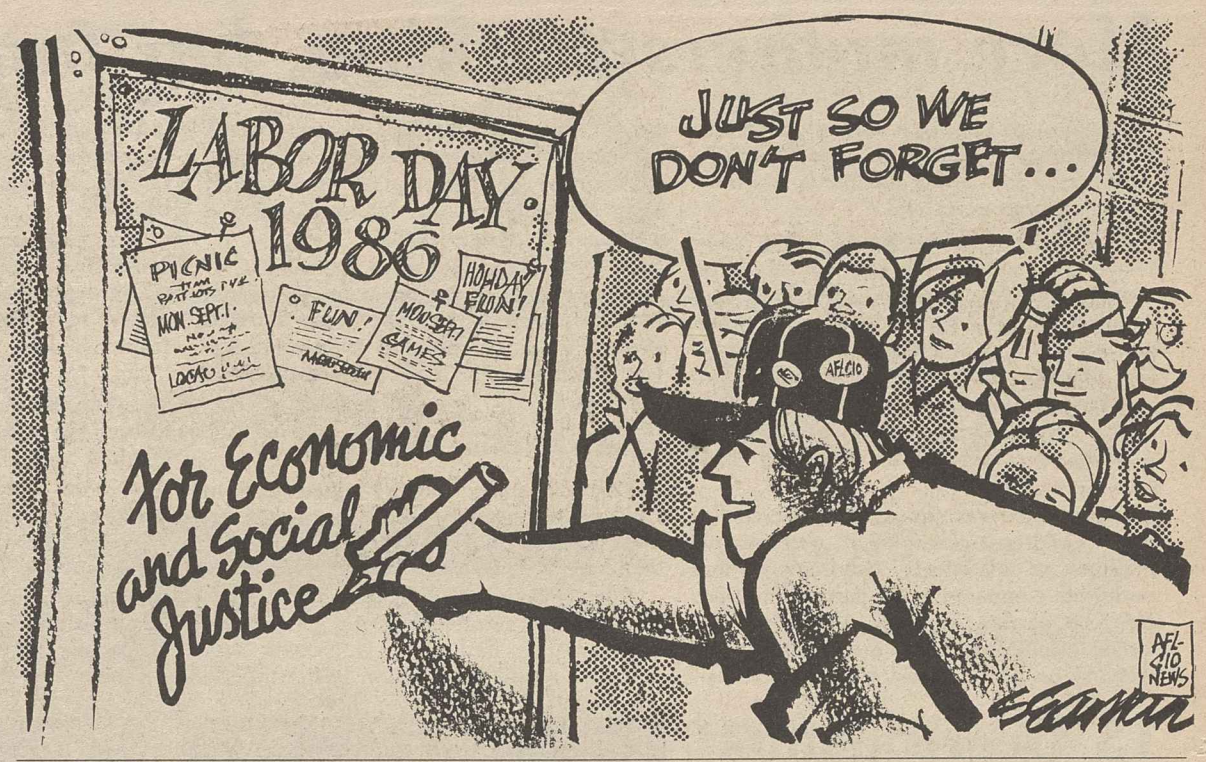
He spoke of the pressures being applied to push down wages and living standards. Williams continued: "Our members in USX understand, as we believe the entire country will come to understand, that this is a struggle of principle . . . a struggle about whether there are to be steelworkers in America.

"The American working people are not going to put up with this kind of arrogance. They're not going to be content being pushed aside and destroyed because of the economic circumstances.

"We can't always choose the time in which struggles take place. The history of the labor movement is full of circumstances in which the workers had no choice but to engage in the struggle.

"In this instance, our members offered to continue to work under the same conditions and continued to try to resolve the dispute. The company would not hear of it. They locked the gates shut, forced our people out in the street.

"With the help of the labor movement and the help of concerned citizens across America, we're going to win."



Washington Window

Old, young share stake in key social programs

By Press Associates Inc.

Is there a war between the generations? Does the "baby boom" generation feel that the elderly are being coddled at its expense? Or is all this a smokescreen for a sneak attack by big business and conservatives against social security and Medicare?

In recent years, largely out of public view, the debate among academicians and public policy experts has grown over what they call intergenerational issues.

Some believe, with Rep. Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Select Committee on Aging, that the problem began in 1981 with President Reagan's tax giveaways and military build-up. That huge loss in federal revenue forced sharp cuts in social programs and higher annual deficits to finance military spending. The program cuts and the resulting "deplorable increase in poverty among children" gave rise to a notion of "intergenerational inequity," Roybal says.

The congressman sponsored a hearing recently to stress "the interdependence of generations and their common stake in programs for the old and young" and to address the youth vs. elderly issue. Roybal said then, "I am angered by the stir that a few vocal 'baby boomers' are making about how too much money is going to the elderly at the expense of younger generations.

Rethinking priorities

This is a poor excuse for what is really an attack on social security and Medicare. . . . Bringing all persone out of poverty, and children in particular, should be this nation's highest priority. Cutting social security and Medicare is not the answer. Rethinking our military spending and tax policies is the answer.

Roybal praised a report released at the hearing by the Gerontological Society of America. It is titled, "The Common Stake: The Interdependence of Generations."

The society said its 30-page report is aimed at helping establish a constructive framework for policies based on a realistic understanding of an aging population. It also seeks to counter the inaccurate and pessimistic belief that the young and the old are pitted against each other in a struggle over scarce public resources.

America must prepare for an aging society, the report said, and the magnitude of the changes needed is clear. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase from 29 million today to 65 million by 2030. By that same year, the number of persons 85 and over will have grown from 2.7 million to 8.6 million.

Family care

The society's report said it is a myth that the elderly have been deserted by their families. However, it said, inadequate public policies are putting extreme pressure on overburdened caregiving families. Families, not government or social agencies, provide 80 to 90 percent of all the support and care of elderly family members. And, it added, families provide more difficult care over longer period to more older people. They exhaust themselves emotionally, physically and financially before putting the elderly into institutions, the report said.

Advocacy groups for the elderly single out Americans for Generational Equity as one of the chief voices splitting the generations. Testifying before the Roybal panel, AGE President Paul S. Hewitt, 34, asserted that shortsighted actions by Congress have left "downwardly mobile generations who will inherit today's debts, disinvestment and unfunded liabilities."

The chairman of AGE, Sen. David Durenberger (R-Minn.), introduced the Medicare Voucher Act to give the government greater authority to contract out Medicare coverage to private groups. Critics fear that special cost-cutting deals for some groups might result in shifting costs and reducing benefits for others.

Founding AGE donors pay $10,000 a year for memberships and include health care giants and major corporations such a General Dynamics, B.F. Goodrich, Ford, General Motors, Beverly Enterprises and insurance companies. What do they expect for their dues?

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More mothers working, but family income still sags

Parallel sets of government statistics show that more mothers of young children are working but family income is less than it was a dozen years ago.

A newly issued Bureau of Labor Statistics report shows that the percentage of working mothers inched up again this year in all categories—and for the first time accounted for a majority of all women with children under three years old.

The 50.8 percent in that category as of March 1986 compared with 49.5 percent in 1985, 41.9 percent in 1980 and 34.1 percent in 1975.

The pattern was similar for mothers of older children, with 70.4 percent of mothers of school-age children in the workforce compared to 64 percent in 1980 and 53.9 percent in 1975. And while divorced women with children were more likely to be in the workforce, the percentage of working mothers in two-parent, two-earner families continued to rise.

Despite the paychecks of working mothers, family income has not improved in terms of constant dollars.

A background paper to the AFL-CIO Executive Council statement on Work and Family issued earlier this year showed average weekly earnings in 1985-value dollars down from $338 in 1974 to $299 in 1985.

Family income stagnant

Median family income—measured in 1985 dollars—crept up a meager 1 percent, from $27,421 in 1975 to $27,735, despite the larger percentage of two-earner families.

A study done for the congressional Joint Economic Committee by economists Sheldon Danziger and Peter Gottschalk was cited in a recent Washington Post article as indicating that family incomes would have shown a sharp decline if it hadn't been for the income brought in by the greater number of working wives.

Another survey cited concluded that home ownership would be out of reach for the average young couple today without either two paychecks or financial help from parents.

The BLS analysis, based on census sampling, showed that a higher percentage of both black and white women with small children were in the labor force, but that there was little change among Hispanic women.

From 1980 to 1985, the percentage of white women with children under 6 who worked rose from 45.2 to 53.7 percent; the black ratio rose from 56.9 to 59.6, and the Hispanic ratio from 40.5 to 43 percent.

About two-thirds of employed mothers with children under 3 worked full time as of the March survey, rising to 77 percent for employed mothers whose youngest child was 14 or older.

Day care needs

Child care facilities haven't kept pace with the changing nature of the workforce, Mary Logan stressed in a recent article in the AFL-CIO American Federationist.

Logan, an assistant director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, noted that existing day care facilities serve only one-fourth of the children needing care during the workday.

"Both the availability and the affordability of child care are of crisis proportions," she said. "The need is clear for unions along with other advocates for families to press ahead to seek increased state and congressional support for child care."

13 Deere plants closed in UAW strike, lockout

Several thousand Auto Workers were locked out of 10 Deere & Co. plants in Iowa and Illinois, after the union struck at three other locations Aug. 23. The UAW contract had been extended from June 1.

Key bargaining issues are job security, cost-of-living adjustments and pension payments. The UAW, bargaining for a new contract covering 13,000 workers, struck a foundry in Waterloo, Iowa, a manufacturing plant in Dubuque, Iowa, and at a parts supply center in Milan, Ill.

The company responded by locking out workers at 10 other plants. The UAW has instructed its members to file for unemployment compensation. Union Vice President Bill Casstevens said Deere's action raises the question of whether the company is shutting down production to clear out inventory, while attempting to blame labor for the shutdown.

Casstevens said the union's goals at Deere parallel provisions at Caterpillar Inc. where members ratified a 28-month contract in July. That package freezes wages, but retains cost-of-living adjustments and guarantees employment for at least 90 percent of the workforce.

Caterpillar pact

Meanwhile, the Machinists reached a tentative accord with Caterpillar on a new three-year package covering 2,100 members. IAM Local 851 in Joliet, Ill., had been on strike for 26 days.

Key issues were the company's demand for a three-year extension of a wage freeze that has been in effect since 1983 and proposals to shorten the workweek to three 12-hour days or four 10-hour days.

UAW members at FMC Corp.'s Northern Ordnance plant in Fridley, Minn., ended a four-week strike after approving a new three-year contract covering 1,400 workers. The agreement provides increases ranging from 3 cents to 44 cents an hour, while retaining quarterly cost-of-living adjustments.

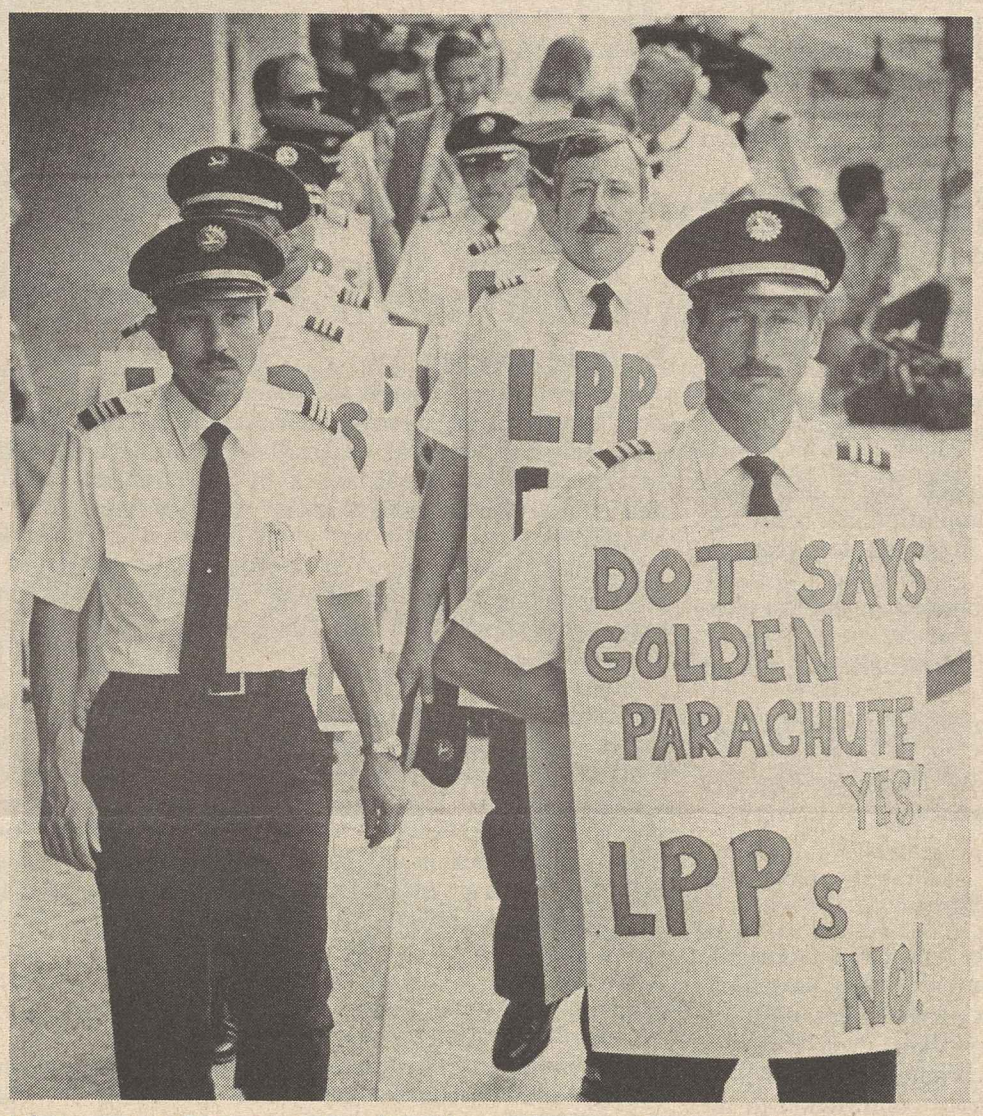
The employer contribution to the pension fund will increase 17.6 percent and other improvements were made in health care benefits. The number of job classifications was reduced from 106 to 65, but assurances were included to prevent any layoffs due to the changes.

Hormel accord

Des Moines, Iowa—The Food & Commercial Workers announced a tentative agreement on a three-year contract covering eight Geo. A. Hormel & Co. meatpacking plants, including the firm's flagship operation in Austin, Minn.

Details of the Hormel accord and a similar contract covering Oscar Mayer plants were not immediately available, but will be reported next week in the AFL-CIO News.

The agreement, if ratified by the locals affected, would restore unified bargaining at the Hormel plants. The UFCW has attributed the long and bitter strike at the Austin plant to the "go-it-alone" decision of UFCW Local P-9 to bargain separately from other Hormel units.



Pilots protest Transportation Dept.'s anti-labor policy on airline mergers.

Transportation Dept. blasted for denial of job protections

Airline unions angrily protested the latest slap in the face from the Dept. of Transportation and will step up a drive for legislation to make labor protection provisions mandatory in the mergers that are changing the shape of air transportation.

An informational picket line of Eastern Air Line pilots protested the continued refusal of Transportation Sec. Elizabeth Dole to provide mergers of seniority lists and other job protection safeguards authorized by Congress as a condition for approval of airline mergers.

Dole earlier this summer rejected an administrative law judge's recommendation for labor protection provisions in the merger of Northwest Airline and Republic Airlines. And a new Transportation Dept. order covering the proposed acquisition of Eastern Airlines by Texas Air Corp. made clear that the Reagan Administration considers worker concerns irrelevant in evaluating the impact of mergers.

While the Transportation Dept. denied immediate approval of the merger because of the diminishing of competition, it said that labor protections would not be imposed if the Texas Air takeover is later allowed.

The document restates the Administration's view of labor protections as an unjustified intrusion into the working of the marketplace. Only if necessary to avert a national air transport shutdown would the Transportation Dept. exercise its right to require labor protections in a merger agreement, the document affirms.

Assistant Transportation Sec. Matthew V. Scocozza, who issued the ruling, dismissed warnings by the Pilots and the Machinists that lack of labor protections could lead to strikes as "unpersuasive."

In any event, he said, a strike against Eastern would merely cause "serious inconvenience" but wouldn't threaten the national system.

Before the deregulation of the air transportation industry, the former Civil Aeronautics Board routinely required labor protection provisions in airline mergers. A labor-supported bill by Rep. Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif.) to make employee protections mandatory is before Congress.

Postal unions provide aid for shooting victims

Two postal unions reached out to victims of the Edmond, Okla., tragedy and set up funds to help the families of those who were slain as well as workers wounded in the shooting rampage.

Members of both the Letter Carriers and the Postal Workers were among the victims when a part-time worker went berserk, killing 14 persons and then himself.

APWU President Moe Biller announced a $10,000 headquarters contribution to the Human Relations Fund set up by the union's Oklahoma City area local. NALC President Vincent Sombrotto opened the union's Edmund Memorial Fund with a $25,000 contribution.

Unions denounce proposals of rail emergency board

Railroad unions, continuing to bargain for new contracts with the nation's major rail carriers, expressed disappointment at the recommendations of a presidential emergency board, terming many of its proposals "highly unacceptable" because they clung so closely to the employer offers.

"The emergency board report is not very good," said Railway Carmen President C.E. Wheeler. "The panel flatly denied our request for job protections" and its recommendations would create a two-tier pay system, Wheeler stressed. In addition, some workers would receive no pay scale increases, only bonus payments, he noted.

Ole Berge, retiring president of the Maintenance of Way Employees and chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, also expressed disappointment. The report "leaves a lot to be desires," he said, but he expressed hope that it could become "the basis for a more equitable settlement" for BMWE members.

Other settlements

The emergency board said its recommendations were "heavily influenced" by the agreements reached thus far by the Railway & Airline Clerks and the unaffiliated Locomotive Engineers and United Transportation Union. Since the panel's report, the Sheet Metal Workers narrowly ratified a settlement covering 3,600 members that is similar to BRAC's. The Boilermakers, however, voted down an offer that would cover 1,600 members.

Ron Kowalski, director of the Electrical Workers railroad department, charged that the board failed to consider differences in craft skill levels. He pointed out that the nonoperating rail unions were urged to accept contracts similar to the one accepted by operating unions. It provides a 6.6 percent pay increase over four years along with $1,540 in lump-sum payments, while operating rail unions' pay will increase 10.9 percent, Kowalski said.

The six rail unions covered by the panel's report—IBEW, Maintenance of Way Employees, Carmen, Firemen & Oilers, Machinists and the Railroad Signalmen—are seeking increases totaling 12.5 percent, while the carriers have offered 6.5 percent over four years, coupled to lump sum payments. The board recommendations would push many workers to the lower end of a two-tier pay scale.

Strike ban urged

The board also recommended a broad no-strike provision for the duration of the contracts that would prevent both primary and secondary strikes.

In a related rail matter, President Reagan signed legislation extending the cooling-off period in the dispute between the Maintenance of Way Employees and the Maine Central Railroad and Portland Terminal Co., both owned by Guilford Transportation Industries. The National Mediation Board appointed another three-member panel to study the dispute. Meanwhile, the carrier and the union are barred from any self-help actions until Sept. 19.

Maine Central was criticized by members of Congress for implementing its final proposal on Aug. 5, cutting wages 20 percent, ending contracting-out restrictions and forcing workers to pay half their health-care insurance premiums.

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U.S. suffers record trade loss

Lane Kirkland, grand marshal of the Chicago Labor Day parade, leads march of 40,000 unionists.

Spirit of unity

Thousands celebrate Labor Day

By Arlee C. Green

Across America, many thousands of union members and their families turned out for Labor Day events that buoyed their spirits and reaffirmed the solidarity of the labor movement.

In large crowds and small gatherings, at parades and picnics, breakfasts and brunches, speeches and songfests, workers paid tribute to themselves—their skills, their work and their unions.

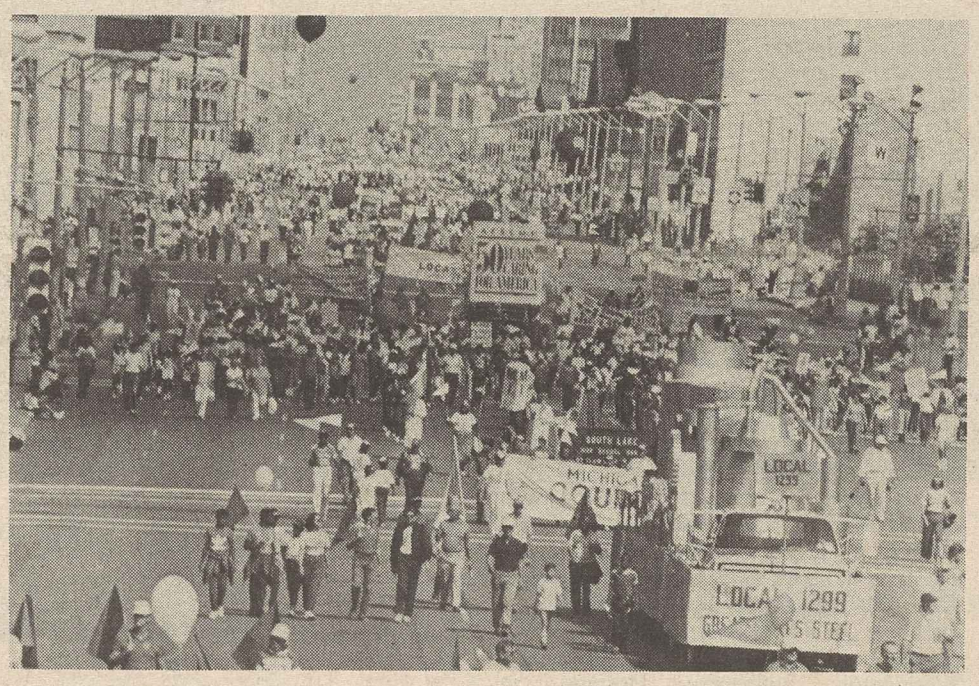
The largest union gathering was the three-hour parade in Detroit which drew 165,000 persons under the theme: Family, Country, Union & Job. That pageantry, sponsored by the Michigan and Detroit AFL-CIOs, included Steelworkers and the State, County & Municipal Employees, which are celebrating their 50th anniversaries this year. The parade was followed by scores of local union picnics.

Turning the corner

AFSCME President Gerald McEntee and USWA President Lynn R. Williams were the parade's grand marshals. McEntee hailed the positive signs of labor's rejuvenation and pointed out that the problems facing unions today aren't the same as they were 50 years ago—but the ideals have remained the same.

Other speakers included Democratic Gov. James J. Blanchard, Auto Workers President Owen Bieber, and Flight Attendants President Linda Puchala.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland served as the grand marshal of the Chicago parade which featured some 40,000 marchers—140 units in all. Prior to the festivities, union members gathered at the Chicago Tribune in support of Typographical Union printers on strike for more than a year.



Detroit's miles-long parade was the country's largest.

Earlier in the Labor Day weekend, Kirkland was the keynote speaker at an Ohio AFL-CIO reception kicking off three days of festivities in Columbus marking the centennial year of the AFL.

Union members in Lawrence, Mass., turned out for a day of activities centered on the Bread & Roses Heritage Festival that included the opening of Heritage State Park, an arts and labor memorabilia show and union songfest.

In Washington, trade unionists gathered for a traditional labor mass and wreath-laying at the statue of James Cardinal Gibbons. And in nearby Kensington, Md., President John DeConcini of the Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers joined in the town's annual parade along with the Emerald City Pipe Band, sponsored by the union, whose headquarters is in Kensington.

Hundreds of people participated in the Greater Boston AFL-CIO's annual breakfast, as well as a similar function in Worcester, Mass., sponsored by that city's labor council. Also in Massachusetts, the Fall River AFL-CIO drew a large crowd to its picnic.

In Cleveland, the city's AFL-CIO attracted nearly 50,000 persons to an all-day program that started with an interfaith

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Import surge cited as drag on economy

By Gene Zack

The U.S. trade deficit rocketed to $18 billion in July—the largest one-month shortfall in American history—and the AFL-CIO warned that the imbalance would reach "massive proportions" by year's end.

With the trade deficit soaring toward an all-time high of $185 billion this year—far eclipsing 1985's record of $148 billion—Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald cautioned that "time is running out" in the effort to stem the rising tide of job-destroying imports.

The July figures showed that imports were twice as large as exports for the first time ever—the result of a 7.5-percent jump in imports and a 7.1-percent decline in exports. The record-shattering figure was reached despite a modest decline in the nation's bill for imported oil.

As has been the pattern since the Reagan Administration came to office, most of the deficit was concentrated in the manufacturing sector, where imports outstripped exports to the tune of $16.1 billion. The agricultural deficit shot up to $245 million in July, the third consecutive month in which the nation brought in more farm products than it shipped overseas.

'Assault from abroad'

"The American industrial base is crumbling under this assault from abroad," Oswald declared, "and the adverse impact of imports is spreading to American farms as well. But the Reagan Administration still hasn't gotten the message that strong action is needed to save the American economy from disaster."

With the White House "abdicating its responsibilities and stoutly denying that any problem exists," Oswald asserted, the burden shifts to the Republican-controlled Senate, where trade reform legislation continues to await action.

Earlier this year, the House defied Reagan and overwhelmingly approved legislation to correct the trade problems. The bipartisan measure would crack down on exporting countries that exploit their workers, subsidize exports and engage in other unfair practices to capture a disproportionate share of the American market, while erecting barriers to keep U.S.-made goods from reaching their consumers.

The President has branded the House-passed measure a "kamikaze" approach to the trade problem and has threatened a veto if it reaches his desk. But with farmers

Continued on Page 5

Southeast 'boom' bypasses workers

By Candice Johnson

Workers in the Southeast have not shared the benefits of a 10-year job boom in much of the 12-state region, the Southern Labor Institute concluded in a new report, "The Climate for Workers in the United States."

While the Southeast has experienced "phenomenal job growth," since 1975, it has come "at the bottom end of the wage scale and has not improved significantly the conditions and prospects for wage earners," the report found.

In an 18-month survey, the institute assessed the quality of life for workers and their families by reviewing 33 factors—ranging from average wage gain to educational achievement to infant mortality rates to incidence of occupational disease—in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

Of 12 southeastern states, only Virginia, ranked 29th, escaped the bottom of the list. South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi, in last place, were the lowest-rated states. Of the dozen, only Kentucky and West Virginia are not "right-to-work" states.

Top five states

The top five positions in the survey were achieved by Massachusetts, Connecticut, Minnesota, California and New York.

The report is a sharp contrast to the surveys of business groups that generally use cheap land and low wages as the principal measures of a good business climate, noted Ken Johnson, director of the institute and one of the study's authors.

"More than in any other region, workers in the 12 states of the Southeast do not enjoy the fruits of their labors," the survey found. "Despite gains in job growth that lead the nation . . . the region has failed to meet the standards set by the rest of the nation in almost every other way: the smallest gains in wages and per capita personal income, the largest proportion of working poor, the highest incidence of poverty, and so on."

Johnson said southern workers are caught in a "double whammy," as low-wage manufacturing jobs that generally draw on a minimally educated, low-skilled

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SMW President Edward Carlough rallies convention delegates in Chicago protesting Toyota's decision to build an automobile assembly plant in Georgetown, Ky., under nonunion conditions.

Convention report

Sheet Metal Workers register gains

Chicago—Major campaigns to expand and strengthen the union sector of the sheet metal industry and to protect union members and their employers from the ravages of asbestos infection received strong support at the 37th convention of the Sheet Metal Workers.

As a result of programs adopted at the convention four years ago, President Edward J. Carlough told the nearly 550 delegates, the SMW had "a net increase in its membership" in 1985 and "those gains have been continuing through 1986."

A key element in the counter-offensive against nonunion competition, Carlough pointed out, was the 1982 convention action mandating local union officials to help union employers gain job contracts. Over 8 million man-hours of work for SMW members resulted from this effort in the last four years.

Without this effort to compete more effectively, he told delegates, the union might have been out of business in some sections of the country.

Another successful undertaking, Carlough noted, was a novel scholarship loan agreement requiring graduates of the union apprenticeship program to work only for union employers for 10 years or face the legal obligation to pay all or a substantial portion of their training costs.

Toyota action

"What could have been a hemorrhaging of our young people to nonunion employers has now become just an insignificant trickle," he asserted.

The convention voiced strong objections to Toyota Corp.'s decision to have a Japanese construction firm build its Georgetown, Ky., plant under nonunion conditions.

Delegates then paraded along Michigan Avenue, handing out leaflets protesting the Japanese company's anti-union policies.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, in an address to the delegates, hailed the "innovative strategies and approaches" used by the Sheet Metal Workers, calling them a "tribute to the health and vitality of this union and its leadership."

Kirkland assailed the Reagan Administration's lack of concern over continuing high unemployment and the loss of millions of American jobs to imports. Neither a "service economy" nor "high technology" offers a solution to the nation's economic woes, Kirkland declared, warning that "if the industrial base of this country vanishes, so will any need for robots, computers and lasers."

Asbestos programs

The convention gave strong endorsement to SMW programs aimed at coping with the serious health hazard resulting from the inhalation of asbestos fibers in the workplace.

The union has retained Dr. Irving Selikoff of Mt. Sinai Medical Center in New York to do a series of in-depth interviews and tests in seven cities to gain a complete data base about this health threat to its members. In addition, a project under the direction of Dr. Laura Welch of George Washington University Hospital in Washington, D.C., will lead to lung and heart testing of all members with 20 years of work in the trade.

Both Carlough and Sec.-Treas. Lonnie A. Bassett were elected without opposition to new four-year terms. In addition, the convention created a new post of vice president for production to give representation to the substantial number of members in sheet metal fabricating shops, and elected Richard Scott of Los Angeles Local 170 to fill the position.

Delegates voted to eliminate the post of vice president for railroads, reflecting declining employment in that industry, replacing it with a department headed by Don Buchanan of Denton, Tex.

In other actions, delegates provided for a fifth year of training for all apprentices; raised per capita dues by 75 cents each year for the next four years; approved pay increases for officers, organizers and staff members, and voted to change the union's procedure on political contributions so that the national Political Action League will make donations to candidates for federal office while local PAL's will contribute to those running for local and state offices.

Convention speakers included Sen. Alan Dixon (D-Ill.), Gov. James Thompson (R-Ill.), Rep. Tony Coelho (D-Calif.), Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), and Presidents Robert Georgine of the Building Trades Dept., Paul Burnsky of the Metal Trades Dept., and Howard Samuel of the Industrial Union Dept.

Canadian court orders chain to repay RWDSU retiree fund

Toronto—Dominion Stores Ltd. must repay $38 million it took from a pension fund covering 10,000 workers—members of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union—the Supreme Court of Ontario ruled.

The department store chain claimed the pension plan was "overfunded" and petitioned the Ontario Pension Commission for the right to withdraw between $60 and $75 million of what it termed surplus assets. The commission allowed Dominion to take back nearly $38 million last year.

But the court ordered Dominion to return the funds, ruling that the company "received the funds and holds them without authority." Justice Robert Reid sharply reprimanded the pension commission, accusing it of "stonewalling" the Dominion workers who were trying to stop the company's scheme.

The pension plan was financed through mandatory employee payroll contributions, with Dominion making additional deposits when needed to ensure the plan's solvency. At the hearing, workers testifed that they were led to believe by Dominion that any surplus money in the fund belonged to them.

RWDSU Director Donald Collins said the union welcomed the court's decision, but expressed concern that the pension commission would again allow Dominion to withdraw so-called surplus assets if the company simply notifies workers of its intentions.

Although Dominion was ordered to submit a repayment schedule to the court within one week, additional claims concerning $16.5 million in assets taken from the union workers' fund and another $24 million that Dominion removed from a pension plan for management and nonunion workers still must be resolved. Dominion is seeking permission from the provincial court to appeal the decision.

UFWA signs with Trojan, boycott lifted

The AFL-CIO lifted its nationwide boycott of Trojan Luggage as members of the Furniture Workers returned to work after Labor Day with a new two-year contract to end a 17-month-old strike against the Memphis manufacturer.

UFWA President Carl Scarbrough said the entire labor movement can share in this victory. He credited the federation's Union Label & Service Trades Dept. and "total community support" for helping to achieve the contract.

UFWA Vice President Willie Rudd, president of Local 282 which represents the Trojan workers, expressed his members' appreciation for the nationwide labor support.

The new contract provides for a 30-cent hourly pay increase, $500 backpay for all strikers, retention of seniority and maintenance of company-paid health care and pension benefits.

The strike, which began Apr. 15, 1985, centered on the company's demand for a three-year wage freeze and employee payments of $60-a-month toward health coverage.

As part of the settlement, all unfair labor practice charges against the company were dropped and Trojan withdrew a suit it had filed against the union, Rudd said.

Trojan, owned by Dunbar & Associates of Prospect, Ky., sells luggage under the brand names of Hampton, Newport, Vagabond, Nassau, Dante, Going to Grandma's, Monterey, Aspen, Magnum, Biscayne and Executive Briefs.

Other boycotts end

The AFL-CIO recently terminated boycotts against two other firms—El Al Israel Airlines, which agreed to a new contract with the Machinists, and Burlington Northern Air Freight, which signed a new contract with Typographical Union Local 91 in Toronto.

The conventions of the UFWA and the Electronic Workers will meet later this month in Miami Beach to act on the merger agreement that has been approved by the two unions' executive boards. If the merger is approved, it will be put out to membership referendums by the end of the year. Jan. 1 is the proposed merger date.

Bankrupt steel corporations pressed on pension liabilities

The pension plans of two major steel producers—both in bankruptcy—received close scrutiny by separate government agencies as LTV Corp. sought to waive contributions to its funds and Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. was cited for being $667 million behind in contributions by the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp.

The PBGC, a government agency that insures pensions plans, filed claims against Wheeling-Pittsburgh in federal bankruptcy court in Pennsylvania, charging the company is liable for $498 million in due and unpaid contributions, plus administrative expenses and damages arising from a claim of breach of fiduciary responsibility. PBGC earlier was named a trustee of six company plans.

"The magnitude of the Wheeling-Pittsburgh pension liability, which has been dumped onto the federal insurance program, resulted from negotiated pension promises that were not backed by contributions to the pension plan," charged Kathleen P. Utgoff, PBGC executive director.

Prop for weak company

"The money that should have gone into the pension fund was used to prop up a weak company that now is in bankruptcy," she declared, adding that the agency will negotiate with the steelmaker over these claims and other employee benefit issues.

Nearly 20,000 pensioners and 8,700 active workers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh are affected by the claims, the Steelworkers said.

Meanwhile, LTV Corp. has petitioned the Internal Revenue Service to allow it to delay contributions to 12 pensions plans due in September.

If the waiver is granted, LTV could stretch out its annual pension payment of $215 million over a 15-month period. The affected plans cover workers in the steel and energy industries.

This marks the second time LTV has sought to delay contributions to company pension funds. Last year, the IRS approved the steelmaker's request to defer $183 million in contributions to its steel industry plans.

Monthly payments to pensioners under the 12 plans will not be affected, the company said, claiming that the company's trust fund has a balance of $1.5 billion to cover pension payments.

Six-day walkout

LTV filed for bankruptcy protection in federal court last July. Management's attempt to cut health and life insurance benefits for 66,000 workers sparked a 6-day walkout by Steelworkers at the Indiana Harbor Works, the company's most profitable mill.

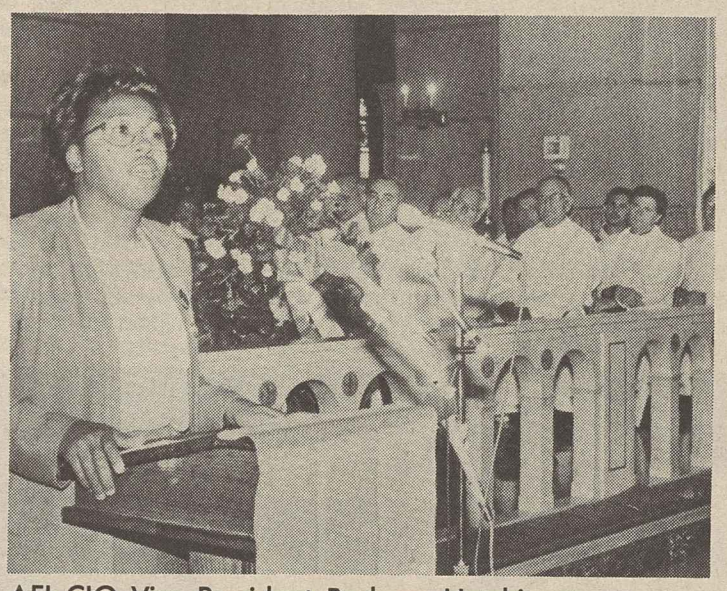
LTV then filed an application to continue the benefits and, over the protest of bank creditors, the bankruptcy court agreed that the health and life insurance coverage should be extended six months—until Jan. 17, 1987.

Meanwhile, 400 USWA members demonstrated outside New York's federal courthouse, demanding that the health and insurance benefit extension be made a permanent part of LTV's reorganization.

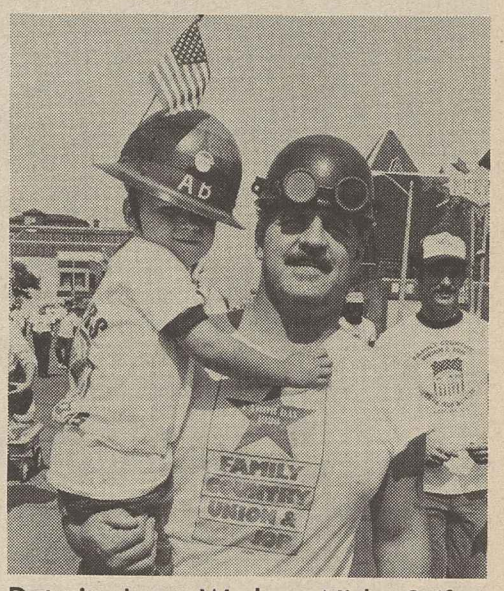
Concerned that their health and life insurance coverage will end after the court-imposed January date, a delegation of steelworkers from LTV mills in Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York presented the court with petitions demanding greater consideration for retirees in the LTV reorganization proceedings.

Union members and friends protest USX lockout in Lorain, Ohio.

Junior Fire Fighters live it up in Monmouth, N.J.



AFL-CIO Vice President Barbara Hutchinson delivers Labor Day mass homily in Washington.



Detroit Iron Worker Nick Seifert and son Nicky, 4, on the march.

Celebrating AFL's 100th anniversary in Columbus.

BCT President John DeConcini leads labor contingent in Kensington, Md.

Spirit of unity marks Labor Day across nation

Continued from Page 1

service, a parade with 10,000 participants, and a "Cleveland Together" party with fireworks in the evening.

In Denver, the labor federation's parade included several hundred uniformed Frontier Airlines workers, union members who recently lost their jobs when the Denver-based air carrier filed for bankruptcy and shut down. The Frontier workers won the top prize for a marching unit.

Indianapolis union members and their families participated in a parade featuring about 150 cars, floats and other units, including two union bands and Miss Indiana. In nearby Bloomington, unionists enjoyed a hog roast and entertainment.

In Terre Haute, Ind., a parade and bean dinner was sponsored by the Wabash County AFL-CIO and the Indiana Pipe Trades Council, and in Lafayette, the third annual Labor's Family Day, sponsored by the Northwest AFL-CIO, offered a softball tournament and free amusement park rides.

There was no parade this year in New York City, but several unions sponsored a large "Solidarity Picnic" where folk singer Pete Seeger entertained. Many other New Yorkers trekked to Asbury Park, N.J., for the annual New Jersey AFL-CIO parade, which capped three days of activities.

Some 15,000 people in Rochester, N.Y., attended the city's first Labor Day parade in more than 60 years. The marchers came from 27 affiliates joined by seven community groups. Rep. Stanley Lundine, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, was the parade's grand marshal. A picnic and rally followed the parade.

Pittsburgh turned out for the fourth annual Labor Day parade as 15,000 unionists marched, one of several sites near the shutdown USX Corp. facilities where Steelworkers' members were locked out on Aug. 1.

In Lorain, Ohio, Mayor Alex "Kiki" Olejko—a long-time member of USWA Local 1104—led more than a thousand unionists on a solidarity march to the gates of the city's locked USX mill.

The Utah AFL-CIO and the Musicians staged a pops concert at the state fairgrounds in Salt Lake City.

The 40th annual Labor Day breakfast of the Catholic Labor Institute in Los Angeles was sold out as more than 900 persons heard speeches by State AFL-CIO Executive Sec.-Treas. John Henning, Mayor Tom Bradley, Sen. Alan Cranston and Archbishop Roger Mahony.

Tournaments and picnics

The 29th annual Labor Day celebration sponsored by the Alameda County AFL-CIO drew 4,000 to its picnic and softball tournament in Pleasanton, Calif. The Tom Kenny Memorial Labor Day Picnic in Sacramento included 5- and 10-kilometer races, softball and golf tournaments and a parade.

A carnival, retirees' luncheon and parade marked a show of solidarity in Cloquet, Minn., where State Federation President Dan Gustafson spoke. Several hundred attended a picnic in Wilmer, Minn., and more than 5,000 enjoyed a picnic sponsored by the Duluth AFL-CIO.

Thousands of St. Louis trade unionists participated in a 75-minute parade through the city streets, while those in Springfield and Hannibal, Mo., attended picnics and softball tournaments.

Ohio unions celebrate AFL centennial

Columbus, Ohio—The Ohio AFL-CIO marked the centennial year of the American Federation of Labor over the Labor Day weekend with a series of events, including a parade, labor songest and picnic.

The AFL was founded here in December 1886 when members of the Knights of Labor and the Federation of Organized Trades & Labor Unions merged, electing Samuel Gompers as its first president. A plaque marks the Druid Hall site where the delegates met.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was the keynote speaker at a reception attended by some 500 leaders from international, national and local unions, central labor councils and the state AFL-CIO, along with political, community and religious leaders and other friends of labor.

International officers included President Milan Stone and Sec.-Treas. Don Tucker of the Rubber Workers, President Bernard Butsavage and Sec.-Treas. Andrew Swafford of the Molders and Sec.-Treas. Ivan Uncapher of the Flint Glass Workers.

Kirkland recalled the proud history of the American trade union movement, how it has always been under attack and yet always manages to emerge from crises more powerful than before.

He was welcomed to Columbus by Ohio Federation President Milan Marsh and Columbus-Franklin County AFL-CIO Executive Sec. William Rittenhouse. Other guest speakers included Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio), Gov. Richard Celeste and State Supreme Court Chief Justice Frank Celebrezze.

An earlier era

At a labor breakfast, Stuart Kaufman, associate professor at the University of Maryland and editor of Gompers's papers, described the AFL's early days and the toll organizing millions of members took on union leaders of that era.

It was the dedication of the early leaders, Kaufman said, and their willingness to forsake everything else in their devotion or organizing that resulted in the emergence of a truly national union movement a century ago.

The traditional Labor Day parade through downtown Columbus was followed by a picnic, a softball game and labor songfest featuring Judy Gorman-Jacobs and Tom Juravich.

Members of the Sheet Metal Workers and the Iron Workers displayed their skills during the picnic.

Marsh summed up the weekend of activities, saying, "What we witnessed is a piece of history. There were people 100 years ago who said the labor movement would not stand the test of time. We have proved those doom and gloomers incorrect.

"In another 100 years, another group of trade unionists will meet here in Columbus to celebrate 200 years of the American trade union movement. That celebration will probably not look like ours here this weekend—just as that trade union movement that began 100 years ago doesn't look like today's movement."

Women remain on bottom rung of earnings ladder

A study documenting continued pay bias against women was hailed by the Coalition of Labor Union Women as "compelling evidence of the need to end the job ghettoization of the labor force."

As the "feminization of the workplace continues," it becomes increasingly important to close the wage gap between men and women whose jobs make "comparable contributions" to business, industry and government, said Joyce Miller, president of CLUW and vice president of the Clothing & Textile Workers.

CLUW has been fighting for the past 12 years to assure pay equity for women either through legislation, collective bargaining or both, Miller pointed out. In addition, it is working toward a goal of "degenderizing" the workplace—ending the practice of creating what CLUW called "women-only jobs."

The practice of shunting women into low-paying jobs was spelled out in the study prepared by Karen Brodkin Sacks, visiting professor of women's studies at Oberlin College.

The number of women in the workforce doubled between 1964 and 1984 but most of them had to settle for service industry jobs that provide inadequate incomes, Sacks pointed out. Of the 44 million women in the workforce in 1985, about 80 percent were employed in service-producing jobs.

Unionization has a "dramatic impact" on the level of women's earnings, Sacks asserted. Unionized women earn an average of 34 percent more than their nonunion counterparts, her study showed. Among clerical workers, unionization results in 41 percent higher pay, while in service occupations the differential is 68 percent.

Organizing opportunities

Yet the service field remains largely a nonunion sector. Rates of unionization are significantly lower in the service sector—only 2.9 percent in finance, 7.2 percent in trade and 6.6 percent in services—compared to the manufacturing sector, where 24.8 percent of all workers are covered by union contracts.

The major exception to the trend toward relegating women to low-paying jobs is the telecommunications industry where women's wages not only are higher than in most other sectors of the service economy but are generally equal to those of their male counterparts.

Those union-won gains for women came under fire in the latest round of contract negotiations in the telephone industry, as management mounted a concerted effort to downgrade women's wage scales, Sacks charged.

In bargaining covering 310,000 employees—55 percent of them women—the local telephone companies that were created after the court-ordered breakup of AT&T sought to cut wages by 20 to 40 percent for operators, service representatives and clerical workers. The Communications Workers and the Electrical Workers beat back these demands and won pay increases for their women members.

Sacks cited a 1982 study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics which, she said, "suggests a negative association between the percentage of women in an industry and the level of pay in that industry."

The BLS study showed that industries with the greatest percentage of women workers had the lowest average hourly earnings, while those industries with the lowest percentages of female workers had the highest earnings.

In 1982, Sacks pointed out, health services ranked second in the proportion of women workers but 36th in terms of average hourly earnings, while banking ranked third in the percentage of women but 46th in hourly earnings.

Impoverished families

The number of female-headed households doubled between 1970 and 1980, Sacks pointed out, and is growing ten times as fast as male-headed households. But she charged, "because of women's low incomes, these female-headed households are impoverished households."

The study showed that 36 percent of all female-headed families live below the federally defined poverty level while only 8 percent of all married couples are below this level.

"Unless women's wages improve," Sacks asserted, "the problem of declining family income and increasing child poverty will only worsen. If well-paid manufacturing and production jobs continue to lag behind the growth in low-paid service jobs, all wage-earning families could be affected by the wage structures that characterize the service sector."

Rail Signalmen reach accord with major carriers

The Railroad Signalmen reached a tentative four-year agreement with the nation's major railroads that follows closely the recommendations made by a presidential panel in July.

The settlement will be voted on by the union's general chairmen and, if approved, put out on a mail ballot referendum. BRS President Robert Bates said a Sept. 26 deadline has been set for the return of members' ballots.

The union is one of six bargaining with the the National Railway Labor Conference, the carriers' bargaining arm, on the settlement proposals made by a presidential emergency board. The other unions—Maintenance of Way Employees, Railway Carmen, Machinists, Electrical Workers and Firemen & Oilers—are bargaining to replace contracts that expired June 30, 1984.

The presidential board recommended that the six unions follow the pattern set the Railway & Airline Clerks settlement. It provides pay increases of 6.5 percent over four years. The board's recommendations rejected the carriers' demand for a two-tier wage system and the tentative Signalmen's package reportedly maintains a single rate for journeymen.

Four unions—BRAC, the Sheet Metal Workers and the unaffiliated Locomotive Engineers and United Transportation Union—have signed new four-year contracts that will expire June 30, 1988. The Boilermakers recently rejected a tentative settlement and the Train Dispatchers and the Yardmasters have not reached agreements.

Ken Johnson of Southern Labor Institute, left, with IUD's Howard Samuel.

Workers don't share benefits of Southeast economic gains

Continued from Page 1

workforce disappear, and new jobs in business, technology and health professions make new demands of workers.

He noted that southern governors have acknowledged that the region has not kept pace with education and job training requirements and have undertaken a long-term effort for reform in elementary and secondary education programs.

"But for the young people just going into the workplace, those reforms are too little, too late," he pointed out, adding that the report will be a starting point for future conferences on the problems facing southern workers.

The report was released by Johnson and former Labor Sec. Ray Marshall, the institute's director and vice president of the Southern Regional Council.

Marshall called the attraction of employers to low wages and weak worker protection shortsighted and "ludicrous," especially in light of international competition, where workers in developing countries earn less than one-fifth as much as their American counterparts.

Competitiveness must come from higher productivity, "technological innovation and world class management systems," factors not generally associated "with low wages and weak worker protections," Marshall stressed.

"The climate for workers in the sunny South is rather chilly," he observed.

Other survey findings include:

- While four southeastern states rank among the top nine in job growth over the 10-year period, eight southeastern states rank in the bottom 11 in personal income growth.
- Of the bottom 10 states with the greatest number of working poor—people working full-time with incomes below the poverty level—eight are in the Southeast. Mississippi comes in last with 12.7 percent of its workers below the poverty level. And rates of poverty for black families in the South range from 25 percent in Virginia to 44 percent in Mississippi, the highest in the nation.
- The eight states with the fewest worker-protection statutes are in the Southeast.

Work safeguards called essential in asbestos phaseout

The Environmental Protection Agency's proposed ban and phasedown on the use of asbestos should be implemented "in a manner that minimizes the adverse impact on workers," the AFL-CIO stressed.

Margaret Seminario, the federation's safety and health specialist, told an EPA hearing that "it is the responsibility of the government to assist workers whose employment is directly affected through the policies" of federal agencies. She urged that the government "provide for income support, protection of pension rights and medical care and training, job placement and other adjustment programs."

Seminario said the federation "generally supports the phasedown of asbestos use," and suggested that the substance be replaced where feasible with less harmful substitute materials. She urged EPA not to take final action prohibiting the use of asbestos without concurrently "taking appropriate action" on determining the safety of fibrous materials being used as substitutes.

In backing the phasedown of asbestos use, Seminario stressed that the Occupational Safety & Health Administration's asbestos standards on worker exposure are "far from perfect and still leave exposed workers at risk of disease."

No short-term limit

Exposure to asbestos can cause lung cancer, cancers of the gastrointestinal tract and asbestosis. OSHA estimates that exposure to asbestos at the new limit still may result in seven cancers deaths for every 1,000 workers exposed over a lifetime. The OSHA standard lacks a short-term exposure limit, even though the agency concedes no exposure to asbestos is safe.

Seminario pointed out that the AFL-CIO and its Building & Construction Trades Dept. are seeking to strengthen the OSHA standard through court action.

Carpenters Safety Director Joseph L. Durst Jr. supported a ban on asbestos in construction materials, stressing that the "inadequacy" of new OSHA regulations "leads us to support EPA's proposal in order to protect our members from the substantial residual risk left, even assuming complete compliance with the OSHA regulations."

The Carpenters also backed full testing of materials being substituted for asbestos, saying that "while we are convinced that most of them are safer than asbestos, they are not non-toxic and some, such as ceramic fibers, may be just as dangerous."

Reagan throws 2% pay bone to 1.3 million federal workers

The Government Employees denounced as "a slap in the face" President Reagan's proposal to limit 1.3 million federal workers to a mere 2-percent pay raise in 1987, at a time when their wages lag 24 percent behind those of private industry.

Federal employees' pay has been frozen for the past two years, AFGE President Kenneth T. Blaylock pointed out, and these workers are entitled to increases of at least 9.2 percent. He noted that the Employee Cost Index, the government's measure for calculating pay increases, rose 4.7 percent in 1985 and 4.5 percent this year.

Blaylock charged that Reagan's proposal "flies in the face" of Congress, which earlier approved a 3-percent pay raise for fiscal 1987 "because the President himself recommended that figure in his initial budget only seven months ago."

John Leyden, executive director of the federal/postal division of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept., said Reagan's proposal was a "far cry" from the increase called for under the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970—a law designed to keep federal pay on an even keel with wages in the private sector.

Acting under the provisions of that law, the Secretary of Labor and the directors of the Office of Budget & Management and the Office of Personnel Management told the President federal employee pay trailed that in the private sector by 23.79 percent.

But the White House rejected the data, declaring that an increase of that magnitude would have an "adverse effect" on the economy.

In a message to Congress, Reagan also cited the deficit-reducing requirements of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act as justification for limiting the pay increase to 2 percent and making it effective in January 1987, three months later than the law provides.

Blaylock warned that the "token increase" would magnify the government's problem in recruiting and retaining highly qualified professionals and skilled technicians in such fields as medical, scientific and technological research, and computer sciences.

They'll ferment no wine before they sign

San Francisco—Some 600 members of the Distillery Workers struck five wineries after the collapse of contract negotiations with the Winery Employers Association.

Federal mediators stepped into the picture as another 1,400 DWU members are prepared to strike seven more wineries at the start of harvest-time operations if no agreement is reached.

Members of DWU Locals 45 and 186 went on strike at plants of Christian Brothers, Franzia Winery, Vie-Del Co., Fromm-Sichel and Bronco Wineries after rejecting a "final offer" from the management group. Union negotiators branded the employer proposal "an insult."

The 12 wineries involved in the negotiations produce about half of California's wine, a $5.5-billion industry that accounts for close to 70 percent of U.S. wine sales.

50th anniversary marked

Steel delegates pledge to break USX lockout

Las Vegas, Nev.—Delegates to the Steelworkers convention vowed to intensify the union's battle for economic justice in the month-long fight for a fair contract with USX Corp.

The 2,900 delegates roared their agreement as USWA President Lynn Williams called USX "the most flagrant violator of labor agreements in the steel industry," seeking to "deprive our members of their jobs" by contracting out as much work as it can.

"We do not intend to let this 'oil company' run over our members and relegate them to the status of third-class citizens," Williams insisted.

More than 22,000 steelworkers were locked out on Aug. 1, after USX rejected the union's offer to keep working while negotiations for a new contract continued. Instead, the steelmaker turned away workers who reported for their shifts before the agreement expired at midnight. Another 23,000 workers on layoff status also are affected by the work stoppage. No negotiations have been scheduled.

Trade policies hit

In his keynote address, Williams criticized Reagan Administration trade policies that have "sent jobs pouring offshore and forced wholesale plant closings and bankruptcies."

The Administration's myopia "has brought tragedy to hundreds of towns and cities across the country" in pursuit of a policy called "steel rationalization," Williams charged, declaring "they call it rationalization—I call it a disgrace."

To help save American industry and jobs, delegates endorsed a fair trade program to counter the barriers against U.S. products set up by foreign countries. Acknowledging the nation's shrinking manufacturing base and ballooning trade deficit, the delegates also called for a comprehensive industrial policy to revitalize the economy.

Other legislative goals adopted by the convention include notification to workers of their risk from exposure to toxic substances in the workplace, trade adjustment assistance, job training for dislocated workers and reforms in workers' compensation and unemployment compensation programs.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland blasted the new "alias" taken by USX, charging that its managers "simply put an X through the Steel in their name and are trying to put an X through the workers who have helped make them so rich and arrogant."

He also outlined the activities of the federation's Steelworkers Support Committee, chaired by Clothing & Textile Workers President Murray Finley.

The committee, with a representative from each affiliated union, is working with the USWA and an AFL-CIO coordinator at 15 target sites on activities ranging from picket line relief to local media campaigns. The committee also is gathering support from national religious, entertainment, political and sports figures to champion the cause of the locked-out workers.

Combating the lockout

In his convention address, Finley pledged that the committee will ask "millions of Americans to think before they buy Marathon gasoline . . . because that money will be used to starve out Steelworkers." USX purchased Marathon Oil with the money it reaped from wage and benefit concessions wrung from USWA members on the pretext the savings would be used to modernize steel facilities, the union has charged.

Delegates also heard from Paul Kirk, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who called the November elections "our best opportunity to turn things around."

Other speakers included President Shirley Carr of the Canadian Labor Congress; President Cesar Chavez of the Farm Workers; Pennsylvania Democratic Representatives William Gray, chairman of the House Budget Committee, and Bob Edgar, a candidate for the Senate, and Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower.

Anniversary marked

Throughout the convention, delegates celebrated the USWA's 50th anniversary with a look at its past accomplishments and an expression of confidence in its future. Former President I.W. Abel urged steelworkers to remember "the lessons of the past," and called on local unions to participate in the Steelworkers Organization of Active Retirees.

Under the USWA constitution, union officers are elected by membership referendum every four years prior to the convention. Williams, Sec. Ed Ball, Treas. Jim McGeehan, Canadian National Director Gerard Docquier, two vice presidents, an upholstery division director and 24 district directors were voted into office last March.

USWA's top officers salute delegates at 50th anniversary convention. From left, Vice Presidents Leon Lynch and George Becker, President Lynn Williams, Sec. Ed Ball and Treas. Jim McGeehan.

UFCW recovers lost wages at Hormel and Oscar Mayer

Des Moines, Iowa—Despite management attempts to exploit adverse economic conditions in the meatpacking industry, nearly 9,000 Food & Commercial Workers at Geo. A. Hormel & Co. and Oscar Mayer & Co. won back wage rates lost to concessions in previous contract negotiations.

The UFCW victory was triggered by a chainwide settlement covering Oscar Mayer plants in Davenport, Iowa; Madison, Wis., and Chicago. It was followed quickly by agreement with Hormel for plants in Fremont, Neb.; Algona, Iowa; Beloit, Wis.; Charlotte, N.C.; Austin, Minn.; Atlanta, Dallas and Houston.

The Oscar Mayer contract provides hourly wage increases of 25 cents in each of the first two years and 20 cents in the third year, returning the base labor rate to $10.70 an hour by September 1988. It also contains health care improvements, a new supplemental retirement plan and one additional holiday.

The UFCW won an identical three-year contract at most Hormel plants and a four-year pact at the company's flagship operation in Austin, Minn., where UFCW Local P-9 went on strike in August 1985 after an unsuccessful effort to negotiate a go-it-alone settlement instead of joining in the earlier chainwide agreements.

Hormel reopened the Austin plant in January and the UFCW placed the local in trusteeship in March after its leaders refused to end the strike and an unauthorized boycott. Of the nearly 1,100 workers at the plant, approximately half are returning union members and the remainder are permanent replacements hired when the plant resumed operations.

The UFCW succeeded in phasing out a two-tier wage system under which new-hires at Austin were paid $1 an hour less than veteran workers. Management also agreed to a common expiration date for all Hormel contracts after 1990.

Hiring preference

Settlement of the long dispute at Austin carries with it a guarantee that Local P-9 members who remained on strike after the plant reopened earlier this year will have seniority-based preference as jobs become available at the plant.

The Oscar Mayer workers ratified their new agreement overwhelmingly, as did UFCW members at Hormel's Atlanta, Algona and Dallas installations. The union is setting up procedures under which those now working at Austin, and those who still are on strike, can vote on the contract.

Meanwhile, UFCW locals have filed suit in Alameda, Calif., Superior Court to block a $4.2-billion leveraged buyout of Safeway Stores Inc. by the New York investment firm of Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co. Such a buyout, financed largely by borrowing, would saddle Safeway with a massive debt that could force a selloff of two-thirds of its assets.

The union invoked California's Fraudulent Conveyance Act, which makes it illegal to leave a company with "unreasonably small capital" to cover its obligations to creditors. The UFCW members pointed out that they are creditors of Safeway because the company owes them some $750 million in wages, vacation pay and severance pay.

July's trade deficit worst in history

Continued from Page 1

sharing in the misery that afflicts the industrial sector, a consensus may be building in the Senate for a get-tough approach.

"We don't have a lot of time," Oswald cautioned. "The President is dead wrong in thinking that market forces will correct the problem. The situation isn't going to begin to turn around until Congress accepts its responsibility to rescue the American economy."

Release of the trade figures brought a warning from Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul A. Volcker that the widening deficit is "simply unsustainable" and could end up undermining the global economy.

He specifically rejected the Administration's argument that a declining U.S. dollar would eventually clear up the problem—a forecast that Reagan and his advisers have been making for more than a year.

Not only has devaluation been ineffective in improving the balance of international trade, the Federal Reserve chairman said, but it could prove "inflationary in the United States and depressing elsewhere."

Volcker cautioned that the nation is "at one of those critical points" in its economic history, and advocated "more basic reforms in the system to clear up the rules of the game"—a statement some analysts saw as a thinly disguised call for passage of the trade measure.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. was more forthright, calling on Reagan to "personally ask his Senate leaders to pass the trade bill this year."

The July figures showed that imports of clothing and footwear jumped to $2.7 billion—nearly 25 percent above the June level. Shoe imports have taken over 77 percent of the U.S. market. Last month, the House barely sustained Reagan's veto of legislation that would have limited these imports.

And, despite "voluntary" restraint agreements negotiated by the Administration with other steel-producing nations nearly two years ago, steel imports rose 18.9 percent in July. In the first seven months of this year, foreign-made steel captured 23.4 percent of the domestic market, far above the goal the White House promised to reach.

As usual, the United States trade deficit with Japan eclipsed the shortfall with other nations, climbing to $5.5 billion in July, a near-record level, with imports rising to $8.4 billion from the previous month's $7.5-billion mark. Exports to Japan have been distorted over the past two months by shipments of gold for the minting of commemorative coins.

At the same time, the trade gap with Western Europe grew from $3.75 billion to nearly $4.2 billion, the deficit with Canada swelled from $1.9 billion to over $2.3 billion, and the shortfall with Mexico reached $654 million—nearly triple that of the previous month.

Shanker hails governors' school stance

A report issued by the nation's governors calling for "bold new directions for education reform" won praise from Teachers President Albert Shanker.

Shanker said the report, "A Time for Results: The Governors' 1991 Report on Education," proved wrong the cynics who "thought the governors' interest in revitalizing our public schools and the teaching profession wouldn't last past yesterday's headlines."

The report was released by the National Governors' Association during its annual meeting in Hilton Head, S.C. The 1986 sessions focused on education.

Addressing the group, Shanker said "the NGA report gives momentum to the 'second stage' of education reform initiated by the Carnegie Forum's report on the teaching profession," adding that the governors had shown willingness "to take a risk to promote the professionalization of teaching and the system-wide changes needed to improve student learning."

Shanker repeated his belief that the education system must be restructured both to attract more persons to the teaching profession and to give students the opportunity to learn from a variety of professionals. As one alternative, he suggested that a hospital-like structure, where many professionals—nurses, doctors, therapists—are available to meet patients' needs, could be adapted to the nation's schools.

ATU wins pay gains in New Orleans pact

New Orleans—Transit Union members overwhelmingly ratified a new two-year contract covering bus drivers and streetcar conductors that provides improvements in wages, job security and health and welfare benefits.

After voting down a proposal from the regional transit authority on Aug. 13, the ATU reached a settlement just 25 minutes before the strike deadline the following day. The new agreement was ratified by a 424-23 vote.

The full-time workers will get a $600 signing bonus and part-time workers will receive $375. On July 1, 1987, wages will increase by 17 cents an hour to $10 and on the final day of the contract, pay will go up by 10 cents hourly.

New contract language limits the employment of part-time workers to 10 percent of the workforce and provides grievance provisions on any subcontracting out of work. The employer contributions to the medical and dental plans were also improved.

Hidden agenda of right to work

Bosses bankroll union-busting

By Karin Chenoweth

The National Right to Work Committee claims to have 1.25 million members, 550,000 of whom have contributed at least once with an average of $11 per contribution, it says. The foundation claims about 175,000 contributors—most of whom contribute small amounts. According to the latest statement filed with the Philanthropic Advisory Service of the Council of Better Business Bureaus, the committee raised $4.3 million in 1981 and the foundation another $4.6 million.

That is quite a lot of money for a political organization, and a good deal of it goes right back into raising more money—17 percent for the committee and 14 percent for the foundation. When "legal defense information and services"—which is mostly fund-raising—is added in, the foundation spent about a third on fund-raising.

Last in a series

Not much more about finances is publicly revealed by the committee. The committee has refused to reveal the names of its members and contributors. Committee representatives claim their members' lives and property would be jeopardized if their identity were known. Committee President Reed Larson said in 1978, "We have union members who wish they didn't have to be members. If we revealed their identity, we would be exposing them to danger. How would you like to go to work every day not knowing if, when you left, your tires would be slashed or your arms broken?"

But there is another theory about why the committee refuses to reveal the list of contributors. Many believe that if it was known, it would be evident that the committee and the foundation are not supported mainly by workers, but almost exclusively by corporations and businesses with a vested interest in weakening unions.

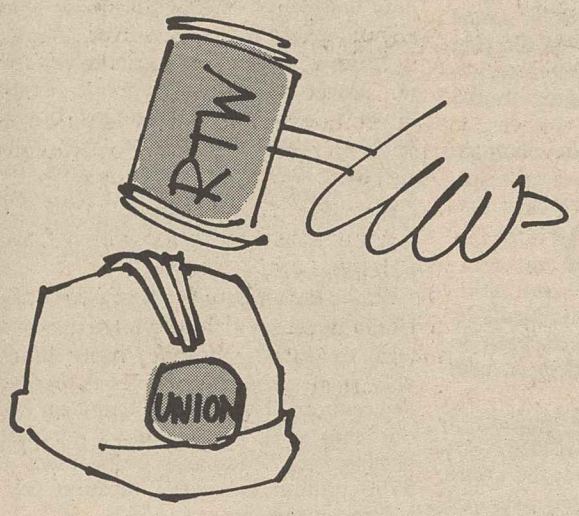
Since it is against federal law for employers to finance suits by employees against unions, ten unions joined together and sued the foundation in 1973, charging that its suits are in fact financed by businesses with an interest in harassing unions. The suit dragged on for 11 years, in part because of the stalling tactics of the foundation—including refusing to produce the membership list despite a court order. (The judge repeatedly expressed exasperation at these stalling tactics, but finally ruled in favor of the foundation. The unions are appealing.)

During the discovery period of the case, lawyers representing the unions discovered a great deal about the contributors to the organization.

Business dollars dominate

About 84 percent of the committee's 1973 income was identified as money given by corporations, businesses and other employers. Following that year, the committee apparently became more concerned with presenting a "citizen-worker" image, and stopped tallying the contributions that way.

In 1974, the foundation said that at least 44 percent of its contributions came from employers. It should be noted



that businesses may deduct any contribution to the committee as a business expense, but in the foundation's case, the tax advantage lies with individuals.

The legal brief for the unions cites evidence that the foundation manipulates its information to understate the number of employer contributors. For example, a California grower, Jack Pandol, said that although all his checks were imprinted "Pandol & Sons, Growers and Shippers," his contributions to the foundation were acknowledged as donations by an individual, while his contributions to the committee were acknowledged as corporate donations.

The unions' lawyers discovered the identity of some of the major contributors. It should come as no surprise that they are businessmen who have demonstrated a strong aversion to unions.

For example, one of the biggest contributions is Wofford B. Camp, a California grower who has waged a constant battle against the unionization of his employees, especially by the Farm Workers, headed by Cesar Chavez. He has written, "We do have to get rid of Chavez." In 1980, Camp made a contribution large enough to enable the committee to be the major lessor of the Right to Work building in Springfield, Va., thereby giving the foundation "practically full operational control" over the property worth millions of dollars, as well as substantial interest income, rental savings and other benefits, according to Reed Larson.

This series of articles is reprinted from a study sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy. Copies of the full report are available for $2 each from the LID, 181 Hudson St., Suite 3A, New York, N.Y. 10013. The author, Karin Chenoweth, is a Washington area journalist.

Camp has also contributed an additional $7,000 to the foundation, $6,000 to the committee, and $40,000 to the Farm Labor Research Committee, which was set up to deal with the farm labor questions. Camp has been a director of the committee since 1972, and has served as chairman of the Farm Labor Research Committee. The committee's building has two murals depicting Camp's farm origins, one of which shows him in a field behind an oxen-pulled plow. Camp may at one time have used an ox plow, but for most of his adult life he has been a very the prosperous grower who has bitterly fought unionization of his laborers.

Another major contributor to the committee and the foundation is Roger Milliken, president of Milliken & Co., a New York textile selling house, and the owner of a controlling interest in various textile concerns. He has given more than $100,000, by his own account, most of which came from corporate treasuries.

Dedicated union-basher

Milliken is not the kind of employer who abides by the committee's old creed, "Americans must have the right, but not be compelled, to join labor unions." He closed an entire plant in Darlington, S.C., immediately after the textile workers there won an NLRB-supervised election, and then publicized this drastic action throughout his other plants. The NLRB said of this that Milliken "saw the opportunity to convey to his employees an object lesson of folly of selecting the union."

To try to keep their jobs, 83 percent of his Darlington employees signed a petition pledging to renounce the union if only he would keep the mill in operation. Milliken replied that 17 percent were still "hard-core" union supporters, and refused to relent.

Another employer who makes substantial contributions to the committee is Arthur C. Paine, vice president of R.R. Donnelly & Sons Co., and the Lakeside Press. He is a member of the foundation's advisory council. From company funds, he has contributed about $45,000 to right-to-work organizations, both nationally and locally. He is also on the National Association of Manufacturers' Council on a Union-Free Environment, which he co-chairs with Edward J. Dowd Jr., a North Carolina anti-union management consultant. The council's purpose, according to its own literature, is to instruct employers in the most effective methods of resisting unionization.

The list of such contributors goes on. Jack Pandol, who owns several farm-related businesses in California, has contributed $4,729 to right-to-work organizations, using both company and personal funds. Pandol has twice been found guilty of unfair labor practices by the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board. Although his farms were unionized in 1973, he has succeeded in keeping his enterprises nonunion since 1975, the year he was cited for his unfair labor practices.

Pandol has also helped run the anti-Farm Workers group, the Agricultural Workers Freedom to Work Association. He gave free use of a pickup truck to the president of the organization, who has been arrested for running union adherents off the road. Four of Pandol's employees are plantiffs in suits against the UFW, suits financed by the Right to Work Foundation.

Many other employers, in response to queries by the lawyers representing the unions in the suit, said they had contributed substantial amounts to the committee and the foundation.

No doubt many individuals do contribute small amounts to the right-to-work organizations, especially in response to fund appeal letters designed to play on the fears of the weak and powerless in society.

Slanted appeal

For example, in a fund appeal letter sent by the foundation in March 1973, after the Supreme Court ruling in the Enmons case that the racketeering provisions of the Hobbs Act did not apply to ordinary strike actions, the foundation said in part:

"I'm not asking you to send us a contribution to overturn some small unimportant court decision. Or to defend some minor legal point.

"No! I'm asking for your contribution to help us overturn legal precedents biased in favor of Big Labor—precedents that allow Union Bosses to commit almost any act of violence in the book in their effort to force people like you and me to accept their demands. If you will help us win our series of precedent-making lawsuits, we can start making the Union Bosses pay—and pay dearly—for their acts of violence.

"But if we lose—if we fail to raise the money we need to pay for our court battles—the Union Bosses will be able to continue to burn, bomb, blackmail—even murder—and still get off scot-free.

"You and I simply can't afford to lose this legal battle."

Accompanying the fund appeal was a "survey," in which the questions posed almost answer themselves:

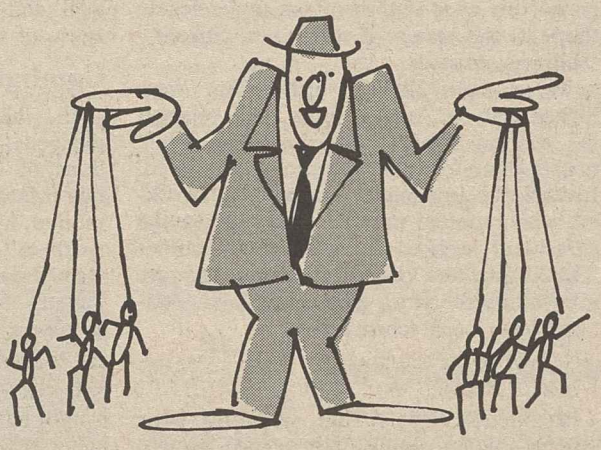
"Labor union violence (arson, bombings, vandalism, etc.) is a major cause of property destruction in the United States. Do you think federal and local judges should make labor union officials pay to repair the damage they cause?

"Recently a high-ranking U.S. Justice Dept. official said that union violence is one of the 'most serious problems in the field today.' Do you think union officials would continue to commit acts of violence if they knew they would be prosecuted and sent to jail for their crimes?

"Under the U.S. vs. Enmons court decision, union officials can avoid federal prosecution for union-related crimes of violence. Do you think union officials should be given any special privileges under the law?

"Would you be willing to make a contribution to help the Right to Work Foundation with new precedent-setting lawsuits to make union officials pay for their acts of violence?"

The committee and foundation presumably use such "surveys" to support their claims that most people favor specific changes in the law, such as an amendment to the Hobbs Act. In any case, such slanted appeals probably do



elicit a sympathetic response from some individuals. As we have already seen, these appeals are based on distortions, half-truths, and pseudo-facts.

No study of the right-to-work organizations would be complete without mentioning their extremist ideology.

Right from the beginning, the Right to Work Committee was a creature of far-right ideology. E.S. Dillard, the founder, was and remains an admirer of the John Birch Society. "There were many things about the Society I approved of," Dillard said in a sworn deposition.

Roger Milliken was an early endorser of the Birch Society. Many of the top Right to Work Committee people appeared on the Manion Forum, a radio show produced by a founder of the Birch Society, which featured extreme right-wing guests. Reed Larson has appeared on the show, as have Committee Vice President Susan Staub and Wofford B. Camp. The February 1984 edition of the John Birch Society's Review of the News contains a lengthy interview with Reed Larson.

One of the committee's now defunct organizations was the Employee Rights Campaign Committee, which gave money to political candidates. It gave funds to former Rep. John Schmitz (R-Calif.), a Birch Society leader, and Sen. Steve Symms (R-Idaho), who is listed as an approved legislator by the Birch Society and a speaker at their meetings. Mary Smith, a committee board member, is listed as one of the owners of The Review of the News.

Right-wing philosophy

That by no means exhausts the connnections between the committee and the far right, but it does give an idea of them.

This suggests the real reason why the committee has launched such a vicious attack on unions. Those who form the committee see unions as independent, democratic institutions in opposition to everything they believe in. Like other rightist organizations, the right-to-workers exploit the fears of thousands of people and manipulate them to serve their own purpose. That purpose is to destroy unions.

The committee's right-wing ideology also explains the inflated rhetoric used against unions—the insistent pounding away at the themes of violence and coercion, no matter how inappropriate, exaggerated or untrue. It is the kind of rhetoric traditionally used by extreme right-wing organizations, a rhetoric that allows for now reasoned compromise or common sense.

But this anti-union ideology has gained much influence of late. For example, it is reflected in some of the appointments made in recent years to the National Labor Relations Board, which was set up during the New Deal period to ensure that workers' wishes regarding union representation be carried out. Some of the most important decisions handled by the NLRB recently were made by its former solicitor, Hugh Reilly who last March returned to his job as a staff lawyer for the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation.

Reilly was appointed by corporate counsel Donald Dotson, who was named chairman of the NLRB by President Reagan. Dotson's views on unions were summarized in a published law review letter in which he wrote: "Unionized labor relations, shortsighted demands, greed and debilitating work rules have been the major contributions to the decline and failure of once healthy industries." In another such letter he called collective bargaining "the destruction of individual freedom."

The high positions held by Reilly and Dotson in administering labor law in this country are proof enough that the right-to-work organizations are not powerless fringe groups, but forces that the union movement and its supporters must reckon with.

EDITORIALS

A Call to Account

TODAY WE SUFFER from the consequences of one-way foreign trade—and the steadfast refusal of the Reagan Administration to speak up for the interests of the American people.

Better than anyone, unions understand international competition. After all, it is the worker, and not the banker or the stockholder or the manager, who is the first to be laid off.

Was it the worker who built a tax system that made it more profitable for companies to shut down, sell off and ship out, to write off billions for closing plants, instead of investing and modernizing and growing? Was it workers who invented corporate raids, golden parachutes and leveraged buy-outs, saddling American firms with billions of high-interest debt without producing a single added unit of product?

UNIONS UNDERSTAND the need for cooperation where it is essential. We only ask that employers in turn cooperate with us. Unfortunately, we find too few examples of the latter form of cooperation.

The White House is oblivious to the distress in steel, and in almost every other sector of the economy. We are told the market will take care of the problems of steel, and textiles, and electronics, and every other American industry inundated by imports. We are told it is a matter of principle, and the President's principles are clear. He is against government spending, for the free market and opposed to communism.

What of those principles?

When we have proposed sorely needed programs to rebuild our bridges, repave our roads, and replace our sewers, we have heard nothing but silence. But in Illinois earlier this month, the President bragged that his administration would spend more on farm price supports this year than Jimmy Carter did in his four years put together. So much for his zeal to rein in government spending.

THEN THERE IS the matter of free markets and free trade. Whenever we have suggested a national industrial policy to revitalize our ailing basic industries, we are told it amount to protectionism, or worse, government intervention in the workings of the private sector.

The President says he is opposed to quotas and subsidies, because they contravene free trade principles, invite retaliation and violate the rights of American consumers. Then why does he want American taxpayers to shell out as much as $52 million in export subsidies so that Soviet grain dealers can buy wheat cheaper than Americans, and Soviet steelworkers can get their bread that much cheaper than American steelworkers?

If the President's policies fall short of the nation's present needs, let me remind you that we are not entirely powerless. Yes, we have been on the defensive. But we have never stopped fighting and the tide is beginning to turn. We are coming to the twilight of the Reagan era. We have made our voices heard on a wide range of issues of profound concern to working people, and the Congress has begun to find the backbone to support our position.

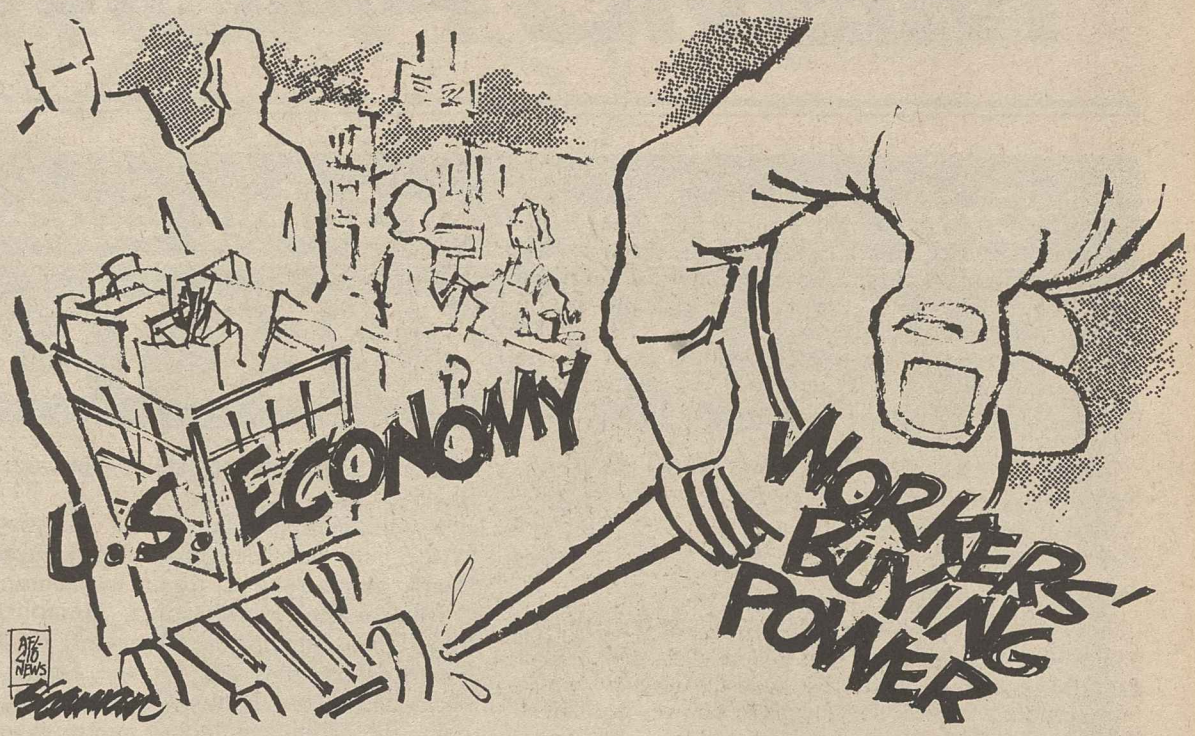
SO WE ARE making progress. But the assault on wages and working conditions is going to continue as long as millions of Americans are out of work. Over these last five years, unemployment has not once dropped below recession levels—levels that prompted every previous administration, including Republican administrations, to take emergency action.

This Administration had hoped its incredible borrowing and spending policies would pump up the economy enough to get them past Election Day before the inevitable accounting was made.

But they didn't make it: The last official figures confirm what we have been warning about for months—that the economy has slowed to a crawl with no early hope for a recovery. And many objective experts have agreed with our conclusion that the major cause for this new economic crisis is the flood of cheap, foreign imports inundating our markets.

—From an address by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland to the Steelworkers' convention in Las Vegas, Nev., Aug. 25, 1986.

'To make the wheels go . . .'



Washington Window

Reagan pushes for aid cuts despite dismal poverty rate

By Press Associates Inc.

The Census Bureau's latest update on poverty in America caused little stir in official Washington or the national media.

Capitol Hill was quiet as Congress was in summer recess. A few legislators issued press releases deploring the announcement that 1985 made five straight years that 14 percent of the population—33 million Americans—remained below the poverty line of $10,989 in annual income.

One Census Bureau official took heart in the new data showing that the poverty rate had edged down from 14.4 percent in 1984 to 14 percent in 1985—a change that private analysts called statistically insignificant. "We are out of a recession now. It's a better time," he said.

However, the nation's governors, meeting in Hilton Head, S.C., called for federal and state action to renew the fight against poverty. Gov. Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.) lamented "the air of unreality that prevails in Washington."

The governors unanimously approved a resolution proposing "a strategic plan . . . designed to reduce welfare dependency and thereby reduce the incidence of poverty and its debilitating effects on children and their families. The cornerstone of that plan is prevention."

Wide-ranging plan

The plan, being drawn up in detail by National Governors' Association committees, includes job training, improved health services, and new approaches to reduce illiteracy and teenage pregnancy. "Investment in human development" should be the cornerstone of a new bipartisan national agenda, the governors declared.

Programs that have proven successful on the local and state level in recent years will figure in the final plan, which will serve as a guideline for state and national action.

The President announced in his last State of the Union message a year-long study headed by Atty. Gen. Edwin Meese. The governors expressed concern the Administration study will be more of the same: removing welfare recipients from the rolls by tightening eligibility and reducing the federal role in combating poverty along with further cuts in programs that help the poor and the jobless. They said reducing poverty, like their proposal to strengthen education, is an important part of the effort to spur sagging state and regional economies.

Drag on economy

The nation's 14-percent poverty rate, said AFL-CIO economist Henry Schechter, is "a tremendous drag upon our economy." The inability of the poor to buy enough goods and services to enjoy a decent standard of living also means higher unemployment because of lower consumer demand for what workers produce, he said.

"We are deeply concerned that three years into economic recovery, we still have a poverty rate of 14 percent," said Robert Fersh, director of the Food Research & Action Center. "You have to go back to the mid-1960s, before the impact of the anti-poverty programs was felt, to see the poverty rate at that level," he added.

Fersh said social program cutbacks by Reagan "have increased the suffering of the poor as well as their numbers. The Administration continues to seek cuts in programs for low-income people—programs that were cut deeply in 1981 and 1982. This year the President asked for $1 billion in food assistance cuts, which Congress rejected, thank God."

The U.S. Catholic bishops, in the most recent draft of their pastoral letter on the nation's economic life, pointed out that "more than 33 million Americans are poor. By any reasonable standard, another 20 to 30 million are needy. Today, children are the largest single group among the poor, which seriously threatens the nation's future."

"That so many people are poor in a nation as rich as ours," the bishops said, "is a social and moral scandal that we cannot ignore."

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MEMO FROM COPE

Only Thing You Can Safely Expect

THE UNEXPECTED

There are few certainties among the 34 U.S. Senate races this year. It's expected John Glenn (D) will win re-election in Ohio and Bob Dole (R) in Kansas, and maybe a baker's dozen other incumbents of both parties are pretty secure.

But in just about every other race, the only thing you can safely expect is the unexpected. The polls give you a notion of trends, but they fluctuate, and two months before the election they're not that much help if you're planning to put money down on the results. Too much can happen that isn't expected to happen.

Ah, the unexpected . . . . It's what puts the spice in politics.

There was Rep. Richard Shelby (D) in Alabama, as one example, doing okay in the polls against incumbent Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R), showing up ahead in some, behind in some, neck and neck in still others.

So, along comes a bitterly disputed Democratic gubernatorial primary election. The apparent winner, by 8,756 votes out of 931,000 votes cast—a former Republican himself, Charles Graddick—got a fair number of them by encouraging Republicans to cross over and vote in the Democratic primary. The state Democratic party ruled his opponent, Bill Baxley, got the most *legal* votes and is the official nominee. The party was upheld by a special panel of three federal judges.

Shelby had no involvement in the whole hassle. He's been busy driving his own campaign car on his own side of the road. Yet, the controversy in the gubernatorial primary crossed the median strip and ran smack into Shelby. Whatever anger Graddick supporters felt over the award of the gubernatorial nomination to Baxley—however legal—hit Shelby, too.

Result: Temporarily, at least, his strong standing in the polls has been undermined, though there is clearly ample time to regain momentum.

Meanwhile, in Missouri, Democrat Harriett Woods was moving nicely against GOP candidate Kit Bond in the race for the Senate seat being vacated by Tom Eagleton (D). Averaging out the polls, the candidates looked pretty even.

Then, a Woods television commercial goes down wrong with a lot of voters and she begins to plummet in the polls. Like Shelby's situation, probably only temporary but enough to throw the campaign off stride.

Out in Washington, incumbent Slade Gorton (R) is cruising comfortably against his Democratic challenger, Brock Adams, when he agrees to a trade-off with the Reagan Administration and switches his vote from "against" to "for" a Reagan judicial appointee in exchange for a judicial appointment for someone he's pushing himself.

Result: The bad publicity in the home state press gives him a black eye, and the polls start showing up a whole lot closer.

In North Dakota, Sen. Mark Andrews (R) faces a stiff re-election challenge from Kent Conrad (D) but has a pretty comfortable lead in the polls, only to see it begin to unravel as charges of financial hanky-panky—supported by a former member of his own staff—start getting aired. And the polls start looking better for his opponent.

In how many more races will the gremlins strike? Nobody knows. But that they *will* strike some candidates, somewhere is just about as good a bet as death and taxes.

Money—How Much There Is . . . .

Money *affects* political contests. It doesn't *settle* them. If it did, Democratic candidates in major U.S. Senate contests could just as well pack it in—and their party could write off any hope of taking control of the Senate.

Fortunately, things like issues, personalities, records, platforms and the mood of voters figure in the process.

And where Democrats win, that's what's going to do it for them. Because when you're talking big bucks, you're talking Republicans. Not so much in direct contributions to candidates for TV, printing, travel, etc. In this, most Democrats are competitive. A few even outdraw and outspend their GOP opponents.

The big spread shows up in funds that aren't funneled directly into a candidate's campaign, but nevertheless give a leg up to his or her candidacy.

The Democratic Senate Campaign Committee, as of June 30, had collected $6.8 million of this kind of money. Its GOP counterpart had $59.6 million, almost nine times as much. And a lot more is expected to come in for use before November 4.

- In the first 6 months of this year, the GOP spent $619,000 on opinion polls in key Senate states—a tenth of the Democrats' *total* capital.
- The GOP Senate committee has shelled out $800,000 for various expenses of its Senate candidates that aren't linked directly to their campaigns. It has hired, at considerable cost, specialized consultants to help its candidates. The services provided: how to reach minority voters through radio and newspaper ads; how to appeal to union members; how to design computer software for campaign finance reports; how to prepare for candidate debates.
- From January through June this year, large sums have gone from the GOP Senate committee and state and local GOPs engaged in marginal Senate races—$118,000 to Louisiana; $107,000 to Vermont; $132,000 to Nevada; $85,000 to Alabama; $198,000 to Georgia; $153,000 to California; $182,000 to Oklahoma; $130,000 to Colorado. That's $1,105,000—one-sixth of *total* Democratic Senate committee funds. There's a lot more coming.
- Still more GOP money—millions—will be spent on computerized voter lists, phone banks, registration and get-out-the-vote drives in key states.

It's not that Democrats won't be doing the same things. They will, but they'll be doing them on a much smaller scale, because the funds simply aren't there for grand-scale operations a la the GOP.

. . . . And Where It Comes From

So where does all that GOP money cited above come from?

Well, a heckuva lot of it comes from small donors. The GOP has built up a strong mass direct mail fund-appeal operation the past six years.

But if you're wondering where all those big-sum contributions disappeared to that earned the GOP the reputation of the party of the rich and the corporations, they didn't vanish at all. GOP committees still depend on them—heavily.

- The party has a body of some 900 donors who kick in at least $10,000 a year apart from special events. That's $9 million.
- The National GOP threw a bash a few months back, attended by 492 corporate execs, each of whom ponied up at least $10,000. That's a haul of nearly $5 million at one event.
- At another do for the GOP Senate and House campaign committees this year, 87 corporations, law firms and trade groups put up $10,000 each—$870,000.
- From all contributors of $500 or more to a party or party committee, the GOP out-pulls the Democrats 4 to 1—in the 1983-84 election cycle $42.4 million to $11.1 million.

What could have been more unexpected than the primary election defeat of GOP Rep. Mark Siljander (Mich. 4th Dist.)? He was sailing toward a comfortable victory. Then he sent a tape to ministers in his district (COPE Memo Aug. 23) likening his candidacy to a holy war against the devil, and telling them support of his campaign would "break the back of Satan." This made voters a little leery, enough at least, to send a bunch of them to the polls to retire Siljander—unexpectedly.

Odds 'n Ends

GOP OUTSTRIPS DEMOCRATS in fundraising by 5.3 to 1 in first 18 months of 1985-86 election cycle. Three major committees—National, House Campaign, Senate Campaign—pull in $186.1 million to $35.1 million for Democrats. Big advantage, but not as big as previous congressional election cycle of 1981-82 when Republican margin was 6.5 to 1.

ONE THING ABOUT DOLANS, they stick together. Apparently, Terry Dolan, chairman of right-wing National Conservative PAC, has been down in the mouth over claimed NCPAC fund shortage. To help avert total depression, crying jags or—worse—tantrums, Dolan's mother sends out heart-rending fund appeal to rightists divulging "Terry. . . is under severe strain . . . ." but nothing that a few bucks in contributions to NCPAC couldn't relieve.

LICKING THEIR CHOPS over their prospects in gubernatorial elections are the Republicans. They could be wrong, of course, but, if nothing else, arithmetic favors them. Democrats hold 27 of the 36 governorships being contested, and 14 incumbents aren't seeking re-election—either because they're running for other office, don't want to run or by law can't have another term. At recent national governors' conference, Pennsylvania's chief executive, Richard Thornburgh predicted "worse-case scenario" of GOP six-seat gain. This would bring present Democratic advantage of 34-16 down to 28-22. Actually, however, Thornburgh and other Republicans, think a pickup of 8-10 is realistic.

IT'S CAMPAIGN TRAIL for TV evangelist/GOP presidential hopeful Rev. Pat Robertson. He'll hit hustings for GOP Senate candidates in 16 states, among them Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North and South Carolina.

CAN'T PLEASE EVERYBODY, President Reagan learns, as way-out right wing John Birch Society (in doldrums financially and organizationally) declares his Administration "a bitter betrayal and a colossal disaster for America."

So, Shape Up

"It has become a belief, bordering on prejudice, that the social ills of the present are the consequence of misguided Democratic social policies of the past two generations. None hold this belief more guiltily, if furtively, than the Democrats themselves.

"(The Democratic Party) is in its worst shape since the immediate aftermath of the Civil War . . . . The parallel is not perfect. The Copperhead Democrats of the Civil War never repented. The veterans and inheritors of the New Deal and Great Society do little else . . . .

"By all means let us go on (as conservatives do) about self-reliance, gumption and go-gettingness. But if that is all there is to be by way of social policy, no one needs Democrats. And if that is all the social policy there is to be, Democrats will have earned their eclipse."

—Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) at Democratic Party issues forum

AFL-CIO news

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

PAGE 8

Sluggish economy stalls job recovery

'Reagan Recession' persists for 14.5 million

By Gene Zack

More than 8 million workers were still jobless in August—27 months after the end of the worst economic downturn since the Great Depression a half century ago—even though the nation's unemployment rate edged down to 6.8 percent.

AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald termed last month's decline of one-tenth of 1 percent "statistically insignificant."

Although the picture has improved since the depths of the Reagan Recession when unemployment was in double digits, the jobless rate "remains stuck at what previously would have been considered recession levels," Oswald said.

In addition, he pointed out, the Bureau of Labor Statistics report doesn't factor in the 1.1 million "discouraged" workers no longer considered in the labor force because they've given up looking for jobs that aren't there, and the 5.4 million forced to accept part-time work because they can't find full-time employment—a total of 14.5 million workers adversely affected by the continuing economic slump.

Few receive aid

After seasonal adjustment, the BLS surveys showed that nearly 8.1 million workers were unemployed and actively seeking jobs. But fewer than one in three were drawing unemployment compensation. In mid-August, claims paid by state bureaus and other agencies totaled only 2.5 million.

The reason for the disparity, AFL-CIO compensation claims specialist James Ellenberger noted, is that the Reagan Administration and the states restricted benefits and toughened eligibility requirements in the midst of high unemployment.

The actions were taken, he said, "to throw another tax break to management without regard to the devastating effects on workers and their families."

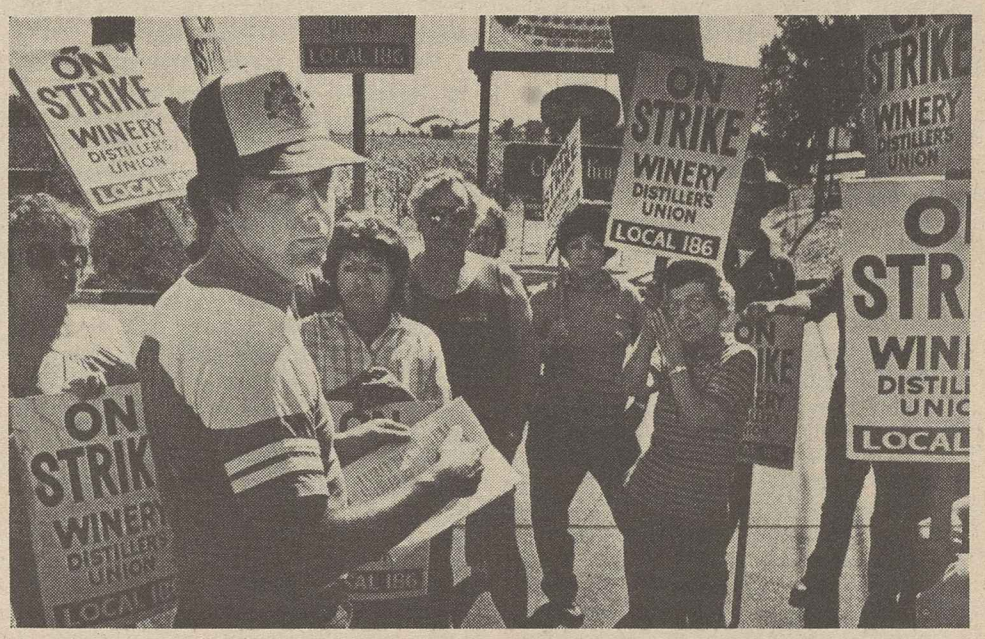
The job market remains bleak for black and Hispanic workers, whose unemployment rates shot up six-tenths of 1 percent and five-tenths of 1 percent, respectively, last month.

Unemployment among Puerto Ricans is higher than among other Hispanic groups, according to the National Committee for Full Employment. The Puerto Rican jobless rate was 13.4 percent during the second quarter of 1986, compared with 11 percent for Mexican-Americans and 6.2 percent for Cubans. The national jobless figure during the second quarter was 7.1 percent.

"The opportunity for Hispanics to break out of the cycle of poverty appears to be slim," NCFE said, pointing out that their "diminishing employment opportunities" will be exacerbated by the fact that Hispanics will become the largest single minority in the country by the end of the decade.

BLS reported that joblessness for adult men dropped three-tenths of 1 percent last month, while the rate for women showed

Continued on Page 2



Vintage picket line

A three-week-old strike of Distillery Workers Locals 45 and 186 spread to eight California wineries with the beginning of the wine-pressing season. A total of 900 DWU members are manning picket lines following the breakdown of negotiations with the Winery Employers Association over a new three-year agreement. The dispute centers on management demands for major givebacks, Local 186 President Robert Fogg said, adding that the union "has offered all the economic relief we can."

Fund launched to bolster locked-out Steelworkers

By Candice Johnson

With a $50,000 contribution, the AFL-CIO kicked off a fund-raising drive to aid Steelworkers locked out by USX Corp. and to bolster the USWA's fight for a fair settlement.

In a letter to AFL-CIO affiliates, Federation Vice President Murray Finley, chairman of the AFL-CIO Steelworkers Support Committee, called on all unions to contribute to the USWA defense fund.

Finley, who is president of the Clothing & Textile Workers, said funds are needed "to help get the message to the public" through "effective, frequent publicity about the flagrant company abuses of its workers and their union."

"This will be a lengthy struggle and we want to raise enough money to sustain the program over many months," he stressed. ACTWU has contributed $10,000 to the fund.

Finley called the USX lockout "one of the most outrageous examples of union-busting" since President Reagan's firing of 11,000 air traffic controllers five years ago.

While other "less profitable steel companies have been willing to cooperate with the USWA to reach a fair agreement" and have joined the union's campaign to save American jobs and industry, "USX, the industry giant, stonewalls the union and deals with foreign companies to destroy our nation's industrial base," Finley declared.

The committee, comprising representatives of more than 40 unions, is working with USWA coordinators and federation central bodies in the nine states in which USX operates.

Morale high

Committee members are staffing local food banks and are signing up for picket line duty, with morale among the locked-out workers high, the USWA said.

Since Labor Day, at least nine state federations and six affiliates scheduled to hold conventions have requested speakers to tell labor's part of the USX battle. Those arrangements are coordinated through the Dept. of Organization & Field Services.

The AFL-CIO's support groups also have the USX lockout at the top of their agendas. Frontlash, the federationi's youth organization, is concentrating efforts in three states—Pennsylvania, Indiana and Minnesota—where flyers and other infor-

Continued on Page 6

Building Trades score move to 'privatize' FHA programs

Reagan Administration efforts to slash Federal Housing Administration funding and turn its key programs over to private industry would deny home ownership to millions of American families, AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. President Robert A. Georgine warned.

Denouncing the White House for pursuing "a destructive course of action," Georgine called on Congress to "reject any proposal which would hamper the effectiveness of FHA and other governmental programs aimed at helping average Americans purchase and finance their homes."

The BCTD president cited a resolution adopted by the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust opposing the Administration scheme to "privatize" FHA programs, branding such a move "a serious threat to housing opportunities for all Americans."

HIT is a joint labor-management program sponsored by the federation which invests in construction and long-term loans and encourages the construction of union-built residential properties. It has channeled over $600 million into such projects on behalf of its union and pension fund investors.

Georgine, a member of HIT's board of trustees, expressed deep concern over the Administration's assault on FHA programs which have "through the years brought great benefits to Americans of average income."

Continued on Page 4

Jobless aid ruling

States can't favor nonunionists

St. Louis—A state can't discriminate against union members in paying unemployment insurance benefits to workers locked out in a labor dispute, the 8th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals ruled.

The 2-1 decision upheld a challenge by the Steelworkers and USWA Local 7044 to a ruling by the South Dakota Dept. of Labor that awarded unemployment benefits only to nonunion employees of the Homestake Mining Co.

It found that South Dakota's law "gives employers a powerful ally in the form of the state," and transgresses into an area preempted by federal labor law.

In the 1982 labor dispute, that was settled after a four-month shutdown, the Homestead management closed its Lead, S.D., plant after the union voted to strike, locking out both union and nonunion workers. South Dakota is a "right-to-work" state so some bargaining unit workers were not union members.

The state law allows unemployment benefits in a lockout only to workers not "financing or directly interested in the labor dispute which caused the stoppage of work."

Discriminatory treatment

Under the state agency's interpretation, unemployment compensation was provided only to persons who weren't union members.

A federal district judge enjoined the state from the discriminatory treatment of union workers and the appellate court agreed.

Its decision, by Judge James M. Rosenbaum, noted the intent of Congress to provide even-handed treatment of conflicting labor and management interests. South Dakota's action in favoring nonunion workers therefore conflicts with federal law.

Contracts negotiated by the union apply to members and nonmembers alike, the decision pointed out. But "while benefits are shared equally," the state's treatment of unemployment compensation favors workers who don't join the union that bargains for them.

If the state law were applied to favor nonmembers, the decision noted, an employer could "drive a pecuniary wedge into the collective bargaining process by unilaterally declaring a lockout and ceasing operations."

Such a wedge, the judge noted, "forces union and nonunion workers apart" and "divides union members from the union itself," thus giving employers "a powerful ally."

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9/13/86

Executive Council member

RWDSU President Al Heaps dies at 67

New York—AFL-CIO Vice President Alvin E. Heaps, president of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union since 1976, died Sept. 5 of a heart attack. He was 67.

In a letter to his daughter, Melody Heaps, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue praised Heaps as "a strong and decisive leader . . . thoughtful and compassionate toward others" who provided inspiration for "thousands of rank-and-file union volunteers who will cherish his memory . . . and follow his example of unselfish service to others."

Heaps began his lifetime of service to the labor movement in Chicago as an organizer in the retail trades. In 1941, a retail clerks union he had organized was chartered as RWDSU Local 15. Heaps rose through the union's ranks, holding local officer and staff representative posts until 1946 when he was elected president of the Chicago Joint Board.

Two years later, Heaps was elected international secretary-treasurer. In 1976, the RWDSU executive board installed him in the union's top office following the death of President Max Greenberg.

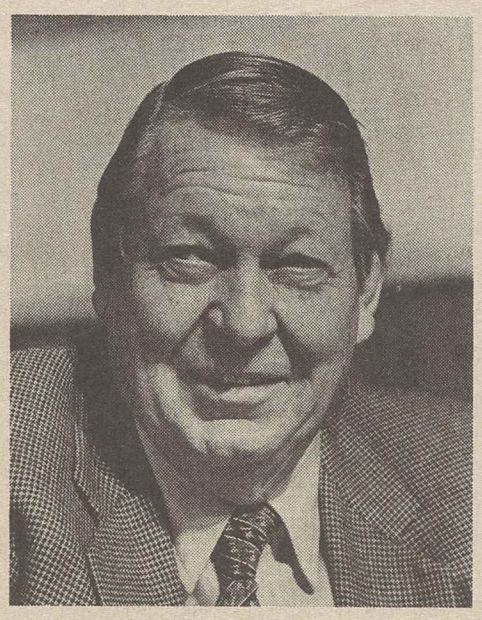
Heaps was elected to a full four-year term at the union's convention in 1978 and was re-elected by acclamation at the union's 1982 and 1986 conventions. In 1977, he was elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Heaps headed the federation's Community Services Committee and served on the Civil Rights and Economic Policy committees. He also served as vice president of two international labor secretariats—the International Union of Food & Allied Workers and the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical & Technical Workers.

He also was a member of the Advisory Council on Social Security and served on the boards of several civic and charitable organizations, including the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

Memorial services were held Sept. 10 at Riverside Chapel. Eulogies were delivered by Donahue, RWDSU Sec.-Treas. Lenore Miller, Bayard Rustin, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Melody Heaps. Burial was in Chicago.

Under the RWDSU constitution, Lenore Miller becomes president, serving until elections are held at the union's next convention in 1990. The constitution also requires the executive board to elect a new secretary-treasurer within 30 days. Miller, 54, has served as secretary-treasurer since 1979.



Alvin E. Heaps

Bieber hits tactics of union-busting by Honda, Nissan

Tokyo—Auto Workers President Owen Bieber accused Japan's Honda and Nissan motor companies of pursuing "union-busting strategies" in the United States.

Those efforts "ultimately will fail," Bieber declared, as he urged delegates to the 15th congress of the Confederation of Japanese Auto Workers to join the UAW in persuading the firms to develop a flexible and cooperative relationship with American unions.

Referring to union organizing difficulties at Honda's plant in Marysville, Ohio, and Nissan's Smyrna, Tenn., facility, he pointed out that the firms "would never dream" of trying to operate in Japan "without the union representing the workers."

Bieber said the UAW wants to establish "mutually beneficial ties" with all Japanese car manufacturers investing in the United States but insisted that such a relationship "acknowledge certain differences in management philosophy" between Japanese and American producers.

At the same time, the UAW president renewed his call for continuation of Japan's voluntary restraints on automobile exports to the United States beyond the scheduled Mar. 31, 1987, expiration date.

Automobiles and parts made up nearly half of last year's record-smashing U.S. trade deficit with Japan, Bieber said, and the situation could worsen unless the current 2.3-million ceiling is retained.

He also urged Japanese automakers to raise the level of U.S.-produced parts and components in vehicles which they assemble in America.

The present U.S. share of the value of parts in vehicles assembled in America by Japanese firms is less than 30 percent, Bieber said. Yet the sales of those cars replace ones which in the past had more than 90 percent U.S. content.

"When that 30 percent U.S. content of transplants is combined with cars imported from Japan," he told delegates, "the overall U.S. content of Japanese cars sold in the United States averages about 5 percent."

4 rail unions reach accords with carriers

Four unions representing more than 70,000 railroad workers reached tentative agreement on new national contracts, and Congress was poised to impose a legislated settlement on a recalcitrant Maine Central Railroad that has consistently refused to come to terms with the Maintenance of Way Employees.

The Machinists, Electrical Workers, Firemen & Oilers and the BMWE came to terms with the National Railway Labor Conference, bargaining arm for the major rail lines. The four-year contracts follow the terms recommended by a presidential emergency board in July and the pattern set by the Railway & Airline Clerks.

The settlements call for pay increases of 6.5 percent over the four years and reject the carriers' plan for two-tier wages.

Meanwhile, the Railway Carmen remained in negotiation with the carriers in an effort to resolve a dispute over the performance of air brake and mechanical testing work. The union charged that the railroads refused to abide by the panel's recommendation that all work performed by its members as of Oct. 31, 1985, remain in the Carmen's jurisdiction.

In the Maine Central case, a congressional advisory board named to resolve the long-simmering dispute recommended that both sides accept settlement terms suggested by a presidential emergency panel in June, adding that if they fail to agree by Sept. 13, Congress should impose those provisions legislatively.

Railroad balks

The BMWE immediately announced its willingness to abide by the recommendations, but Maine Central flatly rejected the proposal even though Maine's congressional delegation—Senators George J. Mitchell (D) and William S. Cohen (R) and Rep. Olympia Snowe (R)—called the proposal "reasonable" and prepared to introduce enabling legislation.

Negotiations between the BMWE and Maine Central's parent firm, Guilford Transportation, began back in April 1984 and climaxed in March of this year when 110 members struck the line. The walkout spread quickly to other Guilford operations and ended only when the government invoked emergency labor law provisions.

When the 60-day cooling-off period ended without agreement on July 21, the presidential panel recommended implementation of Maine Central's "final offer"—pay raises following the pattern established in national negotiations and separation allowances of $26,000 for workers cut from the payroll.

Maine Central reneged on that "final offer," however, and unilaterally imposed 20-percent pay cuts, 50-percent cuts in health insurance and the virtual abandonment of previously negotiated work rules.

If Congress is forced to devise a legislative solution to the dispute, its fact-finding panel said, it should follow the settlement recommended by the presidential board.

Big primary day sets stage for Senate control showdown

Labor-backed candidates scored well as voters in nine states turned out for the biggest round of primary elections this year.

The primaries set the stage for a number of contests that could ultimately determine which party controls the Senate when the 100th Congress convenes next January.

Maryland Democrats picked Rep. Barbara Mikulski to run for the seat being vacated by Sen. Charles Mc. Mathias (R). She will square off against former White House aide Linda Chavez, a recent convert to the Republican party.

It marks only the second time in history that two women will vie for a Senate seat and assures that there will be at least two women in the upper chamber next January, since Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R) is not up for re-election this year.

Women's groups called it the best day yet for female candidates. Six women have been nominated for the Senate, five for governor and 53 for House seats this year. A dozen others are seeking various statewide offices.

Pivotal races

Here's how the biggest primary day turned out across the country:

- In Arizona, former State Sen. Richard Kimball had COPE backing in winning the Democratic nomination in a bid to replace veteran Sen. Barry Goldwater (R), who is ending his 37-year political career. Kimball will face Rep. John McCain who was unopposed for the GOP nomination.
- Wisconsin Democrats chose COPE-endorsed Ed Garvey, former executive director of the National Football League Players Association, to run against incumbent Sen. Bob Kasten. And in Vermont, COPE-supported Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D) will be challenged for re-election by former GOP Gov. Richard Snelling.
- Consumer advocate Mark Green scored a stunning upset over millionaire John S. Dyson in the New York Democratic primary for the right to face Sen. Alphonse M. D'Amato (R). But Dyson will be running on the Liberal party line in November, casting a cloud over the challenge to the conservative incumbent.
- New Hampshire Democrats picked former Massachusetts Gov. Endicott Peabody to run against incumbent GOP Sen. Warren B. Rudman in November.

Winners in Democratic gubernatorial primary races included Carolyn Warner, Arizona's superintendent of public instruction, Vermont's incumbent Gov. Madeleine Kunin and Gov. Rudy Perpich of Minnesota. All had COPE support. Other incumbent Democratic governors who ran unopposed included New York's Mario Cuomo and Wisconsin's Anthony Earl.

Political newcomer Bruce Sundlun was the Democrats' choice to face Rhode Island Gov. Edward D. Diprete (R), while Baltimore Mayor William Donald Schaefer won a three-way contest for the Democratic gubernatorial nod to fill the office left vacant when Gov. Harry R. Hughes (D) decided to challenge Mikulski for his party's senatorial nomination.

In House races of particular interest, Arizona's Morris Udall (D) easily overcame a challenge to win renomination, while in New York, former Rep. Bella S. Abzug (D), who previously represented Manhattan in the House, was nominated to run for Congress from suburban Westchester County.

A new Kennedy face was added to the political scene when Maryland Democrats chose Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, daughter of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, to challenge first-term incumbent Rep. Helen Delich Bentley (R).

And there was a very old face, too. Perennial GOP presidential hopeful Harold Stassen, the 79-year-old former governor of Minnesota, won his party's nomination for Congress from his home district in St. Paul. Stassen has been trying for a political comeback for 40 years.

Sluggish economy dims job picture

Continued from Page 1

no change and teen unemployment rose two-tenths of 1 percent.

"What little improvement took place between July and August," Oswald said, "was concentrated primarily among white male workers in white-collar jobs."

The number of people unemployed in August declined by 163,000—the result of continued expansion in the service producing sector at a time when manufacturing unemployment, which had been on the downtrend for the previous six months, remained virtually unchanged.

Manufacturing employment last month was 121,000 below the August 1985 level and more than 1 million less than the average annual manufacturing employment for all of 1981, the first year of the Reagan Recession.

The government said service employment rose by 65,000 during the month, most of it in the health care area, while the number of jobs in finance, insurance and real estate increased by 40,000.

In the oil and gas industry—hard hit by the drop in world oil prices following the collapse of the Oil Exporting & Producing Countries' cartel—another 10,000 jobs disappeared last month, continuing an employment decline that stretches back to mid-1984.

BLS reported that average weekly hours in manufacturing rose two-tenths of 1 percent in August while overtime hours remained unchanged. Average hourly earnings rose five-tenths of 1 percent and weekly earnings were up eight-tenths of 1 percent.

Fourth quarter outlook

Continued softness in employment can be expected in the final three months of this year, the Bureau of National Affairs predicted, as it released a survey showing few employers plan any major hiring activities that would improve the job picture between now and year's end.

Only 16 percent of employers expect to hire additional technical and professional employees, 15 percent plan to expand their production and service workforce, and 10 percent anticipate hiring more office and clerical employees.

The BNA report also showed that:

- Although the number of firms laying off workers in the July-August period declined 1 percent from the previous quarter, the figure was still 1 percent above the same period in 1985.
- A substantial 10-percent decline in production layoffs among southern firms was more than offset by a 14-percent increase among western companies.
- Cutbacks in production and service workforces during the fourth quarter are planned by 15 percent of the firms responding to the survey—a 2-percent increase over the previous three-month period.

The employment outlook for the months ahead was further clouded by Eastern Airlines' announcement that it will lay off 1,500 employees later this month as part of a new cost-cutting effort.

The cuts will fall heavily on Air Line Pilots, Machinists and flight attendants represented by the Transport Workers, who earlier this year agreed to contracts slashing wages 20 percent to keep the financially plagued carrier flying.

Appeals court blasts Dotson NLRB panel on anti-union decision

San Francisco—A federal court sharply criticized the National Labor Relations Board for misreading the facts and invoking a technicality about the delivery of a mailed notice as an excuse for dismissing unfair labor practice charges against an employer.

The 9th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals tartly told the NLRB it would not "rubber stamp" decisions that are "inconsistent" with or that "frustrate the policies" spelled out in federal labor law. It ordered the board to complete its hearings on charges filed by Local 399 of the Service Employees five years ago.

The court said there was no "substantial evidence" to support the finding by Chairman Donald L. Dotson and Member Robert P. Hunter that the employer didn't have notice of the charges. In sharp contrast, the ruling praised the dissent by Member Patricia Diaz Dennis, who warned her colleagues that it was a miscarriage of justice to dismiss the complaint.

The court overturned the NLRB's dismissal of the case and sent it back to the labor board to judge the complaint on its merits.

Delaying tactics

"The record strongly suggests that the employer was well aware of the charges against it from the beginning," the court asserted, and only raised the issue about adequate notice later "in an effort to delay the proceedings."

The case involves charges filed by the SEIU on Sept. 10, 1981, after the owners of a chain of bowling alleys in the Los Angeles area refused to renegotiate the collective bargaining agreement.

The NLRB regional office mailed a copy of the charges to an address the employer's attorney had provided a few days before the SEIU filed its complaint. The employer had relocated to another suite in the same building more than a year earlier, but the court said mail was "routinely forwarded" to that new location.

The employer later denied receiving notification and the regional office was unable to produce a return receipt from the Postal Service indicating delivery. However, the court pointed out, the employer's attorney contacted an NLRB attorney inquiring about the case and requesting a copy of the charges. Although the regional office complied, the lawyer contended he never received the information.

Attorney's role

When the NLRB issued its formal complaint two months later, it was sent via certified mail to the original address, and the lawyer subsequently filed an answer on the employer's behalf "denying each and every allegation," the court pointed out.

"The undisputed evidence shows that the employer participated in the investigation before the complaint was filed," the court said, and therefore Dotson and Hunter erred in concluding that the employer had inadequate notice before the expiration of the six-month statute of limitations provided by the National Labor Relations Act.

In any event, the court held, "the charges themselves are meant only to set in motion the machinery of an inquiry, while the complaint is particularly designed to give notice of the substance of the charges," It added that there was ample evidence that the employer did, in fact, receive such notification.

To allow the NLRB to throw the case out on a technicality, the opinion asserted, would be to "elevate form over substance" and deny the SEIU an opportunity to have its complaint heard on its merits.

Them that have . . .

Pity the poor "super rich"—they're not quite as wealthy as a congressional Joint Economic Committee staff report said they were.

Because of a major flaw in Federal Reserve Board data, the study showed that the top one-half of 1 percent of American households increased their share of U.S. wealth from 25 percent to 35 percent in the period between 1963 and 1983.

It turns out that the 420,000 families in the "super rich" category —all multi-millionaires—increased their share only to 26.9 percent over the 20-year period, which is still a hefty concentration of wealth in the hands of a relatively few families.

Meanwhile, the Census Bureau reported that 33 million Americans —14 percent of the population—were stranded in poverty in 1985.

Product liability bill opposed as weighted against workers

The AFL-CIO branded the Senate's product liability legislation a "one-sided approach" that imposes only "weak sanctions" on management while coercing workers to accept inadequate settlements for on-the-job injuries.

Calling on the Senate Judiciary Committee to reject the measure, Federation Legislative Rep. Ernest Dubester said it would provide an "imbalanced settlement system" that would reward management foot-dragging on claims and do nothing to monitor abuses by the insurance industry that victimize workers and consumers.

Dubester noted that workers often look to product liability suits when they're injured in the workplace because other laws fail to provide adequate compensation.

"Every day, thousands of workers are injured and killed in the workplace as a result of defects in the products—principally the machinery and equipment—with which they work," he told the committee. "And every day thousands of workers inhale, ingest or absorb toxic chemicals . . . resulting in occupationsl diseases."

In theory, Dubester continued, the workers' compensation system exists to provide "fair recompense to such workers and their families," and the Occupational Safety & Health Act is supposed to assure safe and healthful working conditions.

But in practice, he said, state workers' compensation laws "provide inadequate relief to those suffering traumatic injuries and little or no relief to those suffering illnesses associated with exposure to toxic substances," and OSHA has "defaulted on its duty" during the past six years.

Studies show that up to half of the money paid for product liability claims goes to workers injured on the job, he pointed out, and thus "any change in product liability law that would impair the ability of injured persons to be made whole for the losses they suffer would strike a severe blow at the American worker."

'Prohibitive' premiums

Noting that costly court settlements in recent years have led the insurance industry to either drop product liability insurance altogether or to set premiums at "prohibitively high" levels, Dubester charged that the American worker and consumer "have been the ultimate victims."

He quoted a statement adopted at the May meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council urging "comprehensive and balanced reforms" to end the liability insurance crisis in a way that would accommodate the conflicting interests of both insurance providers and injured persons.

But, Dubester continued, the bill reported by the Senate Commerce Committee "will only exacerbate, rather than alleviate, the present problem," primarily because of its provisions designed to expedite settlements.

Although the bill claims to offer "incentives" for out-of-court settlements, it actually puts a stringent ceiling on payments to workers who choose to press their cases in court, the federation spokesman said. These penalties "are severe in the extreme," Dubester said, while a manufacturer who turns down a settlement proposed by the plaintiff would face only "modest" sanctions.

Jobless aid service

Senate restores 20% of fund cut

The Senate restored part of a proposed $145-million cut in funding for state employment offices, but the possibility remained that these services could be curtailed, and thousands of government workers left jobless, in a period when unemployment remains at recession levels.

As Congress returned from its summer recess to tackle a mountain of unfinished business, the Senate approved a $32-million transfer of Labor Dept. funds to the overworked employment offices—about 20 percent of the total slashed from the budget under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings belt-tightening procedures.

Thus, the problem of providing enough funds to keep the offices running and avoid cutting 5,700 jobs will be thrown to House-Senate conferees who must iron out differences between their respective Labor-Health & Human Services appropriation bills.

Meanwhile, the House Public Works & Transportation committee put its stamp of approval on legislation requiring labor protection provisions as a condition for all airline mergers, after beating back efforts to gut the bill.

The labor-backed bill, sponsored by Rep. Norman Mineta (D-Calif.) would mandate safeguards for employee wages, seniority and working conditions in any future mergers and takeovers, including those now pending.

Safeguards blocked

The 1978 Airline Deregulation Act spelled out the government's responsibility to require that carriers compensate employees harmed by mergers, but airline unions have been frustrated by Administration insistence that the imposition of these provisions is not required.

On the House floor, action centered on an omnibus $1.5-billion measure to crack down on the nation's mounting drug problem through actions ranging from tougher enforcement to expanded drug education and treatment programs. The bill contains no provisions on employee testing.

With only a few weeks remaining before the 99th Congress adjourns so that members can campaign for re-election, action still pends on a wide range of bills of interest to the labor movement and its members. Among them are:

- The omnibus trade bill, passed by the House in May and still awaiting a vote in the Republican-controlled Senate. It would arm the Executive Branch with authority to curb imports from countries that use subsidies to dominate the American market, exploit their labor force or put obstacles in the way of U.S.-made goods reaching their domestic markets.
- Final action on the House-Senate conferees' version of tax overhaul legislation that cuts the number of tax brackets and removes some of the present deductions while putting the wealthy and giant corporations back on the tax rolls.
- The AFL-CIO-opposed nomination of Justice William Rehnquist as chief justice, and the nomination of Judge Antonin Scalia as Rehnquist's replacement on the bench.

In letters to members of the Senate, Federation Legislative Director Robert McGlotten charged that Rehnquist would use the office "to further a political and social agenda whose major premise is an undeviating hostility to the individual rights and liberties stated in the Constitution."

- A bill scheduled for early House consideration requiring employers to provide adequate notification and medical monitoring to workers exposed to toxic substances on the job and another measure to protect farm workers against hazardous pesticides.
- Senate action on a House-passed measure to curb use of so-called lie-detectors by employers.
- A bill to prevent contractors from dodging their responsibilities under union-negotiated contracts by setting up non-union subsidiaries.
- A measure reducing the danger from asbestos in schools and other public buildings and setting standards on the removal of this toxic substance.

Strike activity light as schools open

The 1986-87 school year opened with the fewest number of strikes in recent years, the Teachers reported.

AFT members have set up picket lines in two school districts in Pennsylvania and Illinois over education quality concerns and school administration attempts to reduce teacher authority.

In Bethel Park, Pa., 320 members of AFT Local 1607 walked off the job Aug. 28. Teachers are protesting a school board proposal that would give principals and school administrators final decision-making control over a student's grades, revoking teachers' authority. The Bethel Park board also is demanding an extended workday without additional pay.

A walkout in Champaign, Ill., by 570 members of AFT Local 1925 centers on academic concerns, including teaching load, involuntary transfers and the method used to fill vacancies, as well as wage issues.

Instructors at Thorton Community College in Illinois walked off the job Sept. 5. The 130 full-time and 140 part-time educators—members of AFT Local 1600—cited "economic and academic freedom issues" as key concerns, the union noted.

AFT Local 3936 in Lewiston, Ill., has a new agreement after a two-day walkout, winning an increase in the base starting salary and an 8 percent raise in the pay scale. The local represents 33 teachers in a 600-student school district.

Teachers represented by the National Education Association and affiliated organizations have struck 27 school districts in seven states—Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Washington state. Three of those disputes have been settled.

Actors win pay gains for Broadway shows

New York—Pay increases totaling 10.5 percent, coupled with a nearly 60-percent boost in employer health insurance contributions, highlighted a new three-year Actors' Equity contract for performers in Broadway and national touring productions.

The pact with the League of American Theatres & Producers replaces a contract that expired June 30.

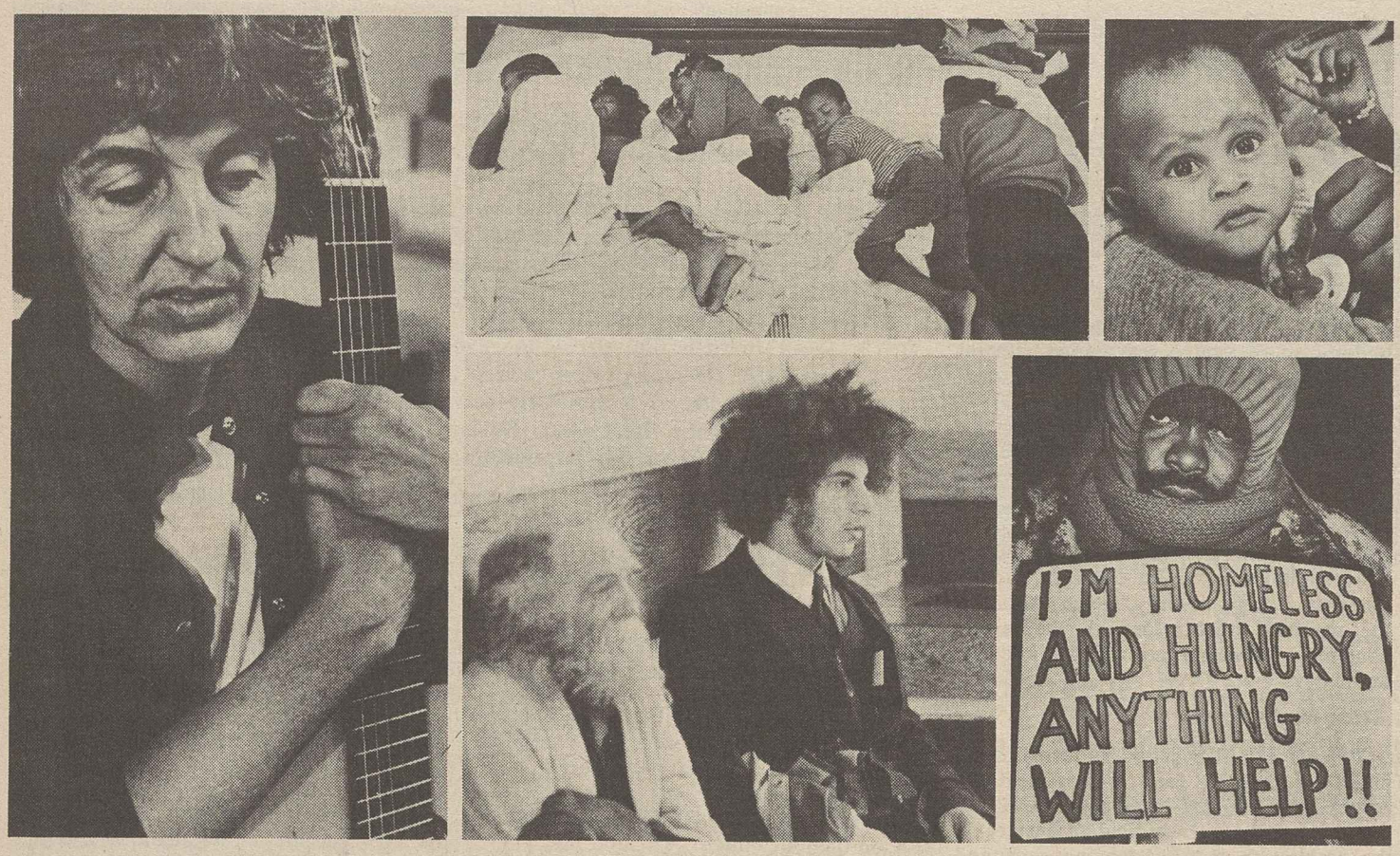
In the first year of the contract, producers' contributions to the Equity-League health insurance plan will increase from $31 to $49.05 per actor per week. Salaries will rise 5.5 percent in the second year and 5 percent in the third.

After Equity's governing council has reviewed the agreement it will determine the method for membership ratification.

In Chicago, meanwhile, Equity signed a new three-year agreement covering performers and stage managers at area theaters.

The new agreement provides salary increases of 10 percent over the term and provides for expanded opportunities in the development of new works under innovative rules covering "developmental rehearsals" and staged readings.

The contract also commits the theaters to eliminating discrimination in employment. Equity will assure theaters access to its ethnic minority talent pool and information on its membership composition.



A dramatic picture story capturing the "Faces of the Homeless" won AFSCME Council 37 photographer George Cohen the coveted Max Steinbock award of the International Labor Communications Association.

ILCA awards

Union publications honored

Judges in the 1986 journalism contest sponsored by the International Labor Communications Association presented 125 awards to union publications for outstanding achievement last year.

Three separate panels examined a total of 1,096 entries submitted by 160 labor publications in making awards for general excellence, labor history journalism and eight special performance categories.

George Cohen, photographer for the Public Employee, New York District Council 37 of the State, County & Municipal Employees, was chosen from among 31 nominees for the prestigious Max Steinbock Award. The prize is named in honor of the late president of the association.

The prize, which recognizes "the best journalistic effort which exemplifies a humanistic spirit," was presented to Cohen for a photographic feature, "Faces of the Homeless." In making the award, the judges commended the photographer for his "eye, skill and sensitivity," and for portraying "his subjects' dignity and their bond with mankind."

Top winners in the overall general excellence category were:

International and national union publications—newspapers of 100,000 or more circulation, Labor Unity, Clothing & Textile Workers; magazines of 100,000 or more circulation, American Educator, Teachers; newspapers of less than 100,000 circulation, Allied Industrial Worker; magazines of less than 100,000 circulation, 1199 News, Hospital & Health Care Employees; newsletters, Steelworkers Oldtimer.

State and local central body publications—publishing 12 issues a year, Michigan AFL-CIO News; publishing more than 12 issues a year, Colorado Labor Advocate.

Local union publications—15,000 or more circulation, 660 Voice, Service Employees, Los Angeles; 7,500 to 15,000 circulation, United Worker, SEIU Local 790, San Francisco; 2,500 to 7,500 circulation, Los Angeles Firefighter, IAFF Local 112; less than 2,500 circulation, Monitor, Machinists Local 1111, Hawthorne, Calif.; machine-duplicated publications, Faculty Focus, Smithtown Teachers Association, Neconset, N.Y.

Regional publications—more than 20,000 circulation, Bay State Employee, AFSCME Council 93, Boston; less than 20,000 circulation, On the Level, British Columbia Council of Carpenters, Vancouver, Canada.

Winners in the labor history journalism contest were:

Best story using history to explain current events—international and national union publications, Air Line Pilot; state and local central body publications, Colorado Labor Advocate; local union publications, Number 6 Bulletin, Typographical Local 6, New York.

Best institutional profile—international and national union publications, Allied Industrial Worker; state and local central body publications, Milwaukee Labor Press; regional publications, Public Employee Press.

Best human interest profile—international and national union publications, Justice, Ladies' Garment Workers; state and local central body publications, Colorado Labor Advocate.

Best use of art—international and national union publications, OCAW Reporter, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers; state and local central body publications, Livingston & McLean Counties Union News, Bloomington, Ill.; regional publications, Public Employee Press.

Best series—international and national union publications, Postal Record, Letter Carriers; state and local central body publications, Livingston & McLean Counties Union News; regional publications, Distributive Worker, UAW Local 65, New York.

Top winners in the special performance categories were:

Best original cartoon—local union publications, Public Sector, Civil Service Employees Association, Albany, N.Y.; all other publications, IUE News, Electronic Workers.

Best original photograph—local union publications, Chicago Union Teacher; all other publications, Service Employee.

Best editorial or column—local union publications, Voice of Local 880, Food & Commercial Workers, Cleveland; all other publications, Public Employee Press.

Best feature story—local union publications, Los Angeles Fire Fighter; all other publications, UFCW Action.

Best series—local union publications, the Carrier, Local 576, Letter Carriers, Phoenix, Ariz.; all other publications, Public Employee, AFSCME.

Unique performance—local union publications, Front Page, Local 3, Newspaper Guild, New York; all other publications, Public Employee.

Best use of graphics—newspapers, American Teacher; magazines, Solidarity, Auto Workers; typeset newsletters, Public Service Reporter, AFT; typewritten newsletters, SCTA Speak Out, Sachem Central Teachers Association, Lake Ronkonkoma, N.Y.

Best front page—newspaper format, Bay State Employee; magazine format, Steelabor.

Judges in the general excellence category were Carey English of U.S. News & World Report, Peggy Simpson of Hearst Newspapers and Ken Noble of the New York Times.

Entries in the special performance categories were judged by Harry Conn, former editor of Press Associates Inc.; Ray Denison, retired director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Legislation, and Sam Marshall, editor and consultant.

Labor history prizes were awarded by a panel that included Prof. Stuart Kaufman of the University of Maryland; Saul Miller, retired director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Information; and Lee White, retired public affairs director of the Communications Workers.

IBEW wins New England telephone gains

Boston—The Electrical Workers won substantial management concessions in negotiations with New England Telephone Co. after members voted down an earlier tentative settlement by a 6-1 margin.

The new agreement, subject to ratification by Oct. 4, averted a walkout by 17,000 IBEW members. It supplements an economic package the union negotiated earlier with the parent company, NYNEX, last month.

Richard Howell, business manager for IBEW Local 2324 and chairman of the bargaining committee, said the overwhelming rejection of the initial pact covering local issues paved the way for the improvements hammered out in subsequent negotiations.

Key changes include a new double-time rate for overtime in excess of 12 hours a week, an increase from six to seven hours' guaranteed pay when employees are called to work, two hours' pay for cancelled overtime, triple-time for operators who work more than four holidays, improved job-bidding opportunities, increased mileage allowances, and an increase in per diem pay from $31 to $38.

ILA, shippers reach accord in 2 key ports

The Longshoremen reached an agreement on a new master contract with shipping associations in New York and Boston. But negotiations have broken off with employers for the ports in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Hampton Roads, Va., and Providence, R.I.

This is the first year the ILA has negotiated separate agreements with the nation's major shipping associations. Earlier, the union's South Atlantic & Gulf Coast District reached a separate settlement with some Atlantic and Gulf Coast employers.

The three-year accord for New York and Boston provides for a second shift of ILA members to load and unload the containers, with those workers to be paid at overtime rates. The settlement retains the current size of the container gangs at 18 workers, but provides flexibility for the reassignment of some workers as drivers in the second and third year of the pact. Management had sought to reduce the size of gangs to 12 persons.

ILA members will receive a $1 hourly increase in the third-year of the pact, raising wages to $18. The agreement also provides for increased management contributions to the pension and health and welfare funds in 1988.

The contract calls for the elimination of the job security plan—the JSP Agency—funded by employer assessment at each of the 36 ports where ILA members work. The fund was established to insure ILA welfare and benefit funds.

Local issues and working conditions in New York and Boston remain on the bargaining table, with the master agreement set to expire Sept. 30. The settlement must be ratified by ILA members and, if approved, will go into effect Oct. 1.

The settlement covers 10,000 longshoremen in New York and 1,000 in Boston.

Reagan scored on bid to 'privatize' FHA

Continued from Page 1

Among other things, the Administration's proposals would put what HIT called "arbitrary" ceilings on the income of those benefitting from FHA mortgage programs, sell agency assets and transfer its insurance programs to private concerns, disallow closing costs as part of a mortgage, saddle housing programs with deep budget and program cuts, and limit funding authorization for Government National Mortgage Association loan guarantees.

Any attempt to dismantle federal housing programs "will cause immeasurable harm to the process and will have an adverse effect on the private enterprise system in the housing sector," Georgine charged.

He said the BCTD and its constituent unions support the Housing Investment Trust's efforts to "rally public support for the preservation and strengthening of FHA and against its destruction at the hands of short-sighted and unrealistic idealogues."

Garcia ruling yields raises for underpaid public workers

While public employees covered by collective bargaining agreements generally won fair wage gains in 1986, some state and local government workers, primarily in jurisdictions that deny them collective bargaining rights, are just now reaching minimum wage levels, said Al Bilik, executive director of the state/local division of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept.

Bilik pointed out that until February 1985, when the Supreme Court extended the protections of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the wages of many public workers did not measure up to the federal minimum or overtime pay rates, and many were given time off in lieu of overtime pay. While the initial concern of communities was the potential cost of the overtime provisions—the basis of the Supreme Court "Garcia" case—a report by the Labor Dept. now indicates that bringing workers up to the minimum wage will be more costly.

The report found that 260,000 workers were earning less than the minimum wage when FLSA coverage was extended, giving states and municipalities a bill for $396 million. In contrast, compliance with the overtime requirements will cost about $216 million, the Labor Dept. survey found.

The report indicated that 3.4 percent of state workers and 2.9 percent of government workers were earning wages below the $3.35 hourly minimum wage. The average hourly wage for employees paid below the minimum was $2.63. Those workers will receive hourly wage increases averaging 72 cents, the Labor Dept. said.

Of those workers receiving less than the minimum wage, 3.1 percent worked in education; 9.8 percent in governmental welfare agencies, and 10.5 percent in parks and recreation.

Bilik pointed out that collective bargaining for public workers is outlawed in 23 states, where 5 million workers, or 38.2 percent of the total state and local government workforce, are employed. About 8 million workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements.

Political role stressed

Laborers expanding services to members

Miami Beach—Delegates to the 19th convention of the Laborers' International Union approved a series of five landmark programs to expand the union's services and open up new opportunities for its members.

LIUNA President Angelo Fosco said the agenda is designed to place the union "on the cutting edge of change and progress within the labor movement." It includes:

- Participation in the AFL-CIO's Union Privilege Benefit Programs, including the low-cost credit card for qualified union members.
- Establishment of drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs through collective bargaining to meet the urgent public need for action on this issue.
- Development of English language literacy programs to combat both real and functional illiteracy and to meet the needs of foreign-speaking members for greater fluency in English.
- Certification of workers dealing with the removal of hazardous substances that pose serious public health dangers. Under this program, workers and contractors would become qualified to protect both themselves and the public from the hazards posed by exposure to toxic substances.
- Education programs to train staff of the international union, district councils and local unions to carry out their wide-ranging responsibilities.
- In his keynote address to the 2,000 delegates, Fosco stressed the need for increased membership contributions to the Laborers' Political Action League "if we are going to get things done in the political world." He called for negotiation of voluntary checkoff of contributions to the LPL equal to one cent per hour of work.

Fosco, Coia re-elected

Fosco, who with Sec.-Treas. Arthur E. Coia was unanimously re-elected for another five-year term starting next Jan. 1, reviewed the legislative challenges that had confronted the union since the previous convention. He cited such victories as the House action to bar "double-breasted" contracting by employers and defeat of the Reagan Administration's attempt to tax workers' benefits.

The same kind of unity that produced such victories, Fosco said, can produce further gains in doing the "big job" that faces the union in the coming years.

Rep. William L. Clay (D-Mo.) underscored many of Fosco's points, calling on the delegates to determine "who your enemies are" in Congress and to reject them at election time. Clay particularly attacked those ultra-conservative elements that have "slowly and deliberately created the anti-union climate that pervades the nation today."

Changing workplace

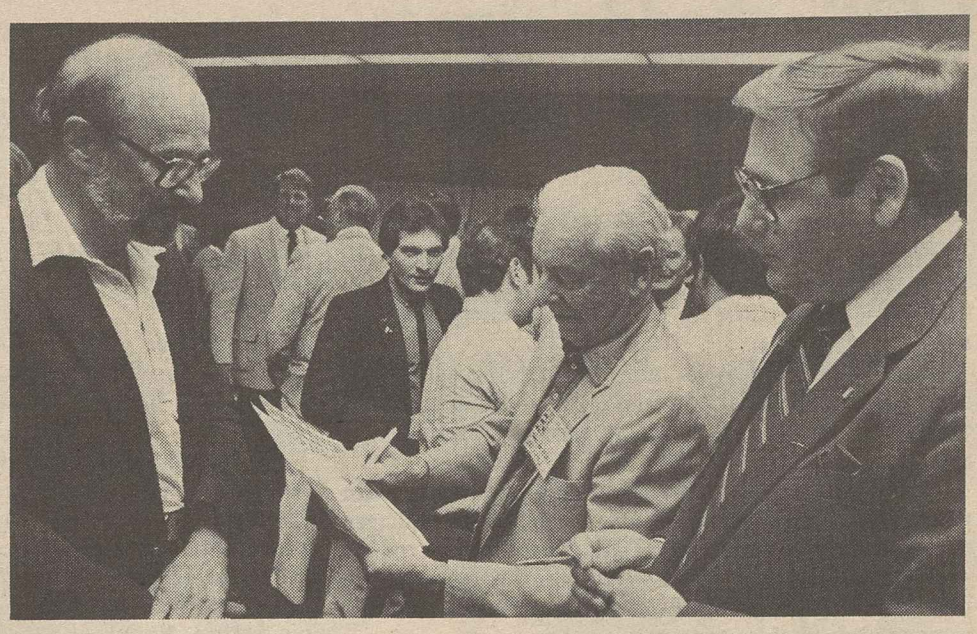
In another major address to the convention, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue pointed out that "the forces buffeting the labor movement today" are being felt throughout the economy.

"New materials and processes, new technologies and new competitors—many of them from overseas—are rapidly changing both the quality and the number of jobs in America," Donahue stressed. "Unions and their members feel these changes perhaps more acutely than anyone. That's because large numbers of working people—union members and nonmembers alike—have been losing their jobs. And it's because work has been running away or going double-breasted or adopting tougher anti-union postures and because the NLRB is helping them instead of helping workers."

President Robert A. Georgine of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. focused on a specific example of the new anti-unionism—the effort of the Ohbayashi Construction Co. to shut out union building crafts from jobs on the $800 million assembly plant it is building for the Toyota Motor Co. in Georgetown, Ky. Georgine sharply denounced the tactics of the Japanese firm.

"They seek to impose upon the American construction workers their work culture," he said. "Forget about traditional work standards, forget about collective bargaining, forget about organized labor—they have come to exploit, to plunder at the expense of the American taxpayer.

"We must show these opportunists that if you want our skills, you must take them on fair terms or you don't get them."



President Thomas Van Arsdale of the New York City AFL-CIO signs appeal seeking freedom for imprisoned black South African trade unionists. With him at the state federation convention are Stephen Abrams, left, treasurer of Amnesty International, and State AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Paul Cole.

Compensation reforms top New York State Fed agenda

Kiamesha Lake, N.Y.—The New York State AFL-CIO called for major reforms in the unemployment insurance and workers' compensation programs as convention delegates shaped progressive legislative and political action agendas.

The 1,500 delegates also voted to raise the per capita payment and endorsed candidates for state and national offices during the state federation's 24th biennial convention.

The monthly per capita rate will increase from 15 cents to 18 cents effective next January, and to 20 cents a year later.

In his report to the convention, President Edward J. Cleary outlined the initiatives undertaken by the federation since its 1984 convention, including new committees on occupational health and safety, health care and education, and the creation of a community services department.

Cleary assailed "an uncaring" Reagan Administration and its trade policies for "the broken dreams and empty faces that fill the miles from Lackawanna to Yonkers," and pledged that the State AFL-CIO will remain on "the front line of the battle for human dignity and freedom."

Delegates elected Cleary and Sec.-Treas. Paul Cole to new two-year terms and 37 vice presidents to the federation's executive council.

The convention called for an increase in workers' compensation benefits, tying the benefit level to the state's average weekly wage. Focusing on runaway profits and administrative costs, a key convention resolution underscored the need for a legislative review to determine whether a state fund or a competitve rating system for insurers would better serve injured workers.

Vital concerns

In workshop sessions, delegates reviewed proposed changes in the workers' compensation program, discussed health care cost containment measures and explored investment opportunities for union pension funds. Other workshops covered labor law, community services, labor and the schools, job training, aid for unemployed workers and other topics.

In a series of resolutions, delegates sought an increase in unemployment benefits, urged expansion of the trade adjustment assistance program and stressed the need for more occupational health clinics and services.

In other action, the president's annual salary was increased to $80,000 from $70,000 and the secretary-treasurer's to $65,000 from $55,000.

The delegates heard from Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo and Atty. Gen. Robert Abrams, who were endorsed in their bids for re-election. Other endorsements include Lt. Gov. Stanley N. Lundine, 26 candidates for Congress, 55 for the state senate and 130 candidates for the state assembly.

In his convention address, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue scored Administration policies that act to "reduce American workers to the standards of the Third World, all in the name of 'competitiveness.'"

Shortsighted approach

The Administration's "notion of prudent management is to cut back on education, job training and everything that makes people more valuable as workers, and to reduce wages, and cut back on health, safety and labor standards," he observed.

"We want to do business with other countries," Donahue stated, "but we want to do it by exchanging our products for theirs, not by exchanging our living standards for theirs."

The true test "of every politician who asks for our votes should be the program he or she offers to halt that slide toward third-world status," he declared.

Court upholds AFGE on union reps

A federal court has told the government it cannot avoid its responsibility to negotiate over a bargaining proposal allowing government employees to work full-time as paid union representatives.

The Federal Labor Relations Authority claimed that an agency had the option not to negotiate if it felt that authorizing official time for representational activities would adversely affect its staffing patterns. But the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled that such a decision, if allowed to stand, would render the provisions of federal labor law meaningless.

The 1978 Civil Service Reform Act encourages granting employees official time to represent their members. The number of employees and the amount of time they are given for representation are subject to agreement by both parties as to what is "reasonable, necessary and in the public interest," the court pointed out.

Law upheld

President Kenneth T. Blaylock of the Government Employees hailed the decision, declaring that "it upholds federal law stating that it is in the public's interest to have effective union representation" of government workers.

The AFGE brought the suit after the Air Force Logistics Command refused to negotiate over the union's proposal to allow 12 representatives to be on 100 percent official time to serve the interests of more than 72,000 employees—one full-time representative for each 6,000 workers.

Although the court conceded that agencies have a responsibility to make sure their assigned missions are carried out, it ruled that FLRA cannot invoke that requirement to "displace a specific congressional provision providing for the negotiability of official time proposals."

The law directs that such a proposal "is a proper subject of bargaining," the court held, and contains adequate safeguards against the misuse of the official time privilege. It ordered the FLRA to reconsider the proposal, applying the test envisioned by Congress when it put the Civil Service Reform Act on the statute books eight years ago.

Rehiring fired controllers vital for air safety

Rehiring of air traffic controllers fired by President Reagan for going on strike in August 1981 would mean a giant step toward improving the safety of air travel, the National Consumers League declared.

"The safety of the system has been steadily eroding" since the Administration discharged 11,000 striking controllers and barred their re-employment by the Federal Aviation Administration, according to NCL President Jack Blum.

"The situation is running out of control," Blum declared. "Consumers don't want to find out that last weekend's crash in California was avoidable," he continued, referring to the collision between an Aeromexico DC9 and a small private plane outside Los Angeles Aug. 31 that killed all aboard plus nearly a score of people on the ground.

In 1981, Blum pointed out, there were 395 reported near midair collisions. The number of incidents shot up to 589 in 1984, 777 in 1985 and more than 400 during the first half of 1986. Since 1981, 232 airline passengers and crew have died in accidents attributed to controller mistakes or inexperience.

Hiring ban lifted

Last month, House and Senate conferees approved language in the 1987 Transportation Appropriations bill lifting the ban on FAA rehiring of the controllers—although the House earlier rejected an amendment that would have mandated taking back at least 500 fired controllers each year for the next two fiscal years.

In addition to lifting the rehiring ban, Blum said, Congress should approve a proposal by Sen. Mark Andrews (R-N.D.), requiring the FAA to reach its pre-strike staffing level of 16,000 controllers by the end of fiscal 1987.

Such a move would necessitate putting some of the fired controllers back on the payroll, the Consumers League official explained, since the FAA currently has only 14,000 controllers and it takes between two and four years to train new applicants.

Unless more controllers are hired soon, Blum said, "there will be further tragedy, further catastrophe, and those in government who say we can get by all right will be the ones responsible."

He sharply criticized the Administration's "union-busting" philosophy, charging that the White House believes firing the controllers was a way to "keep unions in their place." Meanwhile, Blum declared, "safety has been punished severely and the consumer suffers."

Service Employees win hotel pact in New Orleans

New Orleans—The Service Employees negotiated a first contract with the Hyatt Regency hotel here, five years after the hotel's workers voted for union representation.

SEIU Local 100, which represents some 270 Hyatt employees, resolved differences over contract provisions previously agreed to in a one-year contract that runs until June 22, 1987. It includes health care, pension and life insurance benefits and, as of January 1987, wage increases ranging from 3 to 7.5 percent.

KGB's shoddy stunts

Soviets use 'badger game' on journalists

By Murray Seeger

Thomas Stevens, a New York reporter, set out in 1890 to ride a horse from Moscow southward to the Black Sea. He was arrested along the way and questioned for days before he was allowed to continue his trip.

"In Russia," Stevens later wrote, "everybody is considered a criminal of some kidney or other, unless he has papers in his pocket proving him otherwise."

In the near-century since Stevens's experience with the Czarist police, Moscow has witnessed the collapse of the Imperial regime and the development of an even larger, more oppressive communist regime. Still, the official treatment of foreign journalists has remained remarkably consistent.

The latest to feel the heavy fist of the secret police is Nicholas Daniloff, the highly-respected Moscow correspondent for U.S. News & World Report. He was trapped by one of the KGB's favorite tricks, the "badger game," in which someone he trusted handed him a package of so-called secret papers within sight of eight plainclothesmen.

Although dozens of American journalists have been intimidated, harassed or expelled by the Soviet Union, Daniloff is the first since 1949 to be jailed.

Optimists confounded

Daniloff's arrest came during a period when western commentators were giving Moscow credit for becoming more candid and sophisticated in dealing with the media.

Such optimists should recall that the last American correspondent slammed into jail was Anna Louise Strong, a long-time apologist for communism who fell victim to one of Stalin's rages.

My own experience in Moscow was during the so-called blossoming of political detente, 1972 to 1974, and in 1980 and 1981 when I returned on shorter assignments.

Although the Kremlin did not expel any Americans in the early 1970s, the KGB used all of its shoddy stunts to frighten reporters away from the stories that most embarrass the Kremlin.

Our telephones were tapped and our apartments bugged. We were frequently followed and denied trips outside Moscow. Telex lines to the West mysteriously died in the middle of transmitting stories. The official press denounced those correspondents deemed "anti-Soviet."

The author, Murray Seeger, served as European correspondent for the Los Angeles Times for 10 years before joining the AFL-CIO in 1982 as Director of Information.

The badger game was tried time and again. The telephone would ring and a voice would request a meeting: "I have information you will be interested in."

No experienced reporter would follow up such an anonymous call. The sources I knew would arrange meetings; I did receive statements on important internal issues, but only from individuals in whom I had great faith, as Daniloff did with "Mischa."

One person who came from Kiev was arrested on his return home and warned about meeting with foreigners. Once, directly in front of the U.S. Embassy with its KGB uniformed guards, a Soviet citizen attempted to hand me a package wrapped in newsprint. I avoided it like a time bomb.

On another occasion, a colleague and I circled through a park and neighboring playgrounds while two contacts watched for KGB tails. Satisfied we were unobserved, two Tatars told us of the abuse their people were suffering in Kazakhstan.

One of the unanswered questions in the Daniloff case is whether his friend, "Mischa," was a KGB plant during their entire acquaintanceship or whether he had been pressured into playing the badger just this one time.

Packaging "secrets" is no problem for the KGB since such mundane items as the price of goods and the locations of major bridges and railroads are considered information to be kept from foreigners. Finding the source a correspondent would trust was more difficult.

The KGB would test other personal weaknesses, particularly sexual and alcoholic. On out-of-town trips, correspondents often received telephone calls in their hotel rooms from young women seeking to improve their English.

Similar calls were made to correspondents' homes when their wives were out of the city.

One single American was slandered by the KGB which told his employer that he had made a Russian woman pregnant in Moscow. A British friend was recalled by his employer after the KGB showed his boss a letter from a young man who said he had come to Moscow for a homosexual liaison with the reporter.

An American female correspondent was loaded with raw Armenian brandy and then accosted by a translator who had accompanied her on an assignment. Another correspondent witnessed the incident and chased the lothario away.

The KGB saves the worst of its tricks for correspondents who are most effective in Moscow. Daniloff clearly fit this profile. He has been in the Soviet Union many years and has good local contacts; he speaks the language fluently and he was nearing the end of his assignment.

Warning to others

When they attack a correspondent close to his scheduled departure, the KGB knows it will cast a warning to other reporters. It may gain the effect of an expulsion without triggering a reciprocal action by the U.S. State Dept.

The police action also has the effect of frightening Soviet citizens from making unauthorized contacts with foreigners. One of the official assignments of the KGB is "protecting the revolution" from external influences.

A group of us assigned to Moscow during detente once met with a Soviet official to request that Moscow relax its controls on foreign reporters. He dismissed our request out of hand.

"There is no detente for ideology," he told us. We were, he said, "agents of the enemy ideology."

Every correspondent who goes to Moscow should know this.

Guild protests

Newspaper Guild President Charles A. Perlik protested the arrest of Nicholas S. Daniloff, Moscow correspondent for U.S. News & World Report, charged with espionage by the Soviet Union. Perlik called for Daniloff's immediate release.

In a letter to Soviet Gen. Sec. Mikhail Gorbachev, Perlik termed Daniloff's arrest and imprisonment "clear retaliation" for the arrest of a Soviet employee of the United Nations in New York. Daniloff had been a member of Guild Local 35 in Washington and the Wire Service Guild.

Common cause

Top officers of 18 AFL-CIO unions discuss negotiating strategies and common concerns at the Industrial Union Dept.'s collective bargaining conference in Chicago. The give-and-take exchange covered experimental contract settlements that have increased worker participation on the job, early retirement programs, industry-wide bargaining concerns and drug testing and abuse. Presentations were made by Presidents Owen Bieber, Auto Workers; Larry Dugan, Operating Engineers; Morton Bahr, Communications Workers; Murray Finley, Clothing & Textile Workers, and William Bywater, Electronic Workers.

Machinists sue TWA to enforce contract pledges

New York—The Machinists accused Trans World Airlines of reneging on pledges the air carrier made in its 1985 contract with the union.

In a suit filed in U.S. District Court, the IAM charged that the airline violated contract provisions mandating wage and benefit reductions for noncontract workers and putting a ceiling on the amount of assets TWA could sell.

The IAM, which represents 10,000 maintenance and ground-service employees, agreed last year to $50 million annually in wage concessions to help TWA's new owner, New York investment banker Carl Icahn, keep the airline in business. The concessions were granted on condition that Icahn pursue a cost-cutting program.

The suit charged TWA with breaking the agreement by making "little or no effort" to implement the wage and benefit cuts for nonunion workers and by selling half its automatic-reservation system to Northwest Airlines for $140 million. The IAM also accused the carrier of failure to institute an employee stock ownership plan, as provided for in the contract.

The union asked the court to ban TWA from "selling or otherwise disposing of further assets" in violation of the labor agreement.

Reagan and Thatcher hit on apartheid

Brighton, England—President Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came under stinging attack at the convention of the British Trades Union Congress for their stubborn opposition to imposing sanctions on South Africa's white minority government.

AFL-CIO Vice President President John T. Joyce, the federation's fraternal delegate to the convention, accused the two leaders of "inertia and moral paralysis in the face of the clear evil" of apartheid.

It is "not surprising," he said, that Reagan and Thatcher, "who share the same economic and political philosophy, should also share the same utterly misguided policies toward the racist regime in Pretoria."

The "inaction" of the two governments will not spur any change in South Africa, Joyce warned, but will instead serve as "a license to delay change and to prolong a system built on suffering and degredation," as the Botha government "hunkers down for a long twilight of resistance to the inevitable."

Noting that AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and TUC Gen. Sec. Norman Willis returned recently from an International Confederation of Free Trade Union protest mission to South Africa, Joyce said the message they brought back from black trade union leaders is that "they want the strongest, most effective economic sanctions imposed on their government."

South Africa's black trade union movement represents "the best hope for a peaceful transition to democracy," he emphasized. "It is that movement, and not the Botha regime, with which we choose to be 'constructively engaged.' And if that movement wants strong sanctions, as it does, then so do we."

Thousands of blacks, including hundreds of trade unionists, have "suffered beatings and other forms of sadistic torture" because of their opposition to apartheid, he continued. But the British and American governments ignore their sacrifice and claim that sanctions would hurt black workers—a stance that would "deny those workers the dignity and the moral strength that they have earned in their struggle," said Joyce, who is president of the Bricklayers union.

Fund launched to aid locked-out Steelworkers

Continued from Page 1

mation will be distributed to college campuses and speakers will be available to meet with students. The group has planned a conference on plant closings to be held at a Gary, Ind., high school.

USWA speakers are addressing meetings of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Other support activities include a citizens committee and community activities to expand support for the locked-out steel workers and their families.

Contributions from members and unions should be mailed to the AFL-CIO Steelworkers Support Committee Defense Fund, 815 16th St., N.W., Room 807, Washington, D.C. 20006.

EDITORIALS

Heroes and Victims

BURIED AMONG all the tragic words about the airplane massacre in Karachi, Pakistan, was the story of Neerja Mishra, a flight attendant for Pan American Airways.

Passengers who survived the bloody terrorist attack recounted how Mishra had displayed uncommon courage to assist the passengers held captive by four gunmen.

First, it was the flight attendants who alerted the flight deck crews that a hijacking was underway, a procedure that enabled the officers to escape the plane and to make it unlikely the 747 would leave the ground.

Then, Mishra refused the terrorists' order to turn over the American passengers' passports; she hid them in a seat, instead. When the killers opened fire, Mishra threw herself over three children, taking gunshot wounds to save them. She then directed passengers out the emergency doors to safety.

A passenger finally carried Mishra down the emergency chute, but she was dead.

This hero was only 23. She was purser on the PanAm flight and a member of the independent International Union of Flight Attendants. She was not the only hero among the flight attendants who were left on the plane to face the terrorists; her story simply sums up the dedication of the men and women who take these jobs.

IT IS THESE workers, along with the pilots, mechanics and ground personnel, who have been targeted by the new breed of pernicious airline operators to reduce their pay and benefits.

Not long after the world praised a TWA flight attendant for taking a hero's role in an earlier terrorist hijacking at Beirut, Carl Icahn, the new owner of the airline, forced his flight attendants on strike by arbitrarily reducing their pay and benefits.

The workers from the old Continental Airlines remember how their owner, Frank Lorenzo, broke his labor contracts and slashed benefits by ducking into bankruptcy court.

Today's heroes become tomorrow's victims of unfair employers. Just wait for the next contract negotiation between an airline and the unions representing their employees.

The owners are sure to say that their workers are over-paid and underworked. The dangers of flying in this era of terrorism and an undermanned air traffic control system will be brushed aside. Devotion to duty will be expected, but at cut-rate wages and benefits.

The airline unions are fighting back; they have adopted innovative bargaining tactics and they have improved their cooperative efforts to resist the owners' attack.

Next time the airline owners demand cutbacks and start hiring strikebreakers and scabs, all of labor will be standing beside our brothers and sisters who fly, or make it possible for others to fly.

A Man of Labor

THE PASSING of Al Heaps diminishes all of us who counted ourselves among his friends.

His loss will be felt far beyond the ranks of the RWDSU, the union he served with heart, mind and hand for nearly a half-century.

This was the son of a coal miner who grew up in the shadow of a slag heap in Southern Illinois and moved on to Chicago to organize the first plant he ever worked in, before he was 20 years old.

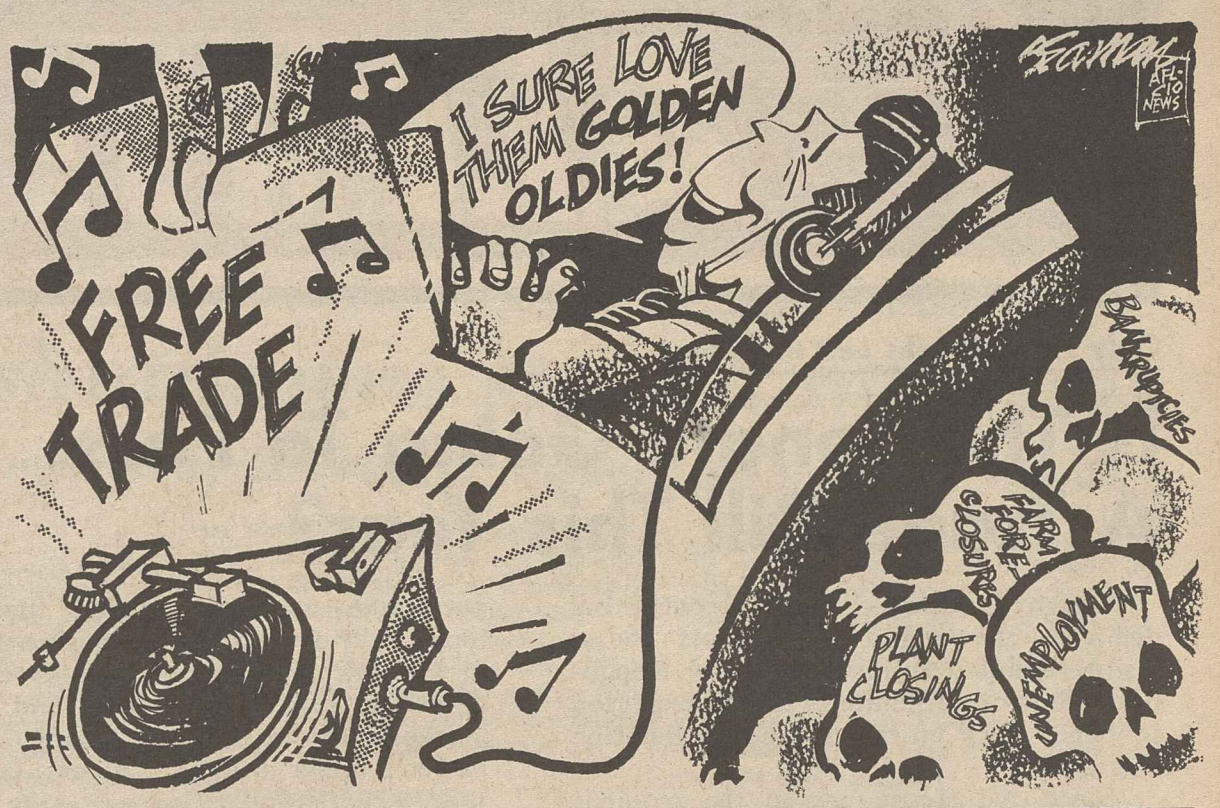
This was the war hero of World War II, who fought his way across Europe with the 9th Infantry and earned two Silver Stars and a couple of Purple Hearts along the way.

This was the trade unionist who rose through the ranks of his union from organizer to local officer, to secretary-treasurer, and to president and AFL-CIO vice president—and never, never lost the sense of who and what he was and why he served.

He had a sense of loyalty and organizational fidelity that some never understood. He was in the best and fullest sense of the word "a regular," who understood that people serve organizations in order to benefit other people, and the cult of personality, the ideas of self-importance and self-aggrandizement, were beyond his ken.

His Chickasaw ancestors would have said, "This was a man to ride the river with."

—AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue at memorial service for Alvin E. Heaps, New York City, Sept. 10, 1986.



Washington Window

Industry's heavy hand distorts cancer study

By Press Associates Inc.

In his book, "The Mismeasure of Man," Harvard biologist Stephen Jay Gould demonstrated how social attitudes can influence science.

One of his best examples involved 19th Century scientists who set out to prove that white men like themselves were the most intelligent of the earth's creatures, followed by males of other races and women.

When the data showed that women and blacks had similar measures of intelligence to white men, scientists carefully selected and then manipulated the data to confirm their culturally influenced theory rather than admit error.

Today's scientists usually attempt to head off social and personal bias with rigorous peer reviews during which design, methods, data analysis and conclusions are judged by others with no personal stake in the outcome.

That is why union safety and health experts and public health scientists lodged such strong complaints against a four-year, $1-million study on formaldehyde, which was conducted under the auspices of the normally respected National Cancer Institute. Formaldehyde is known to cause cancer in animals and European researchers have linked it to human cancer.

When NCI announced in 1980 a joint epidemiological study funded by the Formaldehyde Institute (FI), an industry trade group, a draft of the study plan was circulated to unions, regulatory agencies and other interested parties. The AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., the Auto Workers, and occupational health expert Dr. Irving Selikoff immediately warned that the FI's involvement would jeopardize credibility.

These objections did lead to the study being funded only by NCI. However, two staff researchers from Monsanto and DuPont—both FI members—remained very much involved.

From this point until the study was published, the review process broke down. Despite objections by the UAW, for example, the evaluation of the causes of death of 26,561 workers employed in 10 U.S. chemical plants which produced or used formaldehyde included plants which already had been studied.

This is a scientific error of the kind made by the 19th Century scientists because it risks biased results through pre-selection of data.

In addition to questionable options chosen during data analysis, there were problems with conclusions reached on the basis of the analysis. The conclusion was that the "data provide little evidence that mortality from lung cancer is associated with formaldehyde exposure."

Conclusion changed

The study's author, Aaron Blair, told the House Energy & Commerce Committee's Oversight & Investigations Subcommittee that he changed his original "no evidence" conclusion because the data did show some evidence.

Meanwhile, FI seized the opportunity for a public relations coup that supposedly cleared formaldehyde, despite Blair's insistence that he had never claimed the study "exonerates formaldehyde."

Indeed, as union and public health experts noted, the data showed a positive link not only between formaldehyde exposure and increased rates of lung cancer, but also increased risks of nasopharyngeal cancer.

The questions raised during the House hearing are fundamental for future toxic substances research which is crucial to workers health.

As Dr. Philip Landrigan, director of environmental and occupational medicine at the Mt. Sinai Medical Center in New York, told the House panel, the administrative arrangements for the NCI-FI study were "seriously flawed," "secretive," and "unbalanced," with "a strong appearance" of bias toward the industry.

Margaret Seminario, the AFL-CIO's health and safety expert, along with UAW and Clothing & Textile Union representatives, expressed regret that an opportunity for a credible epidemiological study was lost.

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

Only Three Weeks Left In Session

Is The Senate Going To Pass A Trade Bill This Year?

Caught between the conflicting demands of worried constituents and a disinterested Administration, the Republican-controlled Senate is finally expected to begin work on major trade legislation this week.

Since the House passed the omnibus trade bill in May (H.R.4800), this country's gap in trade has escalated rapidly. Last year's merchandise trade deficit -- the difference between imports and exports -- hit a record $148.5 billion, and was expected to continue at that same high level. Instead, trade figures from the first six months of 1986 caused the estimate to be raised to $170 billion. Within the last month, however, this figure has also changed. July's record $18 billion trade deficit has caused economists to anticipate a 1986 deficit up to an amazing $200 billion!

There are only three more weeks left in the current congressional session, and with elections approaching fast, senators are becoming anxious to demonstrate to the voters that they are willing to address the problem.

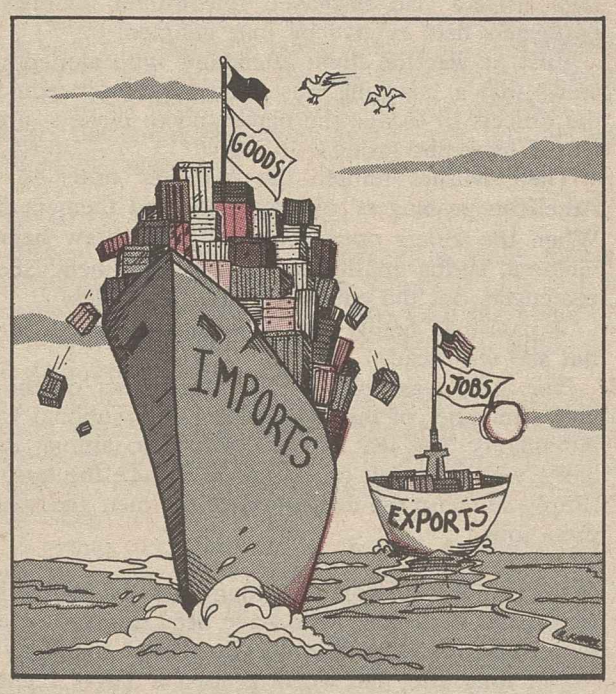
In his Labor Day address, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland warned the Senate that they could no longer ignore the effect that this flood of imports was having on American workers. With a persistent rate of joblessness that envelops 8 million workers, a 9 percent decline in workers' real average weekly earnings between 1977 and 1985, and closed market policies among many of the nation's major trading partners, he urged that congressional leaders stop hiding behind the banner of free trade.

The "free-trade evangelists" blame American workers for having "priced themselves out of the market," Kirkland said. They claim that smart employers have no choice but to "auction off jobs to the lowest bidders among the exploiters and slave masters of other lands.

"What they are auctioning off," he said, "is not only the jobs that sustain millions of American families, but the standard of living that sustains the entire nation."

Although Senate leaders have indicated that some action will finally be taken, it remains to be seen what the proposed legislation will look like. The Senate Finance Committee, which must move swiftly to mark-up a bill and get it on to the floor, is expected to draft a bare-bones bill, for which they can claim credit, but which will not anger the Administration.

To ensure the passage of an effective trade bill, which will help stem the flow



of American jobs being lost to imports, your senators need to be contacted now. Urge them to vote for a trade bill, which like H.R. 4800, contains provisions:

* forcing reductions in the trade deficit with countries which have unfair trading practices and massive trade surpluses,
* limiting the influx of goods manufactured under exploitive working conditions,
* bringing our trade laws up to date on relief for industries and workers hurt by imports and unfair trade, and
* providing specific remedies for the lack of foreign market openness in telecommunications trade (S. 942).

Contact both of your senators today, and make sure that they will fight to save American jobs.

Vital Worker Issues Crowd Year-End Agenda

Congress has returned from summer recess to face an agenda crammed with unfinished business.

Items include a staggering array of appropriations bills, Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction measures, the debt limit, tax reform, trade reform, immigration reform, and legislation on South African policy.

With only three more weeks left to go in this session, Congress will be forced to work on such a tight schedule that many important labor-backed issues might not be given full attention or might even be delayed until next year.

By writing to your representative and your senators on these issues which affect you, your family, and your union, you can ensure that they keep workers' interests in mind during this critical month.

Your letter on one or more of the bills, might spell the difference between victory or defeat.

Immigration Reform

The House version of immigration reform legislation, H.R. 3810, is expected to be on the House floor the week of September 22. Urge your representative to support the bill as reported out of the Judiciary Committee, with provisions for strong employer sanctions, generous legalization procedures, anti-discrimination remedies, and protection against a massive "guest worker" program. Immigration reform has already passed the Senate.

High Risk Notification

Urge your representative and both of your senators to support the High Risk Occupational Disease Notification Act (H.R. 1309 and S. 2050), which would provide notification, information and medical monitoring to workers who are at high risk of developing diseases after exposure to toxic substances on the job.

Polygraph Protection

Urge your senators to work toward passage of S. 1815, the polygraph protection bill, a vital measure to protect your right to privacy. Polygraph protection legislation has already passed the House.

Parental Leave

The country's first bill to address the problems of family leave is currently pending in the House. Without some additional pressure, this vital piece of legislation may not be acted upon during this session. Ask your representative to support H.R. 4300 and its enactment before the end of the 99th Congress.

Pesticides

After negotiations between labor, environmental and consumer groups and the agricultural and chemical industries, both the House and the Senate Agriculture Committees approved legislation which would amend and extend the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA), which would improve protections for workers using pesticides. Urge both your House and Senate members to support the extension of FIFRA and to bring the bills to a vote.

Airline Worker Protection

Ask your representative to support H.R. 4838. This bill would protect the rights of thousands of airline employees threatened by the rash of mergers and realignments that have occurred since deregulation of the airline industry.

Pay Equity

S. 519, the Federal Employee Anti-Sex-Discrimination in Compensation Act, is stalled in the Senate. The bill, which establishes a commission to study sex-discrimination and pay equity in federal employment practices, has not yet made it out of the Committee on Government Operations.

Senators should be asked to co-sponsor the legislation and help get it moving. Pay equity legislation has passed in the House.

Manufacturing Clause

First passed in 1891, the manufacturing clause in the U.S. copyright laws stipulates that to receive protection, most material written in English must be printed in the U.S. The law expired on July 1, and both H.R. 3465 and S.1822, bills to extend the legislation, have stalled in Congress. Urge legislators to support the extention of the manufacturing clause and to bring the bills to a vote this month.

AFL-CIO news

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House votes job rights in air mergers

In a sharp rebuke to the Reagan Administration, the House overwhelmingly passed legislation mandating labor protection provisions in all airline mergers and acquisitions—a course Transportation Sec. Elizabeth Hanford Dole has consistently refused to pursue.

Strongly supported by the AFL-CIO and airline unions, the bill passed by a lopsided bipartisan vote of 375-27 after its chief sponsor, Rep. Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif.), denounced the Administration for having "refused to follow existing statutes and explicit congressional directives" to safeguard the rights of workers affected by the industry's merger mania.

Prior to the vote, Federation Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten wrote all House members urging passage of the legislation. He criticized the Administration for failing to abide by the provisions of the 1978 Airline Deregulation Act and the 1984 Civil Aeronautics Board Sunset Act, both of which called for worker protections.

Negative results

The absence of these provisions, McGlotten said, "often produces instability, discontent, lower productivity and, most significantly, a lower morale which can be most serious in a safety-oriented industry such as air transport."

During floor debate, Mineta criticized DOT's "administrative inaction" in this area, contrasting it to the CAB's historic insistence on safeguards for employees affected by airline consolidations.

The California congressman pointed out that airline management had "golden parachutes" which provide several years' pay for senior officials who are ousted or quit as the result of mergers or acquisitions.

Continued on Page 2

Senate endorses school asbestos cleanup mandate

The Senate passed a union-sought bill to compel the Environmental Protection Agency to set standards for safe removal of life-threatening asbestos materials from the nation's schools, virtually assuring final action by Congress before adjournment.

The House approved a companion bill last month, also by voice vote with bipartisan support, and differences between the two versions are expected to be quickly resolved.

Senate passage was hailed by the Service Employees, whose members include some 100,000 school custodians and maintenance workers at risk from both flaking asbestos insulation and cleanup techniques that may leave boiler rooms more hazardous than ever.

The SEIU also has a court suit pending to require the EPA to set strict standards for removing asbestos hazards from schools and other public buildings.

The union won a procedural victory in federal district court just two days after the Senate vote, assuring a trial on the merits of the case.

Asbestos cleanup in the schools has also been a priority of the Teachers, which had

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Plant shutdowns strand millions

Congressional study shows few workers get advance warning

By Gene Zack

Most American workers caught in plant closings or mass layoffs get virtually no notice that their jobs are ending, and those who do get notice aren't given adequate help in finding or training for new jobs.

That's the conclusion of a study by the nonpartisan congressional Office of Technology Assessment which criticized the absence of federal advance notice requirements and the inadequacy of state programs to deal with the problem.

Between 1983 and 1984, 2 million workers were displaced as a result of closures and sweeping layoffs, the OTA pointed out. It cited a General Accounting Office survey showing that:

- Some 30 percent of larger establishments give no individual notice to blue-collar workers and another 34 percent give 2 weeks' notice or less.
- In firms with more than 100 employees, white-collar workers receive only two weeks' notice on average and blue-collar workers don't know the ax is going to fall until seven days before it happens.
- Unions make a difference in the amount of notice workers receive. Where there is a union, blue-collar workers get an average of 14 days' notice; at non-union plants, it's usually only two days.

Enormous benefits

Rep. William D. Ford (D-Mich.), a principal sponsor of plant closing legislation defeated by a narrow margin in the House last November, said the OTA study made clear that there are "enormous benefits" in giving workers advance notice.

Under such an arrangement, he said, "planning for adjustment services is better organized and more timely and workers find new jobs or get into retraining faster."

Ford sharply criticized management for its intensive lobbying effort against the plant closing bill last year, accusing business of perpetuating the "myth" that providing advance notice could lead to the loss of productivity or sabotage by disgruntled employees. The OTA study, he said, showed that "productivity, quality and safety records have all improved during the notice period."

The Michigan Democrat pledged to reintroduce the plant closing measure when the 100th Congress convenes next January. He was joined in this promise by Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.), the other original sponsor of the bill, who assailed the "inadequacy" of current policy and underscored "the need to develop effective, timely adjustment programs to provide assistance to displaced workers."

The OTA reported that the major gov-

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GNP points to recession

Striking up the brass

Management of the Columbus Symphony Orchestra struck a sour note with members of Musicians Local 103 who set up a symphonic picket line outside the Ohio Theatre music hall. The 95 classical musicians walked off the job after negotiations for a new contract slipped off-key. Management is demanding an increased workload and final authority over dismissals and new hires. Both sides were tuning up for a new round of negotiations as the strike entered its third week in mid-September.

Economy hit by long-term deceleration

The U.S. economy ground almost to a halt in the second quarter, stirring new concerns that the nation may be heading into another Reagan Recession.

The government reported that the gross national product, which measures the total output of goods and services, grew at a sickly annual rate of only six-tenths of 1 percent between April and June—the worst performance since the final quarter of 1982.

With economic growth during the first half of the year sputtering along at a weak 2.2-percent annual rate, economists agreed there was no way that the Administration could achieve its goal of a 3.2-percent growth rate for 1986.

That would require a GNP upsurge of 4.2 percent in the second half—something that Federal Reserve Board Gov. Manuel H. Johnson said flatly isn't in the cards. He predicted that growth would "still be fairly weak in the third quarter."

Trade deficit impact

The largest single factor contributing to the faltering economy, Johnson said, was a trade deficit that "looms larger than ever," driving down manufacturing production and holding unemployment at unacceptably high levels.

Private economists agreed with his assessment and said the best the nation could hope for was an anemic 2.5 percent growth rate for all of 1986.

The forecast for 1987 is no more comforting as they foresee rising inflation, a continued slowdown in economic growth and no perceptible improvement in unemployment, which they expect to remain in the 7-percent range.

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Labor-management alliance scores industrial homework

By David L. Perlman

Garment industry unions and employers assailed a Reagan Administration plan to lift restrictions on industrial homework and warned that it will make the wage-hour law impossible to enforce.

They questioned whether a budget-squeezed Labor Dept., which has been able to make only a token effort to investigate wage-hour violations in factories and stores, can somehow enforce the Fair Labor Standards Act in overcrowded city apartments and isolated rural dwellings.

Members of a House Labor Standards subcommittee shared their skepticism.

Subcommittee Chairman Austin J. Murphy (D-Pa.) noted that the Labor Dept. banned certain categories of sewing machine and hand-assembly work in homes more than 40 years ago because it couldn't effectively enforce the Fair Labor Standards Act under conditions that existed.

"Industrial homework is factory work done in the home," Murphy noted at the start of hearings. "It is a device developed by unscrupulous employers to get work done as cheaply as possible without complying with factory regulations designed to protect the health and safety of workers."

Murphy wondered whether the Labor Dept. under the Reagan Administration has somehow "found the resources" to enforce the wage-hour law, or whether the apparel industry is so prospering that there is no longer any "economic incentive to undermine worker protections."

Deputy Under Sec. of Labor Susan R. Meisinger contended in her testimony that enforcement of the FLSA will be easier under the homework certification procedure the Administration has proposed. The

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MEMO FROM COPE

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Iowa homeworker victims Barbara Mackey and Connie Jorgensen testify.

Iowa women testify

Work-at-home abuses extend beyond ghettos

Industrial homework, complete with the pay cheating and exploitation that has created kitchen sweatshops in the poverty neighborhoods of big cities, has now come to middle America, House hearings revealed.

Homework of the type the Labor Dept. is proposing to legalize has been the blight of generations of new immigrants, first from eastern and southern Europe and then from Latin America and the Orient.

The blight has spread to places such as Clarinda, Iowa, spurred by a farm depression and plant closings that have drained family incomes. Connie Jorgensen and Barbara Mackey, generations away and a half-continent distant from big-city ghettos and barrios, told their stories to the House Subcommittee on Labor Standards.

Both had worked—illegally but openly—for Bordeaux Inc., a Clarinda company that farmed out labor-intensive applique work to women who would work at home, using their own equipment, at piece rates that made it almost impossible to earn the minimum wage.

It operated for years, advertising openly for home workers, before someone blew the whistle to alert an understaffed Labor Dept. enforcement agency spread thinly across the country.

Hidden costs

Clarinda is a town of about 5,000 people, 150 miles north of Kansas City. Connie Jorgensen, who lives there, worked for Bordeaux from 1981 to 1985, sewing appliques on sweatsuits.

She was paid a low piece rate that did not take into account the time required to pick up and return the garments, the cost of her equipment—sewing machine, scissors, iron, marking pens, material for tracing and making patterns—or gas and electricity.

"I had to make my own patterns from drawings," she testified, "a different pattern for each style and size sweatsuit. I traced the patterns onto the fabric, layered the fabric over the stitchwitchery, pinned the pieces and cut them out. I then fused the pieces to the shirt by ironing and sewed the appliques on the shirt. Finally, I clipped the threads on the reverse side, sewed in the labels, pressed and folded the garments and returned them."

During her first six months, Jorgensen testified, she made $976 in gross pay. The following year, sometimes working 18 hours a day, she earned $5,270, which she estimated came to about $2.25 an hour. That year, the firm gave her a Christmas wreath as a "top 10 seamstress." She stayed in the top ten list, but Bordeaux stopped giving away Christmas wreaths.

Earnings tumble

Her earnings dropped when patterns became more complex but the piece rate remained the same. In 1983, she estimated her hourly earnings had dropped to $1.85 an hour, and her husband and eight-year-old daughter were sometimes called on to help her finish an assignment on time.

"My health suffered," she said, both from a "sewer's neck" and an allergy she developed to the fur dust and fleece dust that compelled her to use a dust mask.

There were, of course, no job-related benefits and payment of taxes and social security was her responsibility, Jorgensen testified.

Barbara Mackey, the other witness, lives in Diagonal, about 45 miles from Clarinda. As she explained, "My husband and I are farmers, and these days it's hard to make a living off the land."

The firm wasn't satisfied at first with the quality of her sewing. So Mackey drove 100 miles to Des Moines to buy at her own expense a "top-of-the-line Singer sewing machine, which cost me $901.98."

She worked "an average of 10 hours a day for seven days a week," but "I was never paid for working overtime."

Mackey estimated that her work for Bordeaux brought her "at most $1 an hour, with my husband's help" and "not counting my transportation time, gas, electricity and supplies such as extra materials and thread—and of course my sewing machine."

The minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act is $3.35 an hour.

Labor-management alliance scores industrial homework

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government should not stand in the way of those who "choose to work at home instead of in a factory," she insisted.

Ladies' Garment Workers President Jay Mazur and Clothing & Textile Workers Sec.-Treas. Jack Sheinkman retorted that the issue is exploitation of workers, and that the six industries where homework is barred except under careful regulation are those where abuses have been most prevalent. In addition to women's apparel, the list includes the making of gloves, buttons and buckles, handkerchiefs, embroideries and costume jewelry.

Mazur, with ILGWU Legislative Director Evelyn Dubrow and Gen. Counsel Max Zimny, pointed to the high proposition of Fair Labor Standards Act violations still found in the these industries. It's "a fantasy" to expect that moving jobs from factories to homes will lead to fewer violations, Mazur said.

"The Labor Dept. no longer has an enforcement program worth that name," Sheinkman testified.

He noted that the industries in which homework has until now been restricted are labor-intensive occupations that employ substantial numbers of minority groups and new immigrants and afford "a decent but low standard of living."

Homework in these industries will push down earnings and benefits, he stressed. Employers don't have to provide vacations, holidays, health insurance and other job-related benefits to homeworkers, Sheinkman pointed out.

Showcase probe

Mazur noted that the Labor Dept. had sought to use the abolition of homework restrictions in the relatively small knitted outerwear industry as a showcase of its ability to enforce the wage-hour law. But in fact, he said, its investigations found that most employers using homeworkers were violating the law—and the number would have been even greater if the inspections had been properly carried out.

Officials of three trade associations of women's apparel manufacturers warned that sweatshop evils are a clear and present danger, especially in an underground economy based on the exploitation of immigrant workers, including many who are subject to deportation as illegal aliens.

"Employers that rely on homework compete unfairly with those using factory workers," Eli Elias, director of a skirt and sportswear trade group, testified.

"Illegal wages are only one factor," he said. "The homework employer also avoids many of the normal costs of doing business by shifting them to the backs of the homeworkers. Among these items are rent, light, power, machinery, fringe benefits and taxes."

Unions question drug edict scope

The AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept. expressed concern at the scope of the drug-testing program contemplated by President Reagan's Executive Order covering the federal workforce and said other measures should be given priority in efforts to assure a drug-free workplace.

Reagan's Executive Order directed government agencies to impose mandatory drug testing for workers in "sensitive" positions and authorized "voluntary" programs for workers in nonsensitive positions and for job applicants. The federal government is the nation's largest employer.

The PED said it shared the public desire for a drug-free work environment and accepted the need for "confidence and reliance on public employees." But it protested "mandatory, universal drug testing and random testing without probable cause and full constitutional protections for affected employees."

The government's goal in dealing with its workers, the PED said, should be "the total elimination of drug-related problems and the rehabilitation of individuals involved in any form of alcohol and drug dependency."

Drug eradication efforts should focus on "interdiction, education and rehabilitation," the department urged. Any needed drug testing of persons in "key, sensitive positions," the PED said, should be shaped in consultation with the organizations representing those workers.

House votes job protection in airline industry mergers

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"Nonmanagement employees are certainly entitled to benefits which are a mere fraction of those paid to top executives," Mineta declared.

The House-passed bill calls for integration of seniority lists and requires payments to employees who are furloughed or who suffer wage cuts growing out of mergers. Existing law gives dislocated workers hiring preference before new employees are added to the payroll.

Passage of the measure came less than a week after Dole approved the acquisition of Ozark Airlines by Trans World Airlines after specifically declining to impose labor protection provisions. Such action, DOT said, would represent "government intrusion into an area—the determination of employee benefits—that should ordinarily be decided by the private parties."

Earlier, Dole rejected the recommendations of her own administrative law judge, who urged that Northwest Airlines' acquisition of Republic Airlines be conditioned on the inclusion of provisions to aid displaced airline workers.

Dole also declined in the past to impose those terms on the acquisition of Eastern Airlines by Texas Air which was rejected by DOT, or when United Airlines took over Pan American's Pacific routes.

The legislation is not retroactive and applied only to cases still pending before DOT. However it would affect the latest entry in the takeover sweepstakes—Texas Air's announced plan to acquire People Express.

Plant shutdowns strand millions

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ernment program designed to deal with the problem—Title III of the Job Training Partnershsip Act—is supposed to help organize and fund services for displaced workers and allows state and local service providers to begin displaced worker programs as soon as notice is given of a planned closing or layoff.

But, the study showed, the program suffers from lengthy delays in funding projects to help the affected workers. The average time lag between application and approval of JTPA funding requests is three months. There are even longer delays—as much as five months—for funds "granted at the discretion of the Secretary of Labor," the nonpartisan congressional agency said.

In addition, the OTA pointed out, few states have developed rapid and effective responses to major layoff announcements although they have the major role in implementing the JTPA program.

The layers of bureaucracy with which states and localities must deal in order to receive JTPA funds "hamper the delivery of services," according to Julie Fox Gorte, program director in charge of the OTA study.

The "main benefit" of plant closing legislation—which has been introduced in every Congress since 1973—would be to assure that workers are "reemployed faster and at better jobs," Gorte said.

Management opposition

The study found "wide agreement" among business, government, community and labor leaders that giving workers advance notice of shutdowns or layoffs would allow time to prepare services to help workers find new jobs, make it easier to enlist management-labor cooperation in providing such services, and "give workers a chance to come to terms with job loss." Yet management overwhelmingly opposes a law mandating such an approach to the problem, the OTA reported.

The congressional agency cited the experience of three American forest products firms that also operate in Canada. The companies' Canadian subsidiaries "reported no difficulties" in abiding by that country's laws and routinely provide up to six months' advance notice, the study reported.

However, their parent American companies "strongly oppose" enactment of mandatory requirements in the United States, the agency pointed out, and two of the three firms do not favor notice "even as a voluntary company policy."

The OTA study was done at the request of Clay, Ford and Rep. Silvio O. Conte (R-Mass.), the ranking minority member of the House Appropriations Committee, and was endorsed by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor & Human Resources.

Teamster ad in Trib adds insult to injury

Chicago—Three local unions on strike against the Chicago Tribune voiced strong indignation over a newspaper ad bought by the unaffiliated Teamsters that appeared in the paper over the Labor Day weekend.

While the Teamsters ad glowed that "we keep America working," the 250 production workers—members of the Typographical Union and the Graphic Communications Union—have been out of work for more than a year. After management reneged on job security commitments, the workers struck the Tribune in July 1985.

The Tribune was placed on the AFL-CIO's unfair list in March.

South Africa sanctions bill rebuffs Reagan

Congress sent a strong South African sanctions bill to President Reagan—by bipartisan margins more than sufficient to override an anticipated veto. The final passage votes were 84-14 in the Senate and 308-77 in the House.

The intent of the measure is to use economic pressure to compel abandonment of the apartheid policies that a minority regime has used to keep a black majority in permanent subjugation.

It sets as immediate goals the suspension of the state of emergency and equal justice under law for persons of all races.

It calls for the release from prison of black trade union leaders and all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the outlawed African National Congress. It urges a timetable to eliminate apartheid, an end to all terrorism, and negotiations for a peaceful transition to a "free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa."

Sanctions imposed include a ban on importation of South African textiles, uranium, iron and steel, coal and agricultural products. U.S. firms would be barred from new investments in South Africa, and new restrictions would be put on other forms of commerce.

The legislation directs the President to recommend additional sanctions to Congress if South Africa does not make "substantial progress" toward ending apartheid in a year. It provides for the lifting of sanctions when at least four out of five key conditions are met.

Veto-proof measure

A stronger bill passed the House earlier this year, to compel immediate disinvestment of virtually all U.S. business ties. But House leaders agreed to take the Senate bill intact to avoid the risk of a conference deadlock and to make the final version as near veto-proof as possible.

Rep. William H. Gray (D-Pa.), an early leader in the drive for sanctions, described the final version as "designed to knock some sense into the Botha regime" in South Africa, but "not to knock over the economy."

Despite the broad bipartisan agreement, a Reagan veto was regarded as certain. Some congressional sources anticipate that the President will indicate his willingness to go along with the minimal sanctions imposed by the 12 nations in the European Economic Community in an effort to avoid a veto override in the Republican-controlled Senate. When the sanctions bill passed, 37 Republicans joined the Senate's 47 Democrats in supporting the measure, while 14 Republicans opposed it.

A two-thirds vote in both the House and Senate is needed to override a veto.

In three key cities

Hotel workers post pact gains

By Arlee C. Green

The Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees negotiated new contracts for more than 20,000 members in Atlantic City, Washington, and San Francisco.

Some 13,000 workers are voting on a new three-year settlement with seven Atlantic City, N.J., hotel-casinos, while 5,000 hotel employees in Washington ratified new three-year agreements. In San Francisco, HERE reached agreements with six of 38 hotels involved in the current round of negotiations.

The tentative accord in Atlantic City ended a one-day strike. Approval of the contract was recommended by the bargaining committee and the full membership will vote by mail ballot.

The accord, bargained on a reopener clause of the previous contract, will extend the current contract one additional year. It provides for annual pay increases of 10 to 20 cents an hour each year. Casino owners had demanded in two-year wage freeze.

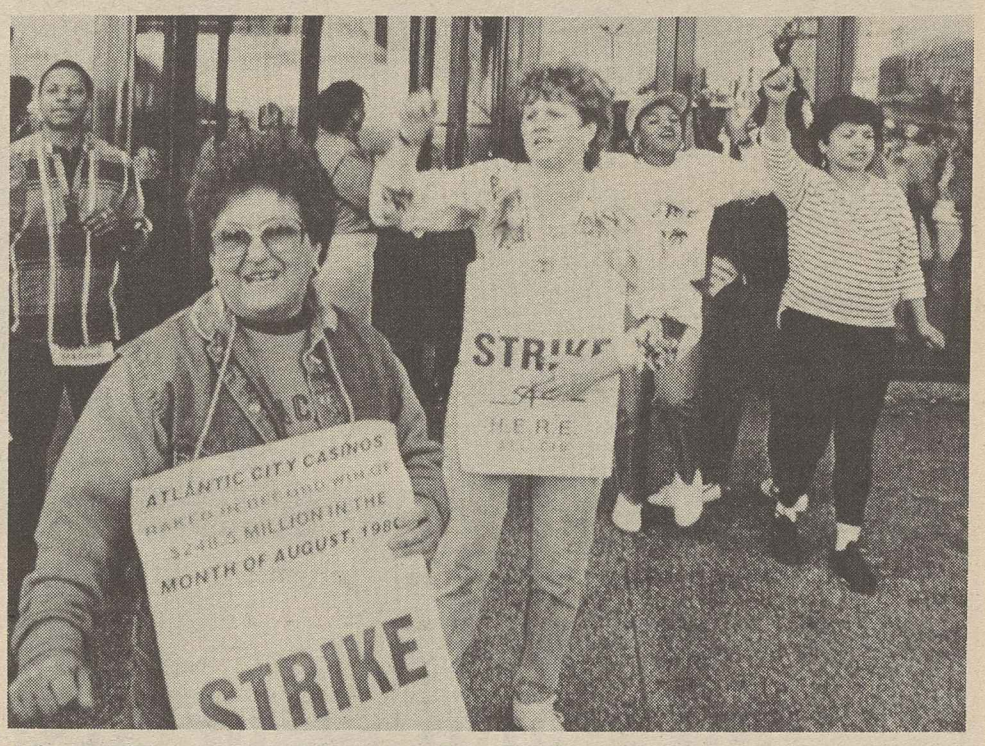
Court injunction

After rejecting management's "final offer," members of HERE Local 54 walked out Sept. 16 in the first strike since the gambling casinos opened here in 1978.

The accord is with Harrah's Marina, Resorts International Casino Hotel, Bally's Park Place Casino Hotel, Caesars Atlantic City, Golden Nugget, Tropicana Hotel & Casino and Sands Hotel, Casino & Country Club.

Three other hotels—Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino, Trump's Castle Hotel & Casino and Del Webb's Claridge Casino Hotel—were not struck on a pledge to sign contract terms the union negotiated with the employers association.

Meanwhile in Washington, HERE Local 25 negotiated a new three-year master agreement with a 15-percent pay package for more than 5,000 workers at 17 hotels in the employers association and five hotels that agreed to accept the association pact. Bargaining is continuing with six other hotels.



Atlantic City casino strikers on a Boardwalk picket line.

The contract provides annual pay increases of 5 percent. New hires will be paid 25 percent below scale for six months before rising to the regular rates. The average salary of housekeepers, dishwashers and food service workers will go from $6.95 an hour to $8 in the last year of the contract, the union said.

In San Francisco, HERE Local 2 got a tentative agreement with six hotels. "This is a good contract," said Local 2 President Sherri Chiesa. "We expect it to be the basis for agreement with hotels throughout the city."

The agreement is with two Sheraton hotels, the Hilton, Fairmont, Mark Hopkins and Stanford Court hotels.

The tentative accords, covering 2,150 of the local's 5,800 members, would be retroactive to Aug. 14. The proposed pacts provide annual pay raises of 35 cents hourly for nontipped workers and 15 cents for tipped workers. Improvements were made in the overtime pay, sick leave and medical and pension payments. Employers initially demanded a four-year pay freeze and up to a 50 percent in health care coverage.

Bargaining is continuing with 32 other hotels.

Asbestos victims get options under Manville settlement

The AFL-CIO has spelled out the options available to unions and members affected by the proposed bankruptcy court settlement setting up a reorganization plan for the Manville Corp. The company sought the reorganization to shield itself from the claims of some 45,000 workers injured by on-the-job exposure to Manville-produced and distributed asbestos.

Federation President Lane Kirkland in a letter to AFL-CIO departments and affiliates, noted that balloting by the injured workers began Sept. 15 and will continue through Nov. 14. If two-thirds of those balloting approve the reorganization plan, a trust fund will be set up to handle current and future claims against Manville.

Attached to Kirkland's letter was a 20-page summary of the Manville plan prepared by the federation's legal counsel. The report noted that Judge Burton R. Lifland of the U.S. Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of New York rejected the AFL-CIO's offer to assist the court in protecting the interests of future claimants, and thus the federation was forced to assume the role of an "outsider."

The court instead appointed committees and legal representatives for the various factions affected by Manville's reorganization efforts. In direct negotiations with Manville, the committees reached agreement on a reorganization plan, the substance of which was "arrived at without any known trade union input," the summary pointed out.

If the injured workers vote approval of the plan, the bankruptcy court will issue an injunction prohibiting any present or future claimant from ever suing Manville or its subsidiaries for asbestos-related illnesses or injuries. Under the plan, both present and future claimants will be able to file compensation claims only against the Asbestos Health Trust which will be set up and funded over a 25-year period by Manville.

Future victims

Besides the estimated 45,000 workers who have current claims for asbestos exposure, another 55,000 future victims are expected to file claims against the trust fund. Manville estimates that the payment per claim will average about $25,000.

The AFL-CIO's summary report explained the pros and cons of the plan, noting that Manville and several of the court-appointed committees support the plan, while the firm's stockholders and some claimants' groups do not.

On Sept. 15, officers and staff of unions whose members may be affected by the proposed settlement met with a panel of knowledgeable proponents and opponents of the Manville plan who presented their views and answered questions from the union representatives.

AFTRA pioneer Frank Nelson succumbs at 75

Hollywood, Calif.—Frank Nelson, a founder and former president of the Television & Radio Artists, died of cancer Sept. 12. He was 75.

Nelson, a dramatic actor and comedian, was instrumental in creating the first pension plan for radio and television performers. The plan, originally covering actors and broadcasters in radio features, commercials and transcriptions, was begun in 1956.

Nelson was elected president of AFTRA in 1954 and served until 1957, when he was named senior trustee of the pension and welfare plan. Nelson was serving as pension trustee and on the boards of AFTRA and its Los Angeles local at the time of his death.

His Hollywood career began in 1929, in a Groucho and Chico Marx radio serial, "Flywheel, Shyster & Flywheel." Other professional credits included the "Burns & Allen Show," "Fibber McGee & Molly," the Bing Crosby and Eddie Cantor programs and "Abbott & Costello."

But Nelson was best known for his work with Jack Benny.

Survivors include his wife, actress Veola Vonn, and two children. Memorial services are scheduled for Sept. 27.

Frank Nelson

Senate confirms Rehnquist on lackluster 65-33 rollcall

The Senate confirmed President Reagan's selection of Supreme Court Justice William H. Rehnquist for promotion to Chief Justice by an unenthusiastic 65-33 vote.

Only two Republicans broke party ranks on the issue, but only a hard core of Reagan loyalists applauded the choice of the court's most rigid ideologue to succeed the retiring Warren E. Burger. Court procedures, including the power to assign the drafting of opinions, give a chief justice influence beyond the single vote he casts.

The AFL-CIO had urged senators to vote against the nomination, expressing concern that he would use the post "to further a political and social agenda" based on "an undeviating hostility to individual rights and liberties."

The letter to senators, from Legislative Director Robert McGlotten, included an AFL-CIO review of Rehnquist's Supreme Court record documenting his "doctrinaire" approach and hostility to the rights of women and minorities.

Confirmation of Rehnquist cleared the way for the Senate's 98-0 confirmation of Antonin Scalia, a conservative Appeals Court judge, to bring the Supreme Court up to its full nine-member strength.

In earlier testimony, the AFL-CIO expressed concern at some of Scalia's appellate decisions but did not oppose his nomination.

The Republicans who resisted White House pressure were Senators Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (Conn.) and Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)

On the Democratic side, 31 senators voted against confirmation of Rehnquist and 16 went along with Reagan's choice.

The 33 negative votes was seven more than the votes cast against confirmation of Rehnquist when he was named to the Supreme Court in 1971 by President Nixon.

At the start of Senate hearings, only a handful of senators had been expected to vote against his appointment as Chief Justice. But opposition mounted as constitutional scholars and civil rights groups expressed concern at Rehnquist's judicial views.

CORRECTION

A story in the Sept. 13 issue of the AFL-CIO News incorrectly reported that former RWDSU President Max Greenberg died in 1976. Greenberg, who retired in 1976, continues to serve as president emeritus of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union.

AFL-CIO President Kirkland addresses opening session of HRDI conference in Washington.

HRDI challenge

Job training needs explored

By Candice Johnson

In workshops, conversations and brainstorming sessions, participants at a Human Resources Development Institute conference set out to find new ways to help the unemployed and meet the training needs of a changing workplace. More than 85 participants—including HRDI training coordinators and staff, and union officials—attended the weeklong national conference, sponsored by the AFL-CIO's job training arm.

Federation President Lane Kirkland applauded the dedication of the HRDI workers "who haven't had much to work with" as Reagan Administration budget proposals routinely attempt to write HRDI out of the job training business.

"There is very little enthusiasm, in the White House or on Capitol Hill or in the executive suite for programs designed to make workers more valuable to employers, or to make work more rewarding to workers," Kirkland observed.

Imitating robots

"Most of the emphasis has been in the other direction," he stated, "toward eliminating most elements of skill, judgment and initiative on the part of the worker and toward a mechanical programming of movement that calls for workers to give the best imitation they can of robots."

Many of the new jobs the Reagan Administration boasts of teach few valuable skills and offer little hope of advancement, Kirkland said, but "employers in more sophisticated industries are showing a strong preference for workers who are well-educated, well-trained, and adaptable."

The upgrading of human resources "is not merely an unavoidable expense, but the most productive investment that any government can make," he declared.

In workshops, participants explored ways to improve job search methods and reviewed programs for dislocated workers underway in 10 communities. Services provided for jobless workers include career counseling, job search workshops, job clubs and skill testing.

Participants also discussed HRDI's projects for workers with disabilities, operating in Baltimore, Houston, St. Louis and St. Paul, Minn. The conference included a visit to a Washington, D.C., learning center that offers basic education skills and adult education programs for unemployed workers.

Rep. Pat Williams, (D-Mont.) told participants that Reagan Administration policies have "failed miserably" to help the unemployed break the cycle of joblessness. The Job Training Partnership Act's dislocated worker program reaches only 72,500 displaced workers each year—about 3 percent of the population in need, he said.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, who also addressed the conference, stressed that the need for HRDI services will increase in the future, but the resources available for job training will not.

"The reality is that our economy is not growing fast enough to provide jobs for people coming into the labor force between now and 1990 and for those trapped in the backlog of unemployment," Donahue stated. But HRDI continues to "fill the gaps for workers faced by a changing economy and changing job requirements" he said.

Donahue called the unemployment insurance system a "continuing scandal," pointing out that only 30 percent of those unemployed less than 26 weeks are receiving jobless benefits. He rejected the arguments of those who consider the two-earner family a "justification for the failure of the unemployment system and the trade adjustment assistance program."

Expanding services

HRDI President Alan Kistler and Executive Director Michael McMillan outlined the institute's goals, which include expanding labor's participation in JTPA programs and stepping up services to furloughed and displaced workers.

The participants also heard from employment and training representatives of the Labor Dept., National Governors' Association, National Association of Counties and National Alliance of Business.

Other speakers included Kenneth Young, executive assistant to the AFL-CIO President; Vice President Joyce Miller, Clothing & Textile Workers; AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald; Legislative Director Robert McGlotten, and Education Director Dorothy Shields.

With funds from the Labor Dept., HRDI operates employment programs under the JTPA, in cooperation with state employment agencies, and works with affiliated unions to insure that labor's concern for quality training is considered by JTPA's private industry councils. The institute also works closely with vocational education and rehabilitation systems, state-run jobs programs, union apprenticeship programs and secondary schools.

The JTPA replaced the Comprehensive Employment & Training Act, which included a mix of on-the-job training, work experience, public service employment and Job Corps activities.

HRDI representatives also have been working with the Steelworkers, Auto Workers, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers and other unions in programs aimed at helping workers who are permanently furloughed to gain new employment.

UFCW closes 2-tier pay gap in new pacts

Lump-sum bonus payments, a narrowing of the two-tier pay system established in the last round of bargaining, and increased benefits for current retirees highlighted new three-year contracts of the Food & Commercial Workers. The agreements cover 18,500 supermarket employees in the District of Columbia and its Maryland and Virginia suburbs.

The agreements cover members of UFCW Local 400 employed at Giant Food Inc. and Safeway Stores Inc. Concurrently, Local 27 negotiated a similar contract for 7,000 employees of the two chains in the Baltimore area.

Under the new contracts, veteran full-time employees will receive lump-sum payments totaling between $2,400 and $3,000 each, to be paid in six installments over the life of the contract.

The company-paid pension program will be improved as monthly benefits are raised from $20 per credited year of service to $32.

Part-timers gain

Part-time employees will receive six lump-sump payments ranging from $175 to $250 each, an immediate 50-cents-an-hour pay increase and another 80 cents an hour over the term of the agreements, and an increase in retirement credits from $16 to $20.

More than 2,300 current retirees will receive three increases of 3 percent each in their pensions between Jan. 1, 1987, and Jan. 1, 1989.

Meanwhile, the year-long strike at the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. plant in Austin, Minn., ended when the 1,500 members of UFCW Local P-9 voted by a 5-2 margin to accept an agreement increasing wages from $10 to $10.70 an hour, eliminating the two-tier wage structure, and providing recall rights for strikers as new openings occur.

Laborers pension resources to spur union-built housing

Miami Beach, Fla.—The Laborers voted to channel at least 2 percent of the union's pension assets for the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust as delegates to the union's 19th convention continued to lay the groundwork for LIUNA's expanding programs.

President Angelo Fosco and Sec.-Treas. Arthur E. Coia said the decision to invest in HIT will have "a significant impact on the course and operation of LIUNA for years to come."

HIT was established by the federation in 1983 as a vehicle for the investment of pension funds in union-built, government-insured construction projects and home mortgages.

Current HIT investments include Federal Housing Administration and so-called Ginny Mae—Government National Mortgage Association—mortgages, single-family housing units and nursing homes. As of the end of June, HIT had assets of nearly $146 million.

The 2,000 delegates also called on affiliates to "invest prudently in union construction projects that generate increased contributions in pension plans" and to support nonconstruction industries that support union labor.

In another resolution, delegates blasted the growing union-busting industry, "whose operations are cynically designed to apply maximum psychological pressures against employees who are union supporters."

Convention speakers included President Paul Burnsky of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept.; President William R. Jones of the National Constructors Association, and pension fund adviser John Gentleman.

Laborers' President Fosco addresses delegates at union's 19th convention.

Daniel Healy dies at 78, headed Region I

Skokie, Ill.—Daniel J. Healy, retired director of AFL-CIO Region I, was found dead at home Sept. 12 of an apparent heart attack. He was 78.

Healy was an AFL staff representative in New England from 1943 to 1953 and an AFL-CIO assistant regional director before being named director of Region XIV in 1957. He was director of Region I, comprising Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin, from 1974 to 1980 when he retired. Earlier he was president of Directly Affiliated Local Union 22763 in Malden, Mass.

Funeral services were held Sept. 18 at St. Peter's Church here. Survivors include two sons.

Senate approves school asbestos cleanup

Continued from Page 1

urged Congress to enact "a law with teeth in it."

Under the Senate-passed bill, the EPA must establish standards for inspecting school buildings for hazardous asbestos and for abating hazards that are found—and schools are required to comply with them.

It includes a provision for a contractor certification plan to assure that only trained people carry out asbestos abatement and inspection.

The bill also includes a standard on hazardous asbestos that will go into effect if the EPA fails to carry out the congressional mandate.

Report overstates wage gains of black workers

The AFL-CIO denounced a Civil Rights Commission report on the narrowing of the wage gap between black and white males from 1940 to 1980, charging that the study "ignores the plight of black workers in today's marketplace."

Federation Civil Rights Director Richard Womack said that the commission erred in comparing the percentage gains in real earnings made by the two groups of workers.

Although black men have "made some strides in improving their real earnings," he pointed out, "they started at the bottom of the totem pole and therefore had a longer road to travel."

In addition, he said, the commission failed to note that unemployment among black men is double that of white males. "In other words," Womack declared, "black males find it twice as hard to get a job, and when they do find work in non-union situations they end up getting paid far less than white men."

The Civil Rights Commission report—adopted over the strenuous objections of Commissioners Mary Frances Berry, Francis Guess and Blandina Cardenas Ramirez—contended that real weekly wages of black males rose 300 percent between 1940 and 1980, compared with 163 percent for white males. It added:

"Today, young black men (25-34) earn an hourly wage approximately 84 percent of what white men earn; in 1940 the figure was 49 percent."

Womack challenged the accuracy of the report, citing Bureau of Labor Statistics data showing that in 1985 white males had median weekly earnings of $417 compared to only $304 for blacks. "The Labor Dept. figures make it clear that black workers earn 63 percent of what white workers do," he said.

The three commissioners who voted against issuance of the report expressed concern that it ignored the serious problem of black male unemployment and underemployment and offered little in the way of suggested remedies.

Before Chairman Clarence Pendleton pushed the report through on a 5-3 vote, Berry charged that the commission never authorized a study limited to the real earnings gains of black men while ignoring women, teenagers and Hispanics.

Berry, Guess and Ramirez also challenged the report's conclusion that the participation of black males in the labor force declined over the 40-year period because of the increasing availability of federal disability programs and the rising level of benefits.

The three dissenters pointed to "the high rates of hypertension and other cardiovascular diseases in the black community, as well as the fact that black men who have jobs work in hazardous environments." They warned against any action to deny disability benefits as a means of increasing the number of black males in the workforce.

Womack cautioned that the Reagan Administration might use the report as a rationale for another assault on the social safety net. "There is clear evidence that unemployment increases the welfare load," he said, "and the way to solve the problem is by creating jobs for black males and ending pay discrimination against them."

ATU assails Reagan scheme to 'privatize' transit systems

Toronto—The Transit Union convention voiced strong opposition to Reagan Administration attempts to "privatize" mass transit services and slash federal funding of transit operations.

The 500 delegates also voted to streamline the ATU's organizational structure, elected officers and approved resolutions adamantly opposing drug testing without reasonable cause and establishing a safety and health committee.

In renouncing Administration efforts to condition receipt of federal transit grants on the percentage of operations contracted out to private operators, the convention noted today's public transit systems are a "direct outgrowth of the private sector's inability or refusal to provide reliable, efficient transit service during the 1950s and 1960s."

To require the return of transit services to the private sector would result in "the loss of ATU members, jobs, higher costs and reduced quality and efficiency of services, accompanied by inadequate public control mechanisms and unresponsiveness to public needs," the delegates said.

National policy urged

Calling mass transit "an essential public service much like police and fire protection," the delegates called for the implementation of a national policy with a goal of increasing ridership by at least 50 percent by 1990, while keeping fares at reasonable levels in order to provide a means of mobility for the millions of Americans dependent on mass transit. The Administration has sought to cut transit funds by up to 70 percent, the resolution noted.

The convention unanimously approved a constitutional change expanding the number of international vice presidents from 14 to 19, while reducing the number of executive board members from 14 to nine. The changes are intended to streamline the union's decision-making procedure, while increasing the services available to local unions and their members.

President James La Sala was elected to his first three-year term, after having been appointed on May 1, 1985, to fill the unexpired term of James W. Rowland, who retired. Ellis B. Franklin, who had been appointed executive vice president at that time, was also elected to his first full term in office. Sec.-Treas. Raymond C. Wallace was re-elected by acclamation to the post he has held since 1976.

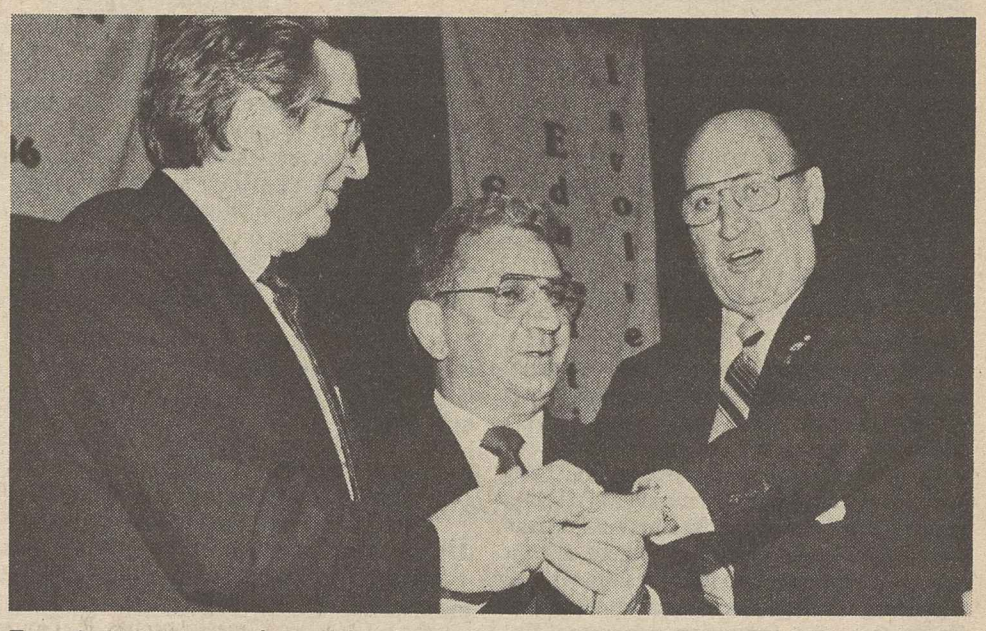
Drug-testing stand

While acknowledging that drug and alcohol abuse is a major problem nationwide, the delegates rejected random drug testing as an invasion of individual privacy and as "an unreliable tool often subjecting innocent employees to loss of jobs, ruined reputations and even prosecution and imprisonment."

Instead, they called for carefully monitored testing "where probable cause exists" and establishment of programs to aid those workers who test positive.

In a resolution establishing an ATU safety and health committee, statistics were cited that showed transit workers have higher than average rates of heart disease, high blood pressure and other job-related health problems.

The resolution called for the union's research department to become a clearinghouse for transit safety and health information, and urged development of a comprehensive program to "work toward the goals of healthier and safer working conditions in an effort to prevent and reduce death, early disability retirements, illnesses and injuries."



Transit Union's re-elected leaders: Sec.-Treas. Raymond C. Wallace, President James La Sala and Executive Vice President Ellis B. Franklin.

Ailing GNP pushes economy to brink of new recession

Continued from Page 1

There were other signs of a faltering economy:

- The United States was driven deeper into the hole as the world's largest debtor nation during the second quarter, as the imbalance in the nation's current account—which includes trade in both merchandise and services—climbed to a record $34.7 billion.

The figure overshadowed the $34-billion shortfall recorded in the first quarter, prompting analysts to predict a $140-billion current-account deficit for the year—a stunning 18.6-percent leap over 1985's record-shattering $117.7 billion.

Until President Reagan took office five years ago, the United States was running surpluses in its current account. In the first years of his Administration, earnings on American investments overseas provided enough dollars to offset deficits in merchandise trade. But surging imports and declining exports induced by Reagan's failure to address the trade problem turned the United States into a debtor nation last year for the first time since 1914.

The nation ended 1985 in hock to the rest of the world to the tune of $107 billion. That debt, the government said, is now approaching $160 billion, far eclipsing the $103.7-billion debt of the previous leading debtor nation, Brazil.

- Wall Street continued its roller-coaster ride, as the Dow Jones index plunged 120 points in a two-day period. Analysts blamed the largest back-to-back decline in stock market history on fears of a new round of inflation and the prospects of rising interest rates—both of which could act as a further brake on the economy.

But the White House shrugged off the bad news. Chief of Staff Donald Regan, a former Wall Street executive, said that "we're taking this very calmly."

- The operating rate at U.S. factories dropped one-tenth of 1 percent in August—the lowest level since the 1983 recession. The operating rate in the mining industry, which includes the price-battered oil and gas industries, fell 1 percent to 72.8 while the nation's utilities saw their rate plunge from 80 percent in July to 72.8 percent last month.

- Industrial output inched up one-tenth of 1 percent in August as a three-tenths of 1 percent improvement in manufacturing offset a 1.4-percent decline in mining and a 1.5-percent drop in utility production. Most of the strength came from a 1.4-percent rise at defense and aerospace plants, putting this category 5.1 percent above the level of a year ago.

- The Commerce Dept. reported that U.S. businesses continued to cut their plans for spending on plant and equipment this year, particularly in the manufacturing sector. The government forecast a 2.5-percent decline this year from the 1985 spending level—the steepest cutback since the end of the first Reagan Recession.

Washington Fed joins Idaho RTW battle

Spokane, Wash.—The Washington State AFL-CIO threw its full support behind the labor movement in neighboring Idaho, where the so-called right-to-work issue will be decided by the voters on Nov. 4.

Convention delegates, individual unions, local councils and district councils joined in raising more than $30,000 to help win passage of a referendum overturning a compulsory open-shop statute enacted by the Idaho legislature.

The convention acted after hearing Idaho AFL-CIO President Jim Kerns report that the campaign is "dead even" at this point, "but we're on a roll and the numbers are going our way."

In the battle for control of the Senate, Kerns forecast victories for Idaho's Gov. John Evans (D) and former Rep. Brock Adams (D) in Washington, both of whom have COPE endorsement in their Senate races.

Following a major demonstration on the convention floor, Adams, secretary of the Dept. of Transportation in the Carter Administration, pledged to fight for "jobs for ourselves, our children and our grandchildren."

Other COPE-endorsed candidates addressing the convention included incumbent Democratic Reps. Tom Foley and Al Swift, and House Democratic hopefuls Reese Lindquist, David Giles and Bob Boedecke.

Education system

Gov. Booth Gardner (D) asked for labor's support to build an educational system "which will help us figure a way out of the problems of global competition." He lambasted the Reagan Administration for a "mentality" that "wants to board up the schools."

In his opening address, Larry Kenney, serving his first term as president of the Washington state federation, said organizing must be the first priority "because organizing is the future." His call was echoed by the keynote speaker, Betty Tianti, president of the Connecticut State AFL-CIO. "Organizing means organizing women," she declared. "Office workers particularly need help."

Sec.-Treas. Al Brisbois called on delegates to assist in an effort to have all union members in Washington affiliated with the state labor body to increase the effectiveness of labor's lobbying and political action. "The present 52-percent affiliation is just too low," Brisbois said.

Other speakers included James Kennedy, executive assistant to AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue; Regional Director Ed Collins; Larry Kirkman, executive director of the Labor Institute for Public Affairs; Richard Davis, director of the Washington state Dept. of Labor & Industries, and Commissioner Isiah Turner of the Dept. of Employment Security.

The convention adopted 67 resolutions, including calls for an end to apartheid in South Africa, support for plant closure legislation, fair trade laws, a national industrial policy, federal control of union-busters, tax reform, and establishment of a program on the state level to stimulate homebuilding.

Baby-sitting service with a union label

Spokane, Wash.—Delegates to the Washington State AFL-CIO convention found a built-in baby sitter as the federation provided child care services to working parents attending the sessions.

Praising the pilot project, the delegates called on affiliated unions to provide child care services for their members during meetings and conventions and directed the State AFL-CIO to offer child care to parents during the four-day convention.

Other AFL-CIO organizations providing child care services for working parents attending union conventions and conferences include the Newspaper Guild, Communications Workers, the State, County & Municipal Employees, the Service Employees and Coalition of Labor Union Women.

FTUI plays global role

Labor rallies cause for democracy

Fragile labor movements around the globe are receiving new support through the AFL-CIO Free Trade Union Institute in securing human and workers' rights—the cornerstones of democracy.

FTUI, established in 1977 to build bridges of cooperation between American and European unions, adds a new dimension to the work of the federation's three regional bodies—the American Institute for Free Labor Development, the African-American Labor Center and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute—already actively involved in assisting free trade unions in the emerging nations since the 1960s.

While the institute was new, its role was deeply rooted in trade union history.

At the end of World War I, AFL President Samuel Gompers helped write the constitution of the International Labor Organization and for most of this century the American labor movement has been developing a comprehensive system of aid and support for free trade unionists struggling for democratic freedoms throughout the world.

In the mid-1930s, American labor was involved in providing assistance, often on a clandestine basis, to trade unions under assault in Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany, and throughout the war it provided a link with unionists involved in the French resistance.

This track record expanded in the post-war era under the direction of Irving Brown, the federation's international affairs director until his recent retirement and at that time director of labor's Paris office. Operating through the Free Trade Union Committee, the federation supported Europe's democratic unions in the struggle that pitted them against those dominated by the communists.

Free Trade Union Institute programs are reviewed by FTUI Executive Director Eugenia Kemble, AFL-CIO President Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Donahue.

Engaged originally in exchange programs with its European counterparts, the institute underwent a sea change in 1983 when Congress established the National Endowment for Democracy. Its purpose: to promote democracy-building efforts around the globe by using public money to underwrite initiatives by a broad cross-section of mainstream private groups.

Inclusion of the AFL-CIO was vital to the NED's success, according to FTUI Executive Director Eugenia Kemble. With offices in 40 countries and every region of the world, labor was the only major entity in the coalition with extensive field operations already in place. The other participants in NED are the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the national Democratic and Republican parties.

Basic Freedoms

The endowment operates on the principle that free unions, free business and free political parties are fundamental to a free society—a philosophy in keeping with labor's historic view of the components of a basic democratic structure.

From its inception, the endowment has recognized the unique character of labor's experience and the contribution it can make to the new endeavor. During its first two years, 68 percent of NED's funding went to FTUI, working in cooperation with the AFL-CIO's regional institutes.

Things changed abruptly when, in approving NED's fiscal 1986 appropriation, Congress put a limit of 25 percent on the total amount of the endowment's funds that could go to any single grantee. Because labor was the only grantee being funded above that level, it was the only one whose work was curtailed. Financing of labor initiatives nosedived from $13.8 million to $4.3 million.

"The cut was devastating," Kemble asserted. "The irony of it was that the endowment was put in the position of having to cast around for new programs to fund, while the desperate unions we worked with in Chile and the Philippines were closing offices and laying off staff."

Congress is now in the process of correcting the situation. By a margin of 228-121—the largest vote of confidence it has given NED—the House recently approved fiscal 1987 appropriations without imposing any cap on the amount of money going to any one grantee.

Restoration of full funding for labor programs is vital to the success of FTUI's on-going projects, Kemble explained.

"The largest NED-funded program was the activity in the Philippines and it was cut in half—from $1.3 million to $600,000," she said, making it difficult for labor to "maintain commitments already made to democratic trade unionists who put their lives on the line" to oust the Marcos dictatorship and restore electoral government.

The Philippines project, carried out in cooperation with the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, has been one of the most visible of the NED programs with which labor has been identified. But it's far from being the only one. Since the endowment was created, it has funded AFL-CIO international operations involving:

- Assistance to Solidarnosc, Poland's free trade union movement driven underground by the Jaruzelski regime, and the collection, translation and dissemination of information on the status of human rights and workers' rights in that country.
- A major effort undertaken at the request of South Africa's unions to turn the public spotlight on the evils of apartheid and the repression of workers by the white-minority government.
- Support for Chile's democratic labor federation, the Central Democratic de Trabajadores, in its efforts to establish regional offices, issue publications and carry on organizing campaigns in the face of government repression and the rise of pro-communist groups.
- Cooperation with the Inter-American Committee for Human & Trade Union Rights, a Mexico City-based organization run by prominent North and South American union leaders, that coordinates fact-finding missions, mobilizes international solidarity efforts in behalf of trade union victims of repression, and provides reliable information on the suppression of basic freedoms throughout the Americas.
- Mobilization of protests by American and European unionists in response to mounting Sandinista government arrests and repression of Nicaragua's Confederacion de Unificacion Sindical, an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
- Assistance to the pro-western labor movement in Chad, which seeks to function in a setting marred by civil war, drought and a Libyan-supported anti-democratic rival labor federation.
- Support for the organizing efforts of Portuguese and Spanish unionists who are confronted by extremist and communist rivals.
- Assistance to unions in Honduras, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Peru, Guatemala and Ecuador in establishing internal union committees to develop voter awareness among members as a vital step toward achieving an effective democratic government.
- Aid to the newly emergent democratic trade unions of the South Pacific, which face well-financed, anti-democratic political forces.

All of these programs, Kemble declared, came into being at the request of the trade union movements in the countries involved.

"That's why the National Endowment for Democracy was established—to make it possible for representative institutions in this country to respond to the calls for help from their counterparts in other countries," she explained.

Bedrock of democracy

American labor answers these calls, Kemble said, because it knows "that the bedrock of democracy is freedom of association, and for democratic trade unions, the freedom to associate is linked to their basic right to exist.

"Without it, there is no power to defend and represent workers' interests before governments and employers. The denial of free association means the denial of such other basic rights as freedom of assembly and freedom of expression. Without free trade unions, governments rule arbitrarily and undemocratically."

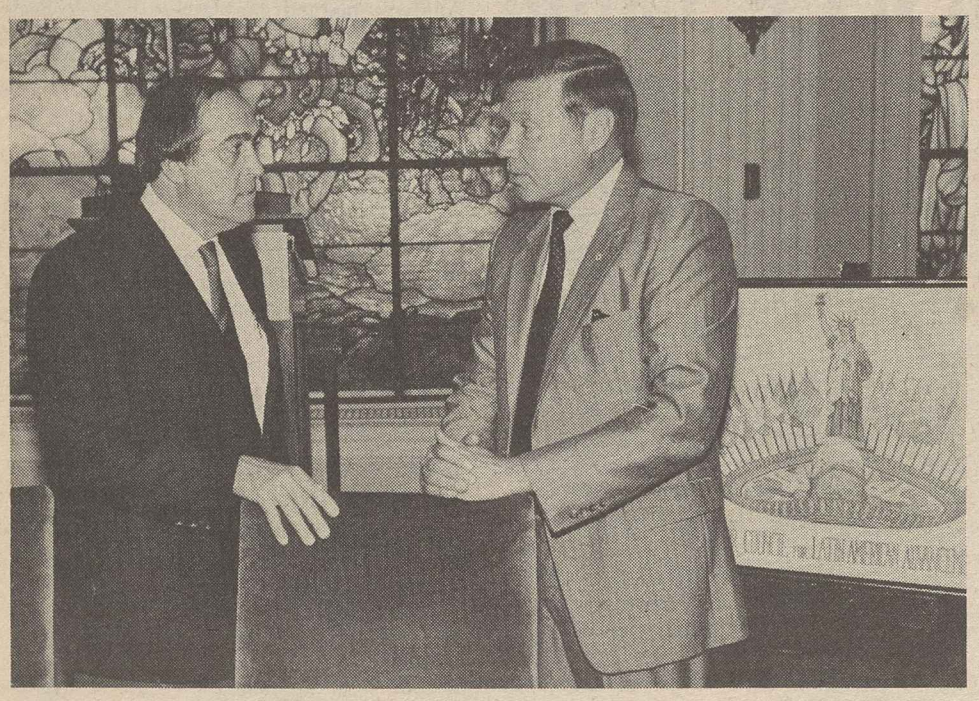
The determination of priorities in response to requests for assistance from foreign trade unions is made by FTUI's board of directors. The board consists of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland; Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue; Plumbers President Marvin Boede; former Ladies' Garment Workers President Sol C. Chaikin; Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers President John DeConcini; Seafarers President Frank Drozak; Longshoremen's President Thomas Gleason; Glass, Pottery & Plastics Workers President James Hatfield; Teachers President Albert Shanker; AFL-CIO International Affairs Director Tom Kahn; Brown, and Kemble.

Endowment target of Senate cutback

The AFL-CIO is mounting a concerted effort to save the National Endowment for Democracy, whose funding is under attack in the Senate. Among the programs financed through NED are those of the federation's Free Trade Union Institute.

In letters to all senators, Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten registered strong opposition to a proposed amendment transferring NED's operation to the Fulbright-Hayes Scholarship program.

Giving the endowment only $15 million —half the sum voted by the House—and submerging its activities in the larger Fulbright program would mean abandonment of essential programs in Poland, Chile, Paraguay and South Africa, McGlotten warned. It also would threaten "newly emerging democratic institutions" in the Philippines, Haiti and Guatamala, he pointed out.



Good neighbors

Acting President Jack Otero of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, left, and President Richard Schubert of the American Red Cross put the finishing touches on plans to boost participation of Hispanic workers in Red Cross relief efforts and to increase the agency's services to Hispanic communities. Red Cross initiatives will include expanded health screening and education programs and disaster aid services. A similar cooperative agreement was signed by the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Curb on job-gutting imports tops North Carolina agenda

Raleigh, N.C.—Delegates to the North Carolina AFL-CIO convention put fair trade on the top of their legislative agenda, calling on Congress to limit the access of job-destroying imports to American markets from foreign countries that keep out U.S. goods. The convention also voiced strong opposition to the use of drug tests, polygraph tests and no-smoking restrictions in the workplace.

The 250 delegates expressed their support for a trade program that would require prompt action by the Reagan Administration against nations that subsidize exports but close their markets to American products.

Legislative priorities for the next session of the state legislature include the elimination of restrictive rules on eligibility for workers' compensation and increased funding and effective enforcement of the state's "right-to-know" law.

State AFL-CIO President Christopher Scott blamed the Reagan Administration's "track record" for the continued loss of textile and apparel jobs in the state and skyrocketing levels of textile imports. He also predicted that industry's fascination with "efficiency" will lead to a greater invasion of privacy in the workplace without unions to lead the fight for workplace dignity.

In his convention address, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue stressed that the nation was fighting and losing "an economic war," because of the Administration's "infatuation" with so-called free trade.

The delegates endorsed the candidacy of former Gov. Terry Sanford (D), for U.S. Senate. He will face Republican James T. Broyhill in the November elections. Other endorsements included 11 candidates for Congress, all Democrats, and four judicial candidates.

Delegates heard from Mine Workers President Richard Trumka, who outlined labor's boycott of Shell Oil Co. products, and Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch, who discussed the lockout of USWA members by USX Corp.

The P.R. Latta award for "outstanding service to the labor movement" and rank and file participation was awarded to Sallie Lawson of the United Garment Workers. Also honored was organizer and folksinger Si Kahn, who was named poet laureate of the North Carolina AFL-CIO.

EDITORIALS

Testing for Witches

POLYGRAPHS WRONGLY accuse people more than one-third of the time. That's the sober conclusion of the American Medical Association Council on Scientific Affairs.

Its report cautions business firms that polygraph tests are an unreliable way to determine employee dishonesty or disloyalty and should not be used. "An unacceptable percentage of innocent persons may be labeled as deceptive," the AMA study warns.

A less scientific but more dramatic verification of this warning came in a recent television news expose that found three different polygraph examiners each coming up with a different culprit in an investigation of a mythical theft. In each case, the worker branded as guilty was a person the tester had been told was suspected of the theft.

Wisely, the House of Representatives earlier this year voted to bar polygraph testing in most private employment. It will be shameful if the Senate fails to act before Congress adjourns.

The weight of scientific evidence is that polygraphs are marginally more accurate than the Salem witch trials back in the 17th Century.

In those days, persons "proved" to be witches were put to death. It's progress of a sort, perhaps, that workers aren't executed if they flunk a polygraph test. It's only jobs and reputations that are at stake in our modern-day witch trials.

At the Precipice

THE CLEAR and present danger of a disastrous new recession should be setting off alarm bells in the White House and Congress, but the silence is shattering.

Is there concern that millions of Americans are still jobless when the economy is merely poised on the brink of a slide? If so, there are few signs of it.

Is there concern within the Administration that the trade imbalance has reached levels that would have been considered inconceivable a decade ago and that the absence of American-made goods on store shelves is somehow related to the shortage of American jobs? Incredibly, there doesn't seem to be.

Does anyone in authority relate wage-cutting pressures to slack consumer demand? On the contrary, we hear only applause that our workforce is becoming more "competitive."

A retreat to third world living standards is not economic competition. It's economic suicide.

Work and Family

TO THIS Administration, industrial homework is a means of keeping the family together and opening up new job opportunities.

That's what former Sec. of Labor Ray Donovan claimed back in 1981 when the Reagan Administration first proposed to abolish all restrictions on take-home factory work. And that is the argument the department's policymakers are making in its current effort to legalize industrial homework in what were once America's kitchen sweatshop industries.

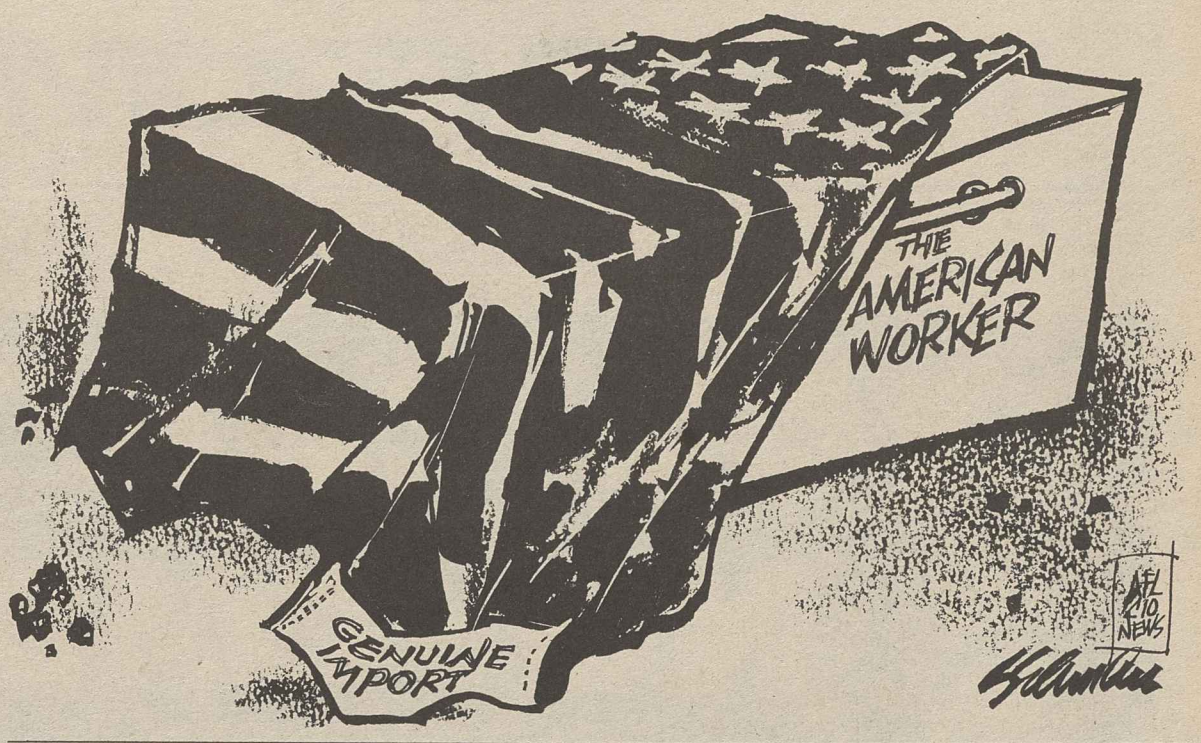
Who speaks for the family in the debate over this issue?

We commend to our readers the adjoining comments of Rebecca Stucki, who describes the change union conditions made in her mother's jobs—and in her family's happiness.

And we commend to our readers the account of two Iowa women trapped and exploited in an illegal industrial homework enterprise with no chance of improving their conditions. The Labor Dept., now as in 1981, contends that the solution is to legalize these operations so that cheated workers will be free to complain when they are paid less than the minimum wage.

When the Administration unveiled its back-to-the-sweatshop plan in 1981, the AFL-CIO Executive Council suggested that the Labor Dept. would be doing better to beef up its enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act instead of proposing ways to weaken the law.

That's still good advice.



Prize-winning essay

Union means better life for all family members

By Rebecca K. Stucki

This article is excerpted from an essay by Rebecca Stucki which won her a fully paid four-year college scholarship from AFSCME. Rebecca, 18, is a freshman at Marion College in Marion, Ind., and the daughter of Charlotte Stucki of AFSCME Local 261, Wyoming, Mich.

America is truly a blessed nation. Americans have the freedom and opportunities to pursue life, liberty and happiness. Many of us have a dream to succeed, to become famous or to attain riches. But the reality of life is that one usually has to work hard to achieve one's goals and dreams. Somewhere along the way, one also has to depend or rely on someone else for assistance. Two helping each other are definitely better than one struggling alone.

In our home, AFSCME has been the important helping hand that has enabled our family to fulfill many of our goals and dreams.

To my 10-year-old brother, who can hardly remember that those six letters stand for the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, it has meant the end of a long-standing congenital deformity. Because of the excellent health care plan provided by the AFSCME contract, he was able to receive corrective surgery for this problem. Prior to this, our family had no health care benefits and no means to have this taken care of.

To my younger sister, it has literally meant a million-dollar smile and a new sense of self-esteem and confidence. Because of the contract, which also provides a dental plan, she was able to have the needed orthodontic work done on her teeth. My parents desired to provide this for her for years, but their financial resources never stretched quite far enough.

Quality of life

AFSCME has still another meaning for my older sister and me. Over the years, we have seen our parents work hard to meet our needs, Dad as a minister and self-employed painter-carpenter and Mom as a licensed practical nurse. We always had the necessities but sometimes the "extras" which add so much to the quality of life were missing. The year before AFSCME became a part of our lives was a difficult one. We lived in a southern state and Mom worked in a private hospital which had no union. Wages were low and there were no fringe benefits, no sick leave, no holiday pay, no insurance, no overtime pay, no representation for settling job-related problems, etc.

We had each other, we had love and we had what we needed, but it was the financial and emotional low point of our lives. To my sister and me, AFSCME has provided more than just dollars and cents. It has meant seeing the new happiness in my parents' lives since they have been able to give us some of the material things that were a part of their dreams.

Voice in the workplace

Mom has experienced a sense of job satisfaction. Her job with the union has meant having a voice and sense of some control in the workplace. The feeling of having a part and a say-so in the arena where most of one's waking hours are spent is very rewarding to her. AFSCME means that she is a part of a large network of fellow human beings who share our dreams.

Finally, AFSCME has an even broader meaning for my parents beyond the monetary and personal one. It reaches past the four walls of our home and family and encompasses the four borders of our nation. AFSCME represents the greatness of America. I also share this view because of what I have seen in other countries. I spent the last two summers in a mission work program in the Far East. There I saw the great disparity between the rich and the poor, between the landowners and the common laborers. I observed the exploitation of labor by the wealthy. An AFSCME did not exist to extend a hand to help lift the masses up to a higher level of life. To us, AFSCME means the privilege of being middle-class, a thing unknown to millions. It means a democracy—a mini-government of, by and for the people. It means America.

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AFL-CIO news

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IUD drafts recovery agenda

Proposals to revive America's sagging industrial base

By Gene Zack

A concerted government effort to integrate trade, tax, budget, investment and employment policies is necessary to lift America's sagging economy and prevent the collapse of the vital industrial base, the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. declared.

Although there has been serious deterioration of the industrial sector, continuation of that trend is "neither inevitable nor irreversible," the IUD said in a report titled "Crossroads for America."

Based in part on research conducted at the University of Texas by former Labor Sec. Ray Marshall and Prof. Norman Glickman, the report documents the decline of the U.S. industrial base, details the social consequences of that decline, and proposes a strategy for its reversal.

"The crisis of America's industrial base has become even more urgent," said IUD President Howard D. Samuel in issuing the document. "Americans do not have to accept the fate of a sagging economy propped up by low-wage service jobs. We can choose to rebuild the manufacturing base that is so vital to this country's overall economic health."

Under assault from foreign-made goods that have flooded the domestic market, the nation lost millions of jobs in manufacturing since 1979. What jobs have been created since then have been largely in the lower-paying service sector, the report noted. Workers have paid the price for this transformation in the form of a precipitous drop in income.

Deep wage erosion

Based on 1984 data, the industrial jobs that were lost paid an average weekly wage of $374, the report said. They were replaced by service sector jobs where weekly wages average only $272—a 27.2-percent decline in earnings and purchasing power.

The root causes for the manufacturing sector's distress have been inadequate investment in human resources, a passive trade policy, a corporate policy of underinvestment in plant and equipment, an increased reliance on foreign sources for parts and products, the IUD said.

"We achieved the highest standard of living in the world thanks to the hard work and high productivity of our manufacturing workers," Auto Workers President Owen Bieber, chairman of the IUD Committee on Reindustrialization, pointed out. "Now many people are telling us that the 'natural' evolution of our economy is toward the service sector."

But, he added, "the current decline of U.S. manufacturing is not 'natural.' It is the result of the conscious and unconscious neglect of our manufacturing base."

Bieber emphasized that there can't be a healthy service sector without a strong industrial sector, because for manufacturing workers, "the shift to the service economy can mean only one of two things—lower wages or unemployment."

According to the IUD report, the Reagan Administration deserves the major share of the blame for advocating a trade policy that has led to a record trade deficit, driven the nation into debtor status for the first time in more than 70 years, and created persistently high unemployment.

To correct the problem, the IUD proposed a range of government actions that include:

- Linking together such domestic policies as taxation, budget priorities and em-

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Silent partner

Cardboard cutout of Ed Jaymes, a television commercial regular for Bartles & Jaymes wine coolers, joins Steve Garcia on a Distillery Workers' picket line in Modesto, Calif. Some 2,500 DWU members are striking 12 of California's biggest wine producers. (Story on Page 13.)

ILO's Francis Blanchard

Worldwide problem

ILO to convene job crisis summit

Sounding the call for a global campaign to stimulate economic growth and create jobs, Director Gen. Francis Blanchard of the International Labor Organization disclosed plans to convene a major international conference next year to deal with the deepening worldwide economic crisis.

At a Washington press conference, Blanchard also denounced the wholesale violation of trade union and human rights in South Africa and reaffirmed the ILO's call for tough sanctions against Pretoria's white-minority government until apartheid is dismantled.

Although the major industrial countries around the world have had some recent successes in reversing the inflation spiral and achieving significant growth rates, the ILO official said, there is "a darker side to the picture"—unemployment rates in many regions "higher than at any time since the Great Depression."

Disquieting outlook

Much of the joblessness stems from "the decline of whole industries and hence of whole regions," Blanchard declared. Nor is the outlook very promising. "If growth slows down," he said, "the likelihood of making a real dent in unemployment will be still more doubtful."

Blanchard saw two "especially disquieting" aspects of persistent unemployment:

- Much of it is long term, which means that "people remain out of jobs for months and even years, becoming more and more dependent on public assistance and gradually losing self-esteem, dignity and hope."
- It is particularly high among young people, with the result that in many areas "a whole generation is growing up without jobs, without the prospect of jobs and without the place in society that comes with productive work."

Blanchard said the ILO plans a 1987 conference that will bring together such institutions as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariff & Trade and UNICEF to explore the "social implication" involved in the twin problems of long-term and youth unemployment. Finance and labor ministers, trade representatives, employer organizations and unions will also participate in the sessions.

"The need for action is indisputable," he declared, because any further slowdown in growth in the industrialized countries "will

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New air controllers union wins clearance for takeoff

Chicago—The founding convention of the National Air Traffic Controllers Association launched labor's newest union pledging to improve working conditions for federal workers who monitor the nation's air lanes and to achieve long-overdue improvements in air traffic safety.

The convention of some 200 delegates approved a constitution, elected a nine-member executive board and an interim national coordinator, and set plans for a future representation election to obtain collective bargaining rights.

NATCA is an affiliate of the Marine Engineers' Pacific Coast District, which fully supported and funded the organizing effort that began last December. The previous union representing controllers at the Federal Aviation Administration—the Professional Air Traffic Controllers—was crushed by President Reagan after an August 1981 strike.

MEBA President C.E. DeFries pledged all-out support to help create a "brand new organization of air traffic controllers, run by air traffic controllers, and avoiding some of the errors of the past."

DeFries told delegates that "MEBA is going to fill your truck with gasoline and send you on your way. We'll follow you with a tow truck in case you break down, but we want you to run your own organization."

Elected as interim NATCA coordinator by the new union's executive board was

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House approves tax reform 292-136

By David L. Perlman

Congress neared final passage of a tax reform bill that tilts towards fairness despite some objectionable features.

The AFL-CIO's support for the measure was expressed in a letter sent to all House members before the showdown vote on Sept. 25. The bill passed by a bipartisan 292-136 margin, clearing the way for final approval by the Senate and President Reagan's signature.

Labor's chief concern throughout the long battle over the shape of tax reform was fairness, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten wrote House members.

The final version, he said, "goes a long ways" toward the goal of "fairness between the wealthy and working people, as well as between industries and corporations."

While urging passage, McGlotten expressed the AFL-CIO's objections to the harsher tax treatment of pensions for federal workers and other groups of public employees with contributory retirement plans. He urged early action by Congress "to correct this injustice."

The AFL-CIO also disagreed with provisions of the bill limiting deductions for employee business expenses such as union dues and ending the deduction of state and local sales taxes. And it favored "a more progressive rate structure" than the final version of the legislation provides, McGlotten said.

On the plus side, the AFL-CIO welcomed provisions to relieve some 6 million lower-paid workers of the income-tax burden while plugging tax-shelter and tax avoidance loopholes for the wealthy.

McGlotten praised the bill for maintaining the existing tax exclusion for employer-paid benefits such as health insurance and retention of existing deductions for state and local income and property taxes.

In the final shaping of the bill, "transition rules" inserted at the urging of various

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Locked-out OCAW members and supporters protest BASF anti-union tactics in Geismar, La.

Response to boycott

BASF escalates war on unions

Geismar, La.—The BASF Corp., which locked out 370 Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers at the former Wyandotte Corp. plant here in June 1984, has launched a massive media blitz against the trade union movement in an effort to counter labor's corporate campaign strategy.

For the past 26 months, the OCAW—supported by the AFL-CIO, the Industrial Union Dept. and other unions—has mounted a concerted campaign to make the country aware of BASF's labor-bashing policies, deteriorating safety because of the use of contract employees to replace the locked-out OCAW members, and environmental hazards at the plant that threaten workers and nearby communities.

Last October, the Federation's Executive Council voted to boycott BASF, denouncing the firm's "union-busting and illegal activities," and the Union Label & Service Trades Dept. placed BASF video, audio and computer tapes and discs, Lurotin brand vitamins and Aulgard 340-2 protectant found in some brands of anti-freeze on its "Don't-Buy" list.

Boycott impact

Obviously stung by the boycott efforts and the support labor has received from members of Congress, environmentalists, church groups and others, BASF is firing back. The German-based multinational enlisted the services of Hill & Knowlton, the nation's largest public relations firm, to orchestrate its counterattack.

The tactics include flooding the news media with distorted accounts of the labor dispute coupled with a sweeping attack on the trade union movement. This has already resulted in anti-labor diatribes by Louis Rukeyser, the Wall Street commentator; John Chamberlain, a conservative syndicated columnist, and Robert Bleiberg, chief editor of Barron's business magazine.

Richard Leonard, director of OCAW's campaign at BASF, pointed out that the published attacks on unions appeared over a span of four weeks and used such identical terms as "smear," "blackmail," "vilification," "harassment" and "dirty tricks" to describe labor's corporate campaign.

PR agency ploy

The Hill & Knowlton media blitz also suggests that OCAW and its allies in the trade union movement collaborated with the Occupational Safety & Health Administration and the Louisiana Dept. of Environmental Quality, both of which targeted BASF for scrutiny on the basis of safety violations at the Geismar plant.

Pointing out that locked-out workers "have no standing" to file safety complaints with OSHA, Leonard said the inspections were triggered by repeated chemical spills, toxic gas leaks and other BASF violations of environmental law. The OCAW has given high visibility to these incidents, Leonard added, laying responsibility for the violations squarely on "the wholesale use of temporary workers."

"The largest supplier of temporary labor" at the Geismar plant "showed a turnover rate of 35 percent" of its workforce last year, he said, warning that such "instability" poses serious health and environmental risks at a "highly complex and dangerous chemical facility."

The corporate campaign has publicized the firm's repeated attempts to cover up phosgene gas leaks at the plant and was responsible for a congressional investigation into BASF's safety record.

On the international front, labor successfully enlisted the support of West German unions which represent workers at the company's home-based plants and filed a complaint with the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development over BASF's union-bashing.

The situation was also brought to the attention of the West German government. But when Heinz Suhr, a member of parliament, attempted to conduct a fact-finding mission at Geismar he was summarily denied admission to the plant.

Meanwhile, BASF filed a long series of charges against the OCAW with the National Labor Relations Board. It accused the union of seeking to "arouse public animosity, distrust, fear and suspicion of BASF" in the community by publicizing the fact that the plant was operating unsafely with inadequately trained workers. The charges were rejected by the NLRB regional office and the company appealed to the full labor board in Washington.

Although the anti-union columns allege that the OCAW struck the plant in a wage dispute, the conflict actually was sparked by BASF when it threw its union workers out of the plant two hours prior to the contract's expiration.

Tile union raises per capita, approves 4-year conventions

Las Vegas, Nev.—Delegates to the Tile, Marble & Terrazzo Finishers convention approves a per capita increase and voted to hold conventions every four years after the 1988 biennial convention.

The convention set the monthly per capita at 60 percent of the prevailing hourly wage in collective bargaining agreements plus $2.50, effective next Jan. 1, with a minimum payment set at $3. The minimum will rise to $3.50 in 1988 and the per capita formula will be 60 percent of the hourly wage plus $3.

Gerald Bombassaro, president and secretary-treasurer of the union, told the convention, "We are builders. It has always been our purpose, our goal and our very being to build out of the materials of the human spirit something that did not exist before." He urged the delegates to carefully plot the union's future.

A pair of merger resolutions were voted down by the delegates, both concerning merger with the Bricklayers. One resolution would have mandated merger and the other would have put the matter to a referendum vote.

In a mini-education program, the delegates viewed two videotapes by the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. on double-breasting contractors and on grass-roots lobbying.

BCTD President Robert A. Georgine told the delegates that the "great American middle-class is in jeopardy" as the average workers' wage has dropped 15 percent in the past eight years. He assured the delegates that it is not the size of the union, but rather the spirit and determination of its members that determines the effectiveness of the labor movement.

Assailing anti-worker actions of the Reagan Administration, Georgine charged that the Labor Dept. is "a wholly owned subsidiary of the Chamber of Commerce, run by right-wing political hacks and stooges," and the Occupational Safety & Health Administration is a "joke" because it is "more interested in protecting profits than workers."

Charles Brodeur, assistant to the Carpenters president, stressed the importance of labor's legislative activities as this session of Congress winds down and said trade unionists should be working to elect "friends of labor" to national, state and local offices.

Congress sets terms to end rail dispute

A labor-supported bill to resolve the long dispute between the Maintenance of Way Employees and Guilford Transportation Industries cleared the House and Senate and is on President Reagan's desk.

The measure would implement the recommendations of a presidential emergency panel issued in June, which call for a 6.5 percent wage increase over two years, severance payments of $26,000 to laid-off workers and health and welfare benefits in line with those included under the national rail-labor contracts.

BMWE President Geoffrey Zeh applauded the congressional action, adding that the union "hopes the President will act quickly and sign this legislation into law." Although the union could have struck Guilford on Sept. 19, Zeh pledged that the BMWE "will continue to exercise restraint unless forced to do otherwise."

Congress stepped into the picture after the BMWE agreed to the panel's recommendations. But Guildford management refused, insisting instead on 20-percent wage cuts, a 50-percent slash in health insurance and elimination of job classifications and restrictions on contracting out.

Terms endorsed

A congressional advisory board endorsed the terms recommended by the presidential panel, and when Guilford continued to drag its feet beyond a Sept. 13 deadline set by Congress, Sen. George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) and Rep. James Florio (D-N.J.) introduced companion measures imposing the settlement.

On another railroad matter, the House Energy & Commerce Committee approved a bill authorizing a public sale of the government's 85-percent share of Conrail, with labor protections for railroad workers affected by the sale.

The measure would require Conrail to pay $200 million to workers as compensation through an employee stock ownership plan. Employees affected by rail-line sales would be guaranteed payments up to $25,000 over six years. The labor protections are opposed by the Administration.

U.S. merchant fleet under siege as Navy aims to sink cargo law

The Navy Dept. is attempting to scuttle an 82-year-old law that gives American-flag vessels first crack at carrying all U.S. military cargo, claiming it can buy the services cheaper abroad.

In a major assault on the 1904 Cargo Preference Act, the Pentagon announced its intention to give the Navy's Sealift Command greater latitude in shifting its business to foreign-flag vessels.

The law now requires that American carriers handle the cargo unless the President finds that their rates are "excessive or unreasonable." The Navy wants to ease the way such a determination is made and turn the decision-making process over to the Pentagon.

Foreign competition has already triggered an industry-wide recession and loss of the nearly $2-billion-a-year military cargo could sink the already foundering U.S. merchant fleet.

In addition to the economic implications, such a development could impair national security, because the merchant marine historically has served as the nation's "fourth arm of defense."

Runaways prosper

Although many foreign countries have captured a piece of America's import-export trade, much of the assault has come from American companies that register their vessels under the flags of Panama, Liberia and Honduras in order to avoid American wages, manning scales and safety requirements.

The Navy trained its guns on the maritime industry in the wake of a ruling by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia that the Defense Dept. erred in applying the "excessive and unreasonable" standard to an American firm carrying cargo to a base at Keflavik, Iceland.

The suit grew out of Iceland's threat to shut down the base that monitors Soviet naval activity unless Icelandic carriers share part of the lucrative trade. When the Navy attempted to shift the cargo away from Rainbow Navigation Inc. of New Jersey, the American firm filed suit charging a breach of the 1904 law.

In a decision written by Judge Antonin Scalia prior to his nomination as a Supreme Court justice, the court rejected a written affidavit from Sec. of State George Shultz that foreign policy considerations justified the move. Scalia pointed out that Congress wrote the law at the turn of the century to make sure the U.S. merchant marine remained afloat in peacetime so it would be available in time of conflict.

Rates competitive

Moreover, the court declared, the Navy's decision was not based on "reasoned decision making," since the rates charged by Rainbow were no higher than those set by Icelandic carriers plying the same routes.

In a related development, the Transportation Institute—a nonprofit research and educational organization formed by maritime labor and management—warned that unless there is a major federal effort to reverse the industry's decline, "the death of America's merchant marine is all but assured."

The institute released a study showing that in the four decades since the end of World War II, the merchant fleet plunged from more than 3,000 ships actively engaged in ocean-borne foreign trade to just 370 active and 100 inactive vessels today.

This has been accompanied by a steep decline in the number of seafaring jobs—from a postwar peak of more than 70,000 to only 16,000 today. There were only two periods—during the Korean and Vietnam conflicts—when there was any resurgence in job opportunities aboard American vessels.

Labor Dept. denounced for scheme to abandon homework restrictions

A Labor Dept. plan to end restrictions on industrial homework is incompatible with enforcement of the wage-hour law and should be scrapped, the AFL-CIO declared.

Its statement, submitted to the House Subcommittee on Labor Standards, was reinforced by the first-hand testimony of two immigrant women trapped in a home sweatshop operation and by a state labor commissioner who has battled such abuses.

The AFL-CIO statement backed up earlier testimony by officers of the Ladies' Garment Workers and the Clothing & Textile Workers, the unions that helped bring the apparel industry out of the sweatshop era.

Because of a long history of abuses, the Labor Dept. for decades barred home manufacture of women's apparel, gloves, buttons and buckles, handkerchiefs, knitted outerwear and costume jewelry. In 1981, soon after the change of Administration, the department sought to drop all homework restrictions but was thwarted by a union-initiated court suit.

Abandoning safeguards

The Labor Dept. backed off temporarily, then dropped restrictions only on knitted outerwear—which in some areas is primarily a rural-based operation. Now it is pressing a rule change to allow homework in the other restricted areas for employers who register with the Labor Dept. and promise to keep wage records for inspection.

"Unfortunately," the AFL-CIO statement noted, "the Labor Dept.'s track record in enforcing current regulations doesn't inspire confidence."

The department has admitted that it lacks the resources to properly inspect business establishments and relies heavily on complaints or tips to uncover violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

But the AFL-CIO noted that "those who have to depend on the minimum wage law to protect them from exploitation are not in a position to enforce the law on their own. They are not fearless whistle-blowers. They are the uneducated, the intimidated, the nation's very poor."

Notoriously unfair

Further, the federation noted, "earnings in homework industries are overwhelmingly based on piecework, a system that is notoriously unfair unless policed by a collective bargaining arrangement."

The AFL-CIO joined the Service Employees, which represents some 8,000 union jewelry workers, in expressing special concern at the additional hazards that would be involved in allowing homework in that industry.

The SEIU statement, submitted by Jewelry Workers Director Leon Swerdlove and Local 1J President Joseph Tarantola said illegal homework at piecework rates that pay below the minimum wage already has driven down wages in a highly competitive industry that is seriously impacted by imports.

Home soldering of jewelry has exposed entire families, including children, to lead poisoning and dangerous cadmium fumes, the union noted. Solvents in glue have been linked to cancer and birth defects.

"Jewelry manufacturing belongs on the factory floor," not in homes, the SEIU stressed.

The subcommittee, which previously heard two rural Iowa women testify to the abuses of homework, met a more traditional type of exploited homeworkers at its follow-up hearing. The witnesses, both from Chicago, testified under assumed names but the experiences they related have been verified.

Delia Gonzalez, the name used by one witness, came to the United States from Cuba in 1980 and takes factory work to be done at home "because I cannot find regular work in a factory that pays decent wages."

That's the only reason she does homework, Gonzalez stressed, "not because I prefer it."

She had worked briefly at a legitimate factory job, starting at the minimum wage and advancing to $4.20 an hour, with pay for holidays. But working at home, she averages about $2 an hour and had to buy a $756 industrial sewing machine to do the work.

The other witness, Juana Perez, came from El Salvador in 1983 and first worked in an illegal basement factory at a piecework rate that came to about $1.60 an hour.

Child labor

The woman who ran the operation then sold her a sewing machine on the installment plan and she worked at home. Both her daughters—one 16 and the other 12—help with the sewing.

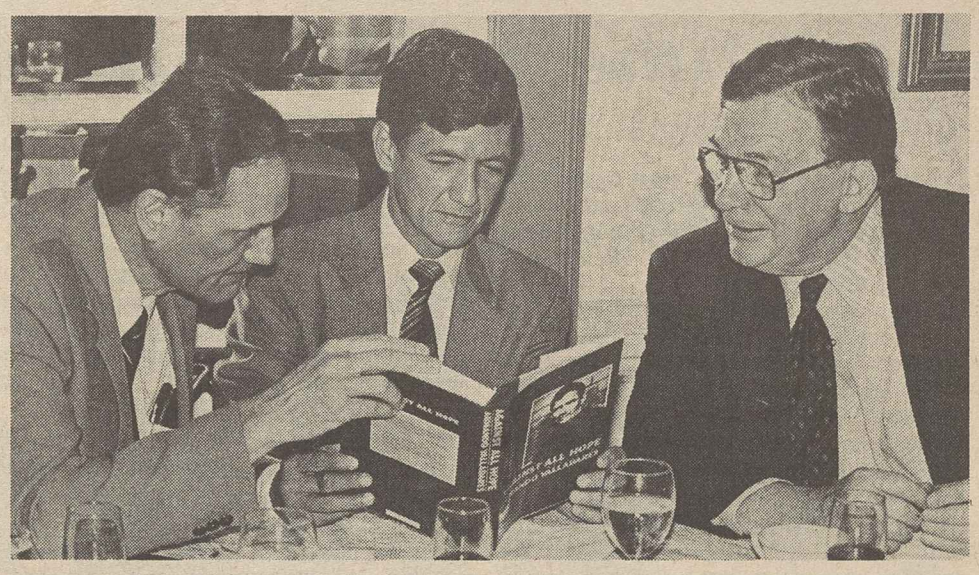
She would rather that her children didn't have to work after school and on weekends, "but we need to survive as a family."

From time to time, she is able to get a temporary job at a regular garment shop. But "when I'm laid off, I go back to homework."

There will be fewer jobs in supervised and inspected factories if homework is legalized, New York State Labor Commissioner Lillian Roberts warned.

Roberts said New York bans industrial homework under state law because it leads to substandard wages, is harmful to the health of workers and is unfair competition for legitimate employers in factory industries.

If the federal government allows industrial homework in the apparel industries, Roberts said, "legitimate employers in the state's largest manufacturing industry will be faced with new, low-wage competition from legal homework operations in states which do not regulate homework."



AFL-CIO President Kirkland with Cuban poet Armando Valladares, center, and interpreter Brooks Michel at Washington reception.

Kirkland salutes Cuban poet jailed for opposing Castro

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland welcomed Cuban poet Armando Valladares to Washington, praising the writer's courage in opposing the "duplicity and corruption of the Cuban totalitarian state," and pledging that the federation will "redouble our struggle for democracy and against tyranny of the far left and the far right."

Valladares, imprisoned by the Castro regime in 1960, was sentenced to 30 years "for conspiring against state powers" and speaking out against Castro's communist government. He was released in 1982. While in the United States, Valladares is scheduled to testify before the House Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Operations, and will speak at several universities before returning to his home in Spain.

Kirkland praised Valladares's account of his years inside Cuban prisons as a "chronicle of immense personal courage in the face of systematic cruelty and degradation."

In his book, "Against All Hope," Valladares wrote that he was marked as an anti-communist when he spoke out against the firing of a friend and refused to join in a propaganda campaign which billed Castro as "a messiah, a savior."

At the age of 23, Valladares was taken off to jail, spending the next 22 years in Cuban prisons, where he and other political prisoners who refused "rehabilitation" were starved, beaten, kept naked and thrown into punishment cells.

Valladares thanked the AFL-CIO for bringing public pressure to bear on the Castro government and its efforts to expose the regime's inner workings. He credited labor efforts and public opinion worldwide for Castro's commuting the death sentences meted out to five trade union leaders seeking to form an independent union.

After his release, Valladares moved to Spain where he works with Resistance International, an organization that advances freedom and exposes the tyranny of dictatorships worldwide.

During his meeting with federation officials, Valladares criticized the "selective sensitivity" brought to bear against right-wing governments by persons who "remain quiet or justify similar crimes by left-wing dictatorships."

"We must denounce crime and torture no matter where it occurs," he declared.

Valladares's meeting with Kirkland, Seafarers President Frank Drozak, Service Employees President John Sweeney and federation officials was arranged by the AFL-CIO Dept. of International Affairs.

Budget deficit hits new high, economy continues to falter

The Reagan Administration's refusal to deal with an increasingly sluggish economy drove the federal budget deficit to a record-smashing high of nearly $217 billion in August—a whopping 25.6 percent above July's level.

And there's more red ink in the offing. With one month left in the budget year, the deficit has already surpassed the all-time peak of $212 billion which President Reagan's trade, economic and tax policies racked up last year.

The announcement of the failure of Reaganomics came as Congress struggles with the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act requirements to reduce fiscal 1987's imbalance to $144 billion to avoid imposition of across-the-board spending cuts.

And it came against this backdrop of dismal economic news:

- Factory orders for big-ticket durable goods tumbled 2.6 percent in August, the sharpest decline since March. The Commerce Dept. blamed the drop on a huge 24.5-percent decline in orders for defense equipment, which had skyrocketed 40 percent the previous month.

Manufacturing orders have shown little strength all year because the massive trade deficit has robbed domestic factories of sales. Orders in the key category of non-defense capital goods—which signal industry intentions to expand and modernize its production facilities—fell 2.8 percent last month.

- The consumer price index rose two-tenths of 1 percent in August after having held steady the previous month. The inflation rate has slowed to 1.2 percent thus far this year as the result of continued cuts in gasoline prices, which are now 30.6 percent below the year-ago level and heating oil prices which have declined 24.5 percent in the past 12 months.

But food prices rose nine-tenths of 1 percent last month and shelter costs went up three-tenths of 1 percent. The cost of medical care continued to rise unchecked, advancing five-tenths of 1 percent to a level 7.5 percent above August 1985.

- Real earnings of America's workers advanced five-tenths of 1 percent in August following three straight months of declines. They fell one-tenth of 1 percent in May, seven-tenths of 1 percent in June and five-tenths of 1 percent in July.

Although the figure is a five-tenths of 1 percent improvement over the same month a year ago, real earnings remain 6.1 percent below the August 1979 level.

Bizarre gold deal skews trade data

The government understated the severity of the U.S. trade deficit in June and July by nearly $3 billion because of a convoluted transaction involving gold shipments to Japan, the Democratic staff of the congressional Joint Economic Committee charged.

If the Commerce Dept. had not included these sales—which involved gold imported into the country and then shipped to Japan—June's deficit would have been $16 billion instead of $14.2 billion, and the July trade shortfall would have been almost $19 billion instead of the $18 billion reported by the government.

Because the gold was shuffled in and out of the United States, the committee said, it made "no contribution to the U.S. economy in terms of mining and production."

The government valued the precious metal at $458 an ounce—nearly 30 percent above the average world market price of $345 in that two-month period. The low point came on June 17, when it stood at $337 an ounce. It peaked at $357 on July 31.

The Commerce Dept. defended the inflated value, contending that it included the cost of transportation across the United States and "extraordinarily high insurance rates for such shipments."

What was involved was the sale of gold bullion that Japan will use to mint commerative coins marking the 60th anniversary of Emperor Hirohito's rule. It was a "one-time-only phenomenon," that swelled the reported U.S. export total while contributing "little or nothing to the U.S. economy," the JEC report said.

Minor contribution

"At best," the study added, "the gold purchase seems likely to have contributed no more to the U.S. economy than the sales commissions and the shipping and insurance costs."

Commerce Dept. records show that the gold had been imported into the United States and was stored here at the time of the sale. But it had no data on the origin of the gold, when it was imported, or who owned it. In fact, the JEC declared, "the importation may have taken place months or years before the re-export to Japan."

In addition, if the ownership of the gold remained in foreign hands during the time it was being kept in bank vaults in this country, it would represent a balance-of-payments outflow that would push the trade deficit even higher, the committee staff said.

And, the report added, since the Japanese embassy has said gold purchases were made on the open market in London and Geneva as well as in this country, "it has not been explained why gold stored in the United States accounted for so large a portion of the purchases."

The only thing that seems certain, said Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.), is that the trade deficit was significantly understated for two consecutive months. "As bad as the numbers looked at first glance," he said, "the real story is even worse."

Part-time workers trapped in low-paying jobs

By Candice Johnson

Part-time work is the "great escape" for employers seeking to cut costs and avoid union organizing campaigns among clerical workers. But for workers, it often means low pay and no benefits.

That's the conclusion of "Working at the Margins: Part-time and Temporary Workers in the United States," a report by 9to5, the National Association of Working Women.

The 9to5 study reviewed Bureau of Labor Statistics data and canvassed workers, union representatives and employers. The report concluded that while part-time work is viewed as a more flexible way for working women to juggle job and family responsibilities, "this increased flexibility is on management's terms."

Employers are able to cut costs, but workers are "left to cope with lower pay, and a frightening lack of benefits, pensions, job security and chances for advancement," 9to5 Executive Director Karen Nussbaum said.

"The result is a new era of reduced expectations for the working family," she noted, particularly for "families caught between the need to care for children and the need to support them."

While part-time and temporary work is attractive to employers because it usually pays less than comparable full-time jobs and provides few or no benefits, it is "eroding full-time job opportunities" as persons seeking full-time work must settle for half-time jobs and half-time salaries, the report noted.

Marginal pay, benefits

The survey reported that 28 percent of all part-time jobs pay the minimum wage, compared to 5 percent of all full-time jobs, while 84 percent of part-time workers are without health insurance and only one-fourth are covered by pension plans.

9to5 also challenged the claim that part-time work gives working mothers more flexibility than a full-time job. It cited a recent New York Times poll that showed 71 percent of working mothers are on the job not "to earn extra money" or for "something interesting to do," but to support their families.

Women represent one-third of the "moonlighting workforce," working more than one job out of economic need, the report stressed.

Nor are part-time and temporary jobs the solutions for working mothers who cannot find adequate child care, the report said, noting that 35 percent of the women working part-time or looking for work say they would work more hours if good child care was available.

9to5 found that some employers "exploit part-time and temporary workers as a strategy to avoid unionization." Since those workers generally are not covered by collective bargaining agreements, managers can use them to "undercut the bargaining power of full-time employees," the study found.

"Working families must challenge managements's version of flexibility to create the kind of flexibility workers genuinely need," the report stressed. It also recommended that:

- Employers be required to pay part-time and temporary workers at an hourly rate equal to that of full-time workers performing the same job.
- Health care, pension and other benefits be extended to part-time workers where they are available to full-time workers.

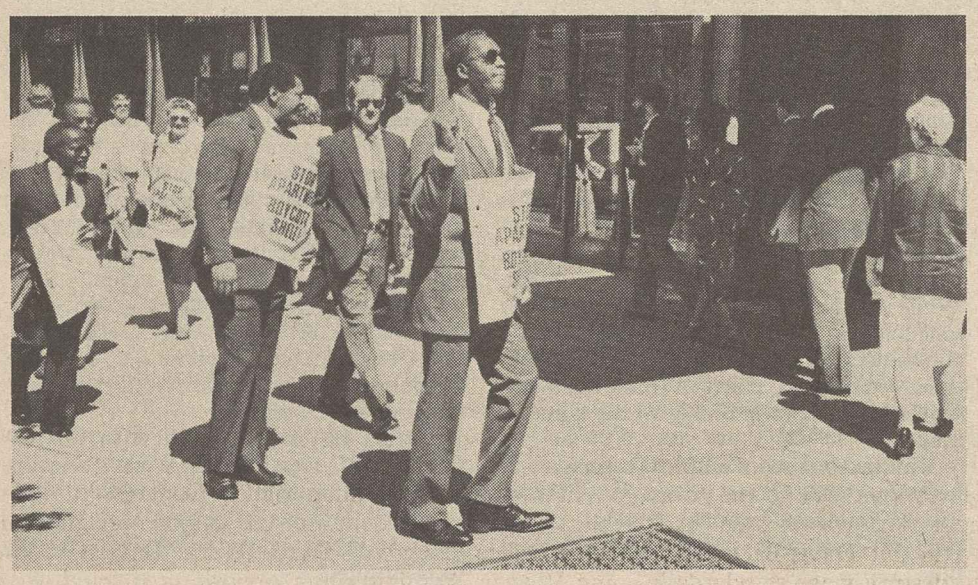
9to5 also called for modifications in state unemployment insurance plans to expand coverage to part-time and temporary workers.

Commenting on the report, AFL-CIO Economist John Zalusky noted that the labor movement has called for trade and economic policies that will create more full-time jobs, to aid the more than 5.5 million part-time workers seeking full-time employment.

Second-class status

A "second-class tier of American workers" is being created, he warned, lacking job security, health care coverage, good retirement plans, and "stable, predictable annual incomes."

The working poor—temporary workers, contract employees, home workers and part-time workers—may be covered by labor protections and anti-discrimination laws, but in practice, the laws are not enforced, Zalusky said. An exception, he noted, is where unions are able to represent workers in so-called alternative work situations.



Shell no

Pickets from AFL-CIO unions and the unaffiliated Mine Workers protest a visit by the head of Shell Oil Co.'s South African division to the firm's Washington offices. Labor's boycott of Shell products, stemming from the company's unabashed support of South Africa's apartheid regime, was bolstered by the announcements that the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility is targeting Shell for its apartheid stance, and the National Council of Churches is divesting $1 million in shares of Shell stock.

ILO plans world conference to deal with economic crisis

Continued from Page 1

further damage the developing ones. And this in turn will rob the industrialized countries of export markets and jobs at home."

Blanchard said the contraction of the U.S. economy provided an example of the economic interdependence of nations. The United States, he pointed out, suffered a 48-percent decline in exports to five major Latin American countries between 1981 and 1983—a "major factor in the deterioration of the U.S. trade balance over that period."

In the area of human and trade union rights, Blanchard emphasized that ILO conventions have long called for freedom of association, the right to organize, the right to bargain collectively and protection against discrimination. On these issues, he stressed, "there can be no compromise, no double standards."

In recent years, he said, there has been a sharp increase in the volume of complaints received by the ILO concerning violation of basic trade union rights—roughly "double the number of a decade ago." Nearly half involve "arrests, detention, persecution, exile, deaths or disappearances," Blanchard declared, calling them "a disquieting catalogue of violence against workers."

One of the major concerns in the field of human rights is discrimination, he said, the "most flagrant example" being South Africa's racist policies. He noted that in June the ILO called for the imposition of "strong measures to bring down apartheid by peaceful means."

Blanchard noted that "the black trade unionists of South Africa, who may be the first to feel the impact of sanctions on their jobs and living standards, are also among the first to call for sanctions."

In addition to pressing for a crackdown on the South African government, the ILO official said, the international body is preparing to step up assistance to the southern African region to counter the "hostile measures taken by South Africa against its neighbors."

At the same time, it is preparing to offer assistance in "dismantling totally the apparatus of apartheid, replacing discriminatory legislation and practices with those based on social justice, and implementing a massive training program for the black population—in public administration, in management and at the workplace—to offset decades of discrimination in education."

Expressing confidence that the opportunity still exists for peaceful change, Blanchard said he looked forward to the day when a post-apartheid South Africa, "free from discrimination, will resume its place in the ILO from which it was driven" in 1964.

Robert Rader resigns from job safety panel

Robert E. Rader Jr., whose nomination to the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission was rejected by the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee in July, resigned his recess appointment to the three-member commission effective Sept. 10.

The AFL-CIO vigorously opposed President Reagan's choice of the controversial 41-year-old Texas lawyer, charging that Rader had demonstrated "relentless" opposition to "any government role in the safety and health of the nation's workers."

Communities rally support for victims of USX lockout

From Pennsylvania to Utah, unions and communities are rallying around members of the Steelworkers who have been locked out by USX Corp. Through local food banks, demonstrations, gate collections and other activities, the AFL-CIO Steelworkers Support Committee is gearing up to aid the USWA's struggle to win justice and a fair contract at USX.

USWA President Lynn Williams, in a letter to Mellon Bank Chairman David Barnes, urged the bank not to advance funds to USX during the lockout. A union mail campaign is calling for letters and postcards from 230,000 active and retired USWA members "as Mellon depositors to relay their concerns.

In Vandergrift, Pa., just northeast of Pittsburgh, USWA locals raised funds in plant gate collections to aid the idled steelworkers. USWA Local 1346 President Tim Polka also reported that 10,000 cars were ticketed with flyers from the AFL-CIO's Steekworkers Support Committee and food bank operations organized by USWA Local 1138 are underway.

Future activities include a union version of the homeless relief effort "Hands Across America," set for Oct. 4. That event—"Join Hands to Save Jobs Day"—is sponsored by USWA and Mine Workers local unions and "is an opportunity for all of Kiski Valley to show its strength and solidarity," Polka said.

Mayor speaks out

After leading a solidarity march of 1,100 union members past locked mill gates in Lorain, Ohio, Mayor Alex Olejko, a retired steelworker, is taking the USWA struggle to the annual meeting of the National Conference of Mayors. Olejko is urging the conference to pass a resolution of support for the locked-out workers and their families. Auto Workers Local 425 has donated its hall for meetings and USWA Local 1104, whose members are locked out by USX in Lorain, is distributing food vouchers to families.

In Gary, Ind., the Teachers rallied to show support for the locked-out workers, then marched to the picket line. A local citizens committee of religious and civic leaders is also supporting the workers.

In Utah, USWA Local 392 launched its food bank program, aided by donations from the Communications Workers, the UMW and USWA locals not affected by the lockout. Although USX workers in Utah were denied unemployment benefits, the union has appealed that ruling, and a final decision is expected next month.

Meanwhile, the USWA continues to monitor investment maneuvering and a possible takeover of USX orchestrated by four well-known corporate raiders—T. Boone Pickens, Carl Icahn, Irwin Jacobs and Robert Holmes a Court. Some industry analysts speculated that the raiders are interested in the USX pension fund, hoping to milk its so-called "surplus assets."

Labor's position is that any "surplus" belongs to the workers and beneficiaries.

More than 22,000 workers were locked out by the giant steelmaker on Aug. 1, after USX spurned the union's offer to keep working under the expired agreement. Another 23,000 workers were laid off by USX prior to the Aug. 1 lockout.

UFCW seeks talks in Safeway buyout

The Food & Commercial Workers are trying to bring Safeway Stores Inc. to the bargaining table to protect the jobs of 117,000 members in the face of a leveraged buyout of the country's largest food chain.

Both sides held a brief but inconclusive meeting in Chicago, with management indicating it would discuss the impact on UFCW members while refusing to negotiate over the terms of the merger.

The UFCW pointed out that the proposed buyout by the New York investment house of Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co. would saddle Safeway with a $4.2-billion debt that could force the chain to sell some of its stores, putting employees' jobs in jeopardy.

UFCW locals have filed suit in Alameda, Calif., Superior Court, charging the buyout violates California's Fraudulent Conveyance Act and could result in members losing some $750 million in severance pay, retiree benefits and vacation pay.

Furniture union votes IUE merger

Miami Beach, Fla.—Delegates to the Furniture Workers convention unanimously approved a proposed merger with the Electronic Workers.

The 150 delegates endorsed the agreement creating a special furniture division within IUE, to be headed by officers elected by the furniture local unions. Earlier, the plan was approved by the executive boards of both unions. The IUE convention, which opened Thursday, will also vote on the merger proposal.

UFWA President Carl Scarbrough, who praised IUE President William Bywater's role in the merger plan, said that "every single member of our union will be better off" as a result of the merger.

Noting that the two unions share a common political outlook, Bywater stressed the need for action against Reagan Administration policies that favor the rich against working Americans. "We have a job ahead of us," he stated, "but together we can do it."

UFWA Sec.-Treas. Lowell Daily agreed, pointing out that "corporations are merging every day" and "so must trade unions."

The merger will unite nearly 170,000 IUE members and 30,000 Furniture Workers. The agreement calls for the UFWA president, secretary-treasurer and four vice presidents to join the IUE executive board and continues the UFWA's pension and insurance programs.

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A Report On Congress

By Lane Kirkland

THE SECOND session of the 99th Congress was a near carbon copy of 1985. Again the focus of congressional attention was economics—the federal budget deficit, tax reform and the foreign trade crisis. As Congress moved toward adjournment and the '86 elections, its agenda of accomplishment remained decidedly mixed in each of these three key areas.

On the budget deficit, no sooner had the Gramm-Rudman meat ax begun to hack away at federal spending than the Supreme Court stepped in and, in a lawsuit joined by the AFL- CIO, ruled parts of it to be unconstitutional. The conservative-controlled Senate moved quickly to adopt a new version that would pass constitutional muster, but the House balked and Gramm-Rudman's statutory fate remains uncertain. Despite this, Congress continued to make its fiscal decisions as if Gramm-Rudman's budget-slashing targets were in place.

On the other side of the budget ledger, overhauling the U.S. tax code became Congress's number one priority. Labor won a big victory when the Senate, following the House's lead in 1985, turned its back on President Reagan by refusing to tax employee benefits while maintaining the deductibility of state and local property and income taxes. Credit for this legislative success can be attributed to a full-court press of grass-roots lobbying by local union members throughout the country during the 99th Congress.

On the overall tax package, the bill that emerged from the Senate rewrote the U.S. tax code. The measure collapsed 14 existing tax brackets into two, closed many loopholes and removed thousands of low-income people from the tax roles. However, too much of the tax bill's savings were allocated to the wealthy. Tenacity by House negotiators produced a fairer tax bill which later emerged from conference. However, the final measure included three provisions opposed by labor: a limit on the existing deduction for employee busines expenses, elimination of the existing exclusion for the pensions of federal, postal and public employees, and the repeal of the state and local sales tax deduction. Moreover, the tax bill failed to raise any revenues to alleviate the federal deficit.

On trade, the Democratically controlled House tried to come to grips with the exploding U.S. trade deficit. The tidal wave of imports and export of U.S. jobs, capital and technology became so one-sided that by early spring the United States, for the first time in this century, had become a debtor nation—owing more money to foreign creditors than was owed to us. By early summer the United States was the world's largest debtor nation as the trade deficit mushroomed to nearly $200 billion.

Responding to this crisis, the House passed an omnibus trade bill to bring U.S. trade law into the 20th Century, principally by enabling damaged U.S. industries and their workers to get import protection from foreign predators. Unfortunately, momentum for Senate action on the trade bill slowed when the House, by a bare eight-vote margin, failed to override President Reagan's 1985 veto of the Textile Trade bill. Despite bipartisan support and the loss of some 88,000 textile workers jobs since the President had vetoed the bill eight months earlier, last minute Administration arm-twisting on Republicans and the defection of some "free trade" Democrats snatched away the winning margin.

The House also took the initiative on two other key labor objectives. Bills to ban most employers from using lie detectors as a condition of employment and to outlaw double-breasted contracting in the construction industry easily passed the House. But as with most labor initiatives of the past six years, they stalled in the Senate. Senate conservatives, meanwhile, resumed their all-out assault on federal labor laws. A series of attacks was aimed at the Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts, twin statutes that set fair wage levels for federal government contractors who employ building trades and service workers. While the foray against the Service Contract Act was beaten back decisively, the Senate voted to gut Davis-Bacon. The House rejected this effort to destroy wage standards in the construction industry. Labor and its Senate allies did turn the tables on a Right To Work Committee bill to put government back in the business of policing picket lines. The Hobbs Act amendment fell victim to a filibuster backed by a grass-roots lobbying blitz by union members in key states. Conservatives in the House also failed to push through another Right To Work agenda item restricting the "free speech" rights of unions to communicate with their members on political and legislative issues.

Labor's 1986 report card on Congress tabulates the votes on major issues of concern to the AFL-CIO in the second session of the 99th Congress.

House members have been judged on 14 key issues—"R-right" or "W-wrong"—on the basis of the position the AFL-CIO took on the legislation. Senators have been rated on 15 key votes.

The tables also include the cumulative voting record and cumulative "right" percentage of each member since election to the House or Senate. With the voting records are brief descriptions of the issues—what the vote was about and its importance to the labor movement and the nation.

Issues of prime importance to labor are the first 11 votes in the House and the first five votes in the Senate. In the tabulations they are the votes listed to the left of the rules.

Major confrontations took place in the Senate over the President's parade of right-wing judicial nominees. Three key nominations—William Rehnquist for Chief Justice of the United States, Daniel Manion to the 7th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, and Sidney Fitzwater to the U.S. District Court—all drew labor's opposition. Despite a total lack of judicial qualifications and a slavish adherence to right-wing ideology, Manion was confirmed by the Senate by a one-vote margin. Although Fitzwater had been involved in an effort in Texas to deter minority citizens from voting and despite his own statements during confirmation hearings revealing insensitivity to basic voting and First Amendment rights, the conservatives helped ram through his nomination as well. Rehnquist, despite his judicial antagonism to civil rights and labor laws, was confirmed by the Senate as Chief Justice in mid-September.

Three of President Reagan's other nominees didn't fare as well. Jefferson Sessions, nominated for the federal district court in Alabama, and Jeffery Zuckerman, picked for general counsel at the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, were sidetracked in committee as a result of lobbying by labor and civil rights groups, and neither was confirmed. The AFL-CIO also blocked approval of Robert Rader, an anti-job-safety, business-backed candidate, to be chairman of the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission.

In contrast, on human rights, Congress turned its back on the President on the major foreign policy issue before Congress—South Africa. Despite continuing Reagan Administration opposition to punitive action against this racist regime, the House and Senate agreed on a comprehensive anti-apartheid bill that included a list of economic sanctions against Pretoria. Despite overwhelming bipartisan support for this labor-backed bill, President Reagan threatened to veto the legislation.

On two other key issues, labor also prevailed over the President. His Dept. of Transportation's proposal to sell the Conrail railroad system at a bargain-basement price to Norfolk Southern Railroad was approved by the Senate but died in the House because of strong opposition by House Democrats. Another pet project of the President—the balanced budget constitutional amendment—was also rejected, a defeat due to strong, bipartisan opposition in the Senate.

As the 1986 elections approach, several issues remain to be resolved. The most important is Senate action on trade. Other bills pending in the Senate include prohibitions on polygraph tests in employment and double-breasted contracting in the construction industry as well as a bill to protect the jobs of airline employees caught in the frenzy of airline mergers. Besides the House-passed trade, anti-polygraph and double-breasting bills, House action is awaited on legislation dealing with immigration reform, toxic substances in the workplace, and parental leave.

With so much unfinished business, the final chapter on the 99th Congress has yet to be written. While armchair quarterbacks may applaud its rewrite of the U.S. tax code, notable failures include the inability of the Congress to come to grips with the budget and trade deficits. For workers, progress on key bills was stymied again in the right-wing controlled Senate where a long list of key bills has been buried. Meanwhile, the House continued to prevent Senate-inspired, anti-labor initiatives from seeing the light of day.

On each of the key fights that we did win—many of which are detailed in the following pages—hard-nosed grass-roots lobbying by union members made the difference. The AFL-CIO network of Legislative Action Committees combined with the back-home lobbying by state and local federation officers share much of the credit for labor's successes.

This report on Congress is a measure of how closely your elected representatives listened and responded to those voices from back home. As a voting record, it is clear and unequivocal in defining which lawmakers are the allies or foes of working Americans. It is on the basis of this record that union members should judge each individual legislator on Nov. 6.

Members of Congress have cast their votes, now its time for union members and their families to cast theirs.

MAJOR ISSUES IN THE HOUSE

1. Textile and Apparel Import Limits

During the 99th Congress the public outcry over record-level U.S. trade deficits and the loss of American jobs to imports thrust the trade issue onto the political center-stage. Congress responded by passing legislation in 1985 to deal with an economic sector badly battered by the flood of low-wage imports—the textile and apparel industry. Despite 1974 international trade agreements to provide for the orderly growth of textile and apparel imports, these imports mushroomed from 12 percent of the U.S. market in the early 1970s to 43 percent by 1985. The result: 300,000 jobless American textile workers.

The textile trade bill would have forced compliance with existing trade agreements for textiles, while also providing relief for the import-stricken shoe and copper industries. President Reagan vetoed the bill late in 1985. An override vote was scheduled for 1986. During the first six months of 1986, the crisis in textiles and apparel worsened. Imports grew to control over 50 percent of the U.S. market and an additional 88,000 workers joined the ranks of the unemployed. On Aug. 6, the House attempted to override the President's veto of the textile bill. The 276-149 tally fell just eight votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority needed to override.

For—Right Against—Wrong

Textile workers demonstrate in Washington before buttonholing members of Congress to override the President's veto of the Textile Trade bill.

2. Trade Law Reform—I

Besides record-level budget deficits, the Reagan Administration's "do nothing" trade policies bear direct responsibility for record-level U.S. trade deficits—projected to be approaching a staggering $170 billion for 1986. During the first four years of Reagan's presidency, 11.5 million American workers were displaced, many due to the tidal wave of imports. Because of the mounting trade deficit and the export of American dollars, by early spring of 1986 the United States became a debtor nation for the first time in this century. By summer the U.S. had become the world's largest debtor nation.

The House considered trade law reform to help deal with economic realities of today's global marketplace. The trade bill was designed to enforce fair trade by imposing sanctions (quotas, tariffs, etc.) on countries which trade unfairly with the U.S. and have excessive trade surpluses. It would provide quicker relief for U.S. industries damaged by foreign industrial targeting—"dumping"—and define the exploitation of labor overseas as an unfair trade practice under U.S. trade law. It would authorize remedial action against countries that subsidize the price of natural resources used in manufacturing exports, and force the opening of foreign markets to U.S. telecommunications products. During House floor debate, Rep. Phil Crane (R-Ill.) attempted to cripple the trade bill through an amendment to strike most of its key provisions. The amendment was defeated on May 21 by a vote of 137-276.

For—Wrong Against—Right

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, along with Legislative Rep. Jane O'Grady, testifies at House hearings on parental leave legislation.

3. Trade Law Reform—II

Following the defeat of the Crane amendment, the House—despite the strong opposition of the Reagan Administration—adopted the AFL-CIO-backed omnibus trade bill by a vote of 295-115 on May 22.

For—Right Against—Wrong

4. Buy American

With the nation's security at risk if the needs of the military cannot be met domestically, the AFL-CIO supported an amendment to the House defense authorization bill to require the armed forces to buy American-made goods. The "Buy American" amendment, sponsored by Rep. James Traficant (D-Ohio), insists that the Pentagon buy U.S. products if the price is not more than 5 percent higher than competing foreign products. The House approved the amendment by a vote of 241-163 on Aug. 5.

For—Right Against—Wrong

5. Polygraph Protection—I

Many employers think management has a right to pry into the personal lives of their employees through the indiscriminate use of the lie detector. Although proven unreliable, polygraph tests have been used to interrogate individuals about their union sympathies, political beliefs, lifestyles, financial status and other private matters. A 1983 study by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) estimated that up to 1 million polygraph tests are administered annually. The OTA estimated that 50,000 workers are wrongfully denied employment either because of the polygraph's inaccuracies or because they refuse to submit to the tests. Polygraph abuse was one of the major causes of the ongoing dispute with the Coors Brewing Co.

To put an end to this abuse of workers' rights, the AFL-CIO supported bipartisan legislation introduced by Reps. Pat Williams (D-Mont.) and Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) which would outlaw the use of polygraphs in private-sector workplaces. When the bill came to the House floor, Representatives George Darden (D-Ga.) and C.W. Young (R-Fla.) led efforts to cripple the bill by offering a substitute amendment to allow private employers to use polygraph tests as long as they told employees it was voluntary and followed specific guidelines. Despite a lobbying blitz by big business, the House on Mar. 12 by a vote of 173- 241 rejected the substitute amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right

6. Polygraph Protection—II

Despite the strong opposition of business lobbyists, the House by a 236-173 vote on Mar. 12 approved the Williams-Kemp anti-polygraph bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

7. Construction Industry Contract Protections

In 1959, the federal laws governing the rights of workers to join a union and bargain with an employer were amended to recognize the unique nature of work in the construction industry. Congress enacted Section 8(f) of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) to allow construction unions to enter into pre-hire agreements with their employers. In return for access to a pool of skilled employees, a construction contractor agrees that work will be performed in accordance with a union contract.

In recent years, however, construction industry employers have been engaging in a practice known as "double-breasting," whereby contractors with collective bargaining agreements establish a second, non-union company which is not covered by the contract. The employer then transfers work from its union company to its non-union alter ego, circumventing federal labor law. To stop this deceit the AFL-CIO supported an amendment to the NLRA by Rep. Bill Clay (D-Mo.) to ban double-breasting. On Apr. 17, despite strong opposition from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, building contractors and other business groups, the House passed the legislation by a 229 to 173 vote.

For—Right Against—Wrong

8. Protecting Fair Wages for Construction Workers

The 1931 Davis-Bacon Act insures that workers on federally financed construction projects will be paid at wage rates that prevail in their area of the country. For over 50 years this law has assured that contractors who uphold community labor standards have a fair chance to compete for government projects without being underbid by firms using cut-rate labor. It has also protected the government and taxpayers from fly-by-night operators seeking to win federal contracts by paying wages too low to attract competent craftsmen. During debate on a Defense Dept. authorization bill, Rep. William Dickinson (R-Ala.) offered an amendment to exempt 80 percent of military construction contracts from the fair-wage standards of the Davis-Bacon law by raising the $2,000 contract threshold to $250,000. By a 167-244 vote on Aug. 15, the House rejected the Dickinson amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right

MAJOR ISSUES IN THE HOUSE

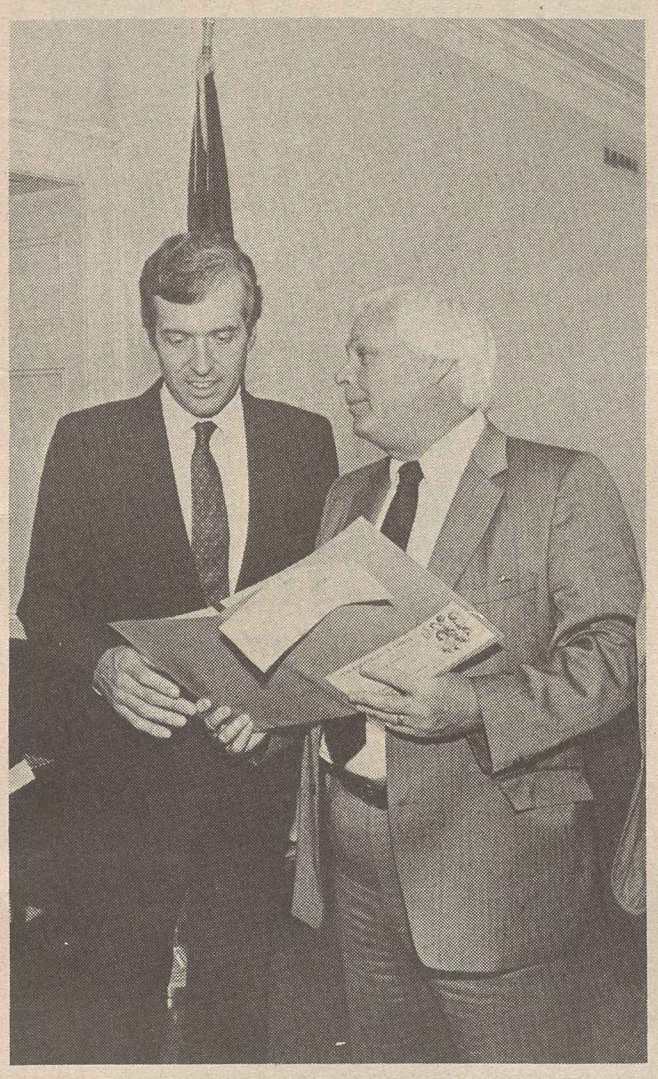
House speaker Tip O'Neill confers with AFL-CIO leaders at February Executive Council meeting on the 1986 congressional agenda.

9. Rescuing a Railroad and Railroad Jobs

In 1970, when Congress established Amtrak to be a government-run national railroad passenger system, it recognized that a balanced transportation system was a critical national need. Today the Amtrak system carries some 40 million passengers throughout 44 states, serving more than 500 communities.

However, since 1981 the Reagan Administration has tried to eliminate all Amtrak subsidies. This would have wiped out more than 25,000 railroad jobs and eradicated intercity rail passenger service, with a particularly harsh impact in northeastern states. Such layoffs would have carried a price tag for the taxpayer of up to $2.1 billion in federal severance pay, with an additional $5.2 billion loss in the sale or scrapping of Amtrak equipment. The House has successfully resisted the elimination of Amtrak, but the Administration has succeeded in slashing more than $160 million from its funding. In 1986, the House Public Works Committee again rejected Reagan's attempt to destroy Amtrak and countered with a modest budget cutback of $3 million (far less than the 1985 cut of $13.5 million). During House debate on a transportation appropriations bill, Rep. Hank Brown (R-Colo.) offered an amendment to slash Amtrak funding by another $22.3 million. By a 169-248 vote on July 30, the House rejected the Brown amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right



State federation officers are a key component of the AFL-CIO grass-roots lobbying apparatus. Here Missouri AFL-CIO President Daniel "Duke" McVey talks with Democratic Rep. James C. Slattery on Capitol Hill.

10. PATCO

Five years ago, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) went on strike to improve its wage standards and protest harsh working conditions which posed a safety hazard to the public. President Reagan responded by firing the 11,000 striking PATCO members and making their re-employment by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) nearly impossible. As a result, today's work force is small and inexperienced and unable to meet the ever-increasing demands of managing air travel in the nation's skies. For 1986 alone the FAA hired only 30 new controllers—far behind its goal of 482.

After a year of record airline crashes in 1985, the House responded to the growing crisis in air safety by including a provision in the Dept. of Transportation appropriations to allow PATCO members to be rehired. Fearing that the FAA would fail to begin the needed rehirings voluntarily, Rep. Guy Molinari (R-N.Y.) offered a labor-backed amendment which directed the FAA to rehire 1,000 of the PATCO strikers in 1986-87. On July 30, this amendment to improve air travel safety was defeated by a vote of 193-226.

For—Right Against—Wrong

11. Union Members' Rights

In recent years, the Supreme Court has handed down labor law rulings (stemming from lawsuits filed by the anti-union National Right to Work Committee) which severely limit the expenditure of union dues for certain activities. These activities include such legitimate functions as lobbying, political action, judicial redress and organizing. In 1986, conservative Republicans tried to expand the scope of these Supreme Court decisions.

During House consideration of a Treasury and Postal appropriations bill, Rep. William Cobey (R-N.C.) offered an amendment to force the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) to implement these Supreme Court decisions. Cobey's proposal ignored the fact that the FEC does not have the authority to interpret labor law decisions rendered under the Railway Labor Act or a state collective bargaining law, nor does it have the authority to determine what a union may or may not do with regard to state and local legislative and political activities. For these reasons the House agreed to a procedural motion by Rep. Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) which sidetracked the amendment as being non-germane. The Roybal motion was approved by a 249-168 vote on Aug. 6.

For—Right Against—Wrong

12. Health, Education and Labor Funding

House Republicans, fearing the 1986 election-year political consequences of a staggering budget deficit, swung their budgetary meat ax at the appropriations bill providing funding for the Departments of Education, Labor, and Health & Human Services. Conservatives, led by Rep. Bob Michel (R-Ill.), offered an amendment to cut funding for the three agencies by a whopping $1.6 billion. With nearly 9 million Americans still out of work, the amendment would have cut job-training monies, along with funds for education programs for handicapped children, and erased $735 million from medical research. The House rejected this labor-opposed amendment by a 164-253 vote on July 31.

For—Wrong Against—Right

13. Low-Income Housing

While Reagan's economic policies are keeping unemployment high and swelling the ranks of the poor, conservatives in Congress continue their assault on the so-called safety net programs to help the poor and disadvantaged. Since the 1960s, federally subsidized housing has been one of the government's key anti-poverty programs. Today, 4 million poor Americans are dependent on public housing programs to provide their shelter. In some areas of the country, even this housing is scarce and new construction is desperately needed to provide shelter for the poor and jobs for the unemployed.

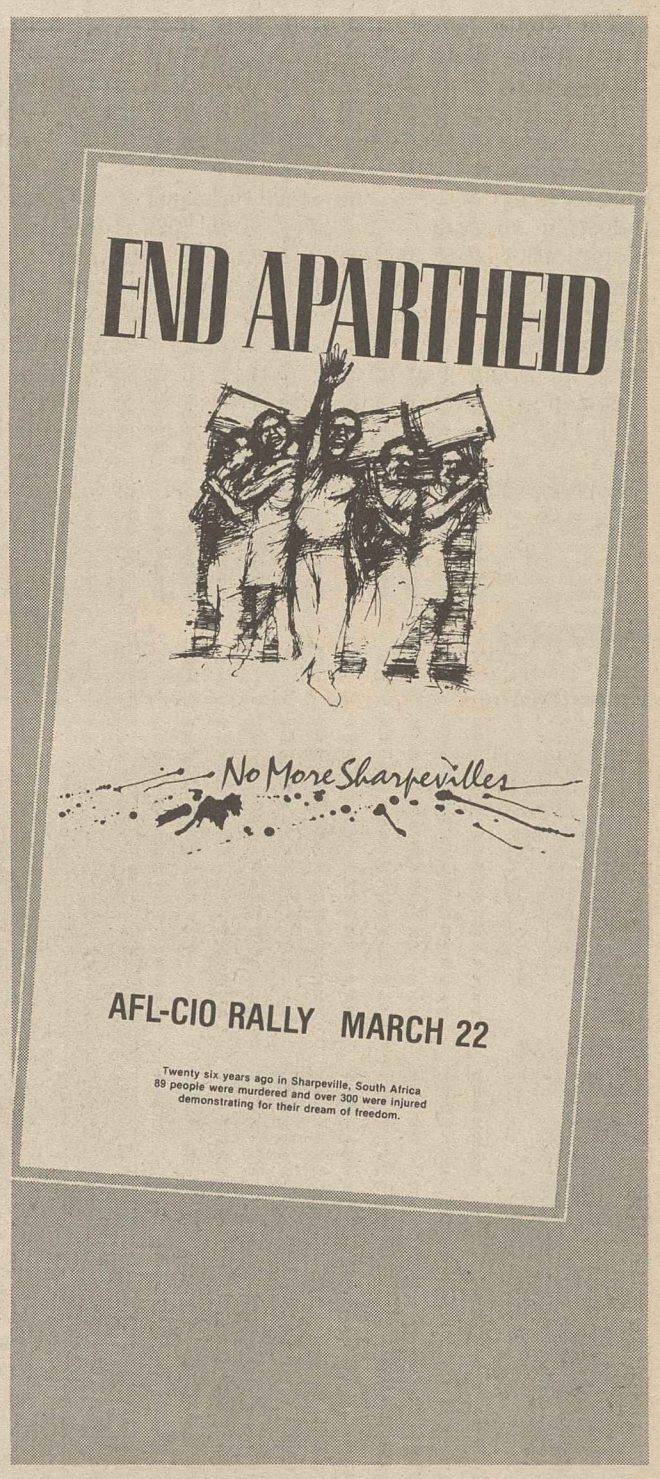
Despite this, Rep. Steve Bartlett (R-Tex.) introduced an amendment to a major housing reauthorization bill which would redirect badly needed federal funds for the construction of new housing units into the repair and renovation of existing units. This amendment represented a major shift in government housing policy. Although the AFL-CIO and anti-poverty lobbying groups strongly opposed the Bartlett proposal, it was adopted by a vote of 223-180 on June 5.

For—Wrong Against—Right

14. Promoting Democracy Abroad

In 1983, Congress authorized the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)—a federally financed, private, non-profit organization open to public scrutiny, whose activities, such as fostering trade unions in developing countries, are designed to promote the evolution of democratic institutions abroad. The AFL-CIO, which since 1962 has had its own programs of bi-lateral aid to developing trade unions abroad through its own regional institutes, is a primary participant in the Endowment program. During House debate on Endowment funding for fiscal year 1987, Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) offered an amendment to wipe out the entire $17.5 million appropriated for NED. By a 121-228 vote on July 17, the House rejected the Conyers amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right



The labor movement "hit the bricks" in massive nationwide demonstrations with the civil rights community against apartheid in South Africa.

HOW YOUR REPRESENTATIVE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total Labor Votes R	Total Labor Votes W	12	13	14	Cumulative Voting Record R	Cumulative Voting Record W	Cumulative Right Percentage %
Textiles														Funding					
Trade I														Housing					
Trade II														Endowment					
Buy American																			
Polygraphs I																			
Polygraphs II																			
Double Breasting																			
Davis Bacon																			
Railroad Jobs																			
PATCO																			
Union Rights																			
ALABAMA																			
1. Callahan (R)	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	8	W	W	W	6	25	19
2. Nichols (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	W	W	W	84	252	92
3. Bevill (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	2	R	W	W	283	169	63
4. Flippo (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	3	R	W	W	160	120	57
5. Erdreich (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	W	W	92	71	56
6. Shelby (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	1	R	W	W	44	16	73
7. Shelby (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	W	R	59	74	44
ALASKA																			
AL Young D. (R)	W	R	A	R	R	R	W	W	R	7	3	93	127	W	W	R			
ARIZONA																			
1. McCain (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	11	10	51	R	W	W			
2. Udall (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	242	41	R	W	W			
3. Stump (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	11	15	157	R	W	W			
4. Rudd (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	9	16	151	R	W	W			
5. Kolbe (R)	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	11	2	29	R	W	R			
ARKANSAS																			
1. Alexander (S)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	172	84	R	R	W			
2. Robinson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	22	8	W	W	W			
3. Hammschmidt (R)	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	2	9	43	242	W	W	W			
4. Anthony (D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	7	4	67	62	A	W	W			
CALIFORNIA																			
1. Bosco (D)	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	45	13	R	A	R			
2. Chappie (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	10	7	80	W	R	R			
3. Matsui (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	3	120	15	R	R	R			
4. Fazio (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	15	18	R	R	R			
5. Burton, S. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	116	1	R	A	R			
6. Matsui, C. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	1	54	0	R	R	R			
7. Miller, G. (D)	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	57	1	R	A	R			
8. Dellums (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	247	22	R	R	W			
9. Stark (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	207	23	R	R	W			
10. Edwards, D. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	2	289	21	R	R	W			
11. Lantos (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	11	0	87	7	R	R	R			
12. Zschau (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	1	9	8	51	R	A	R			
13. Mineta (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	3	195	26	R	R	R			
14. Shumway (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	9	120	W	R	R			
15. Coelho (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	2	110	20	R	R	R			
16. Panetta (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	2	110	43	R	R	R			
17. Pashayan (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	1	9	137	93	R	A	R			
18. Lehman, R. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	54	5	W	R	R			
19. Lagomarsino (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	11	0	57	207	R	R	R			
20. Thomas, W. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	2	9	27	22	R	R	R			
21. Fiedler (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	2	9	13	116	R	R	R			
22. Moorhead (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	12	77	R	R	R			
23. Beilenson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	1	19	219	W	R	R			
24. Waxman (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	2	132	42	R	R	R			
25. Berman (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	2	289	25	R	R	R			
26. Levine (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	3	51	1	R	R	R			
27. Dixon (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	53	6	R	R	R			
28. Hawkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	124	5	R	A	R			
29. Martinez (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	279	12	R	A	W			
30. Dymally (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	79	1	R	A	R			
31. Anderson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	3	239	6	R	A	R			
32. Dreier (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	68	45	W	R	R			
33. Torres (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	230	2	R	A	R			
34. Lewis, J. (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	2	9	59	95	W	R	R			
35. Brown, G. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	0	18	108	R	R	R			
36. McCandless (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	239	26	W	R	R			
37. McCandless (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	1	58	W	R	R			
38. Dornan (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	10	11	127	W	R	R			
39. Dannemeyer(R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	10	7	125	W	R	R			
40. Lowery (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	10	16	151	W	R	R			
41. Lungren (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	7	129	W	R	R			
42. Packard (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	3	57	W	R	R			
43. Bates (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	47	10	W	R	R			
44. Hunter (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	22	71	W	R	R			
COLORADO																			
1. Schroeder (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	178	61	R	A	R			
2. Wirth (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	165	50	R	A	R			
3. Strang (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	1	10	7	28	W	R	W			
4. Brown, H. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	7	89	W	R	W			
5. Kramer (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	2	8	18	107	W	R	W			
6. Schaefer (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	2	8	6	50	W	R	W			
CONNECTICUT																			
1. Kennelly (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	72	9	R	R	R			
2. Gejdenson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	91	5	R	R	R			
3. Morrison, B. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	1	10	35	5	W	R	W			
4. McKinney (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	155	98	W	R	W			
5. Rowland, J.G. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	114	15	W	R	W			
6. Johnson (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	31	29	W	R	W			
DELAWARE																			
AL Carper (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	10	1	42	19	R	W	R			
FLORIDA																			
1. Hutto (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	8	46	86	W	W	R			
2. Fuqua (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	5	5	113	183	R	R	R			
3. Bennett (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	6	172	198	W	R	R			
4. Chappell (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	7	5	94	172	W	R	R			
5. McCollum (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	6	6	7	87	R	W	R			
6. MacKay (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	7	29	32	R	W	R			
7. Gibbons C. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	7	162	140	R	W	R			
8. Young, C. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	0	10	46	225	R	W	R			
9. Bilirakis (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	10	56	140	R	W	R			
10. Ireland (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	10	25	83	R	W	R			
11. Nelson (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	7	50	51	R	W	R			
12. Lewis, T. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	0	11	10	54	R	W	R			
13. Mack (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	0	11	7	73	R	W	R			
14. Mica (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	6	5	73	58	R	W	R			
15. Shaw (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	0	11	8	87	R	W	R			
16. Smith, L. (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	5	6	55	4	R	W	R			
17. Lehman, W. (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	7	283	39	R	W	R			
18. Pepper (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	6	6	281	30	R	W	R			
19. Fascell (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	6	6	200	60	R	W	R			
GEORGIA																			
1. Thomas, L. (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	7	28	33	R	W	R			
2. Hatcher (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	3	8	49	36	R	W	R			
3. Ray (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	5	6	15	25	R	W	R			
4. Swindall (R)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	1	10	103	45	R	W	R			
5. Fowler (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	3	8	10	228	R	W	R			
6. Gingrich (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	10	18	123	R	W	R			
7. Darden (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	3	7	27	84	R	W	R			
8. Rowland (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	7	61	105	R	W	R			
9. Jenkins (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	3	8	38	130	R	W	A			
10. Barnard (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	3	8								
HAWAII																			
1. Heftel (D)	*	A	*	R	R	R	*	*	*	3	0	106	47	*	A	*			
2. Akaka (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	*	*	*	10	1	151	26	R	R	W			
IDAHO														IDAHO					
1. Craig (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	9	8	88	W	W	R			
2. Stallings (D)	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	7	4	15	15	W	R	W			
ILLINOIS																			
1. Hayes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	52	0	R	R	R			
2. Savage (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	85	2	R	R	R			
3. Russo (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	172	49	R	R	R			
4. O'Brien (R)	*	A	*	W	W	*	*	*	*	1	0	51	177	W	A	W			
5. Lipinski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	54	6	R	R	R			
6. Hyde (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	1	10	36	186	W	R	W			
7. Collins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	283	6	R	R	R			
8. Rostenkowski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	243	42	R	R	R			
9. Yates (D)	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	1	321	29	R	R	R			
INDIANA																			
1. Visclosky (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	15	14	R	R	R			
2. Sharp (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	278	25	R	R	R			
3. Hiler (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	3	237	R	W	R			
4. Coats (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	2	9	17	28	R	W	R			
5. Hillis (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	2	9	3	10	R	W	R			
6. Burton, D. (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	3	8	7	27	R	W	R			
7. Myers (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	3	8	68	165	R	W	R			
8. McCloskey (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	66	4	R	W	R			
9. Hamilton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	341	302	R	W	R			
10. Jacobs (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	140	4	R	W	R			
IOWA																			
1. Leach (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	25	6	R	W	R			
2. Tauke (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	160	62	R	W	R			
3. Evans, C. (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	5	91	R	W	R			
4. Smith, N. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	12	84	R	W	R			
5. Lightfoot (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	77	172	R	W	R			
6. Bedell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	8	50	R	W	R			
KANSAS																			
1. Roberts (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	46	240	R	W	R			
2. Slattery (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	57	16	R	W	R			
3. Meyers (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	202	101	R	W	R			
4. Glickman (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	200	81	R	W	R			
5. Whittaker (R)	W	A	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	1	9								
KENTUCKY																			
1. Hubbard (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	2	25	160	R	R	R			
2. Natcher (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	0	5	12	R	R	R			
3. Mazzoli (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	4	77	8	R	R	R			
4. Snyder (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	8	46	R	W	R			
5. Rogers (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	2	9	46	57	R	W	R			
6. Hopkins (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	2	9	202	101	R	W	R			
7. Perkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	200	81	R	W	R			
LOUISIANA																			
1. Livingston (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	2	9	5	54	W	W	R			
2. Boggs (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	55	24	R	R	R			
3. Tauzen (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	24	25	R	R	R			
4. Roemer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	250	62	R	R	R			
5. Huckaby (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	133	68	R	R	R			
6. Moore (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	106	123	W	R	R			
7. Breaux (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	0	11							
8. Long (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	0								
MAINE																			
1. McKernan (R)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	7	21	40	W	R	R			
2. Snowe (R)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4	7	59	75	W	R	R			
MARYLAND																			
1. Dyson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	2	68	27	R	W	W			
2. Bentley (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	6	12	41	R	W	W			
3. Mfume (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	159	15	R	W	W			
4. Holt (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	1	10	41	197	R	W	R			
5. Hoyer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	85	7	R	W	R			
6. Byron (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	61	72	R	W	R			
7. Mitchell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	250	15	R	W	R			
8. Barnes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	117	10	R	W	R			
MASSACHUSETTS																			
1. Conte (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	216	121	R	W	R			
2. Boland (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	319	37	R	W	R			
3. Early (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	181	32	R	W	R			
4. Frank (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	86	9	R	W	R			
5. Atkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	86	4	R	W	R			
6. Mavroules (D)	R	A	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	9	1	120	10	R	W	R			
7. Markey (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	120	30	R	W	R			
8. O'Neill (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	SPEAKER					155	59	R	W	R			
9. Moakley (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	219	18	R	W	R			
10. Studds (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	116	26	R	W	R			
11. Donnelly (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0								
MICHIGAN																			
1. Conyers (D)	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	249	24	R	W	W			
2. Pursell (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	4	7	243	94	W	R	R			
3. Wolpe (D)	R	W	R	A	W	R	W	W	R	4	7	122	13	R	W	R			
4. Siljander (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	7	81	W	R	R			
5. Henry (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	10	21	W	R	R			
6. Carr (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	162	34	R	W	R			
7. Kildee (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	166	11	R	W	R			
8. Traxler (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	191	31	R	W	R			
9. Vander Jagt (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	1	10	45	235	W	R	R			
10. Schuette (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	3	8	74	58	W	R	R			
11. Davis (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	1	10	159	13	W	R	R			
12. Bonior (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	85	6	R	W	R			
13. Crockett (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	86	7	R	W	R			
14. Hertel (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	278	10	R	W	R			
15. Ford, W. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	311	26	R	W	R			
16. Dingell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	56	10	R	W	R			
17. Levin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	53	220	R	W	R			
18. Broomfield (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11								
MINNESOTA																			
1. Penny (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	3	35	26	R	W	R			
2. Weber (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	1	10	10	84	W	R	R			
3. Frenzel (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	0	11	39	223	W	R	W			
4. Vento (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	162	14	R	W	R			
5. Sabo (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	122	13	R	W	R			
6. Weiss (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	278	15	R	W	R			
7. Stranteind (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	1	10	38	156	W	R	W			
8. Oberstar (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	202	16	R	W	R			

Key to Symbols

R Voted Right or was paired Right.

W Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong.

A Absent and not paired or voted "present."

* Not in Congress at time.

Number before each name shows congressional district.

HOW THE U.S. HOUSE VOTED IN THE

	1 Textiles	2 Trade I	3 Trade II	4 Buy American	5 Polygraphs I	6 Polygraphs II	7 Double Breasting	8 Davis Bacon	9 Railroad Jobs	10 PATCO	11 Union Rights	Total Labor Votes R	Total Labor Votes W	12 Funding	13 Housing	14 Endowment	Cumulative Voting Record R	Cumulative Voting Record W	Cumulative Right Percentage
MISSISSIPPI																			
1. Whitten (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	7	3	R	R	R	215	63	71
2. Franklin (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	4	2	W	W	R	58	11	80
3. Montgomery (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	8	R	R	R	24	15	37
4. Dowdy (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	2	R	W	A	168	77	27
5. Lott (R)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	8	W	W	A	34	203	8
MISSOURI																			
1. Clay (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	9	0	R	R	A	236	12	95
2. Young, R. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	R	A	131	39	77
3. Gephardt (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	9	0	R	W	R	140	34	80
4. Skelton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	9	2	R	R	R	112	57	66
5. Wheat (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	0	W	W	R	58	3	95
6. Coleman, E. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	6	W	W	R	33	142	19
7. Taylor (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	9	W	W	R	29	241	12
8. Emerson (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	7	W	W	R	23	241	8
9. Volkmer (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	10	1	R	W	W	138	56	68
MONTANA																			
1. Williams P. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	A	R	W	115	16	88
2. Marlenee (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	A	W	W	34	135	20
NEBRASKA																			
1. Bereuter (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	9	W	W	R	24	111	18
2. Daub (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	W	W	W	13	83	14
3. Smith, V. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	11	R	W	A	22	198	10
NEVADA																			
1. Reid (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	R	R	54	7	89
2. Vucanovich (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	0	11	R	W	R	4	56	7
NEW HAMPSHIRE																			
1. Smith, R. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	W	W	W	5	26	16
2. Gregg (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	8	W	W	W	14	82	15
NEW JERSEY																			
1. Florio (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	A	197	18	92
2. Hughes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	R	A	162	59	73
3. Howard (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	R	R	A	270	16	94
4. Smith, C. (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	67	29	70
5. Roukema (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	R	R	R	26	70	27
6. Pallone (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	R	R	91	44	67
7. Dwyer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	195	44	82
8. Rinaldo (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	241	24	91
9. Torricelli (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	A	52	24	68
10. Rodino (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	A	335	18	95
11. Gallo (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	R	R	13	18	42
12. Courter (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	33	95	26
13. Saxton (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	R	R	R	10	71	12
14. Guarini (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	1	R	R	A	122	12	91
NEW MEXICO																			
1. Lujan (R)	R	W	A	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	10	W	W	R	56	201	22
2. Skeen (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	W	W	R	8	88	8
3. Richardson (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	R	11	0	R	W	W	55	6	90
NEW YORK																			
1. Carney (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	A	A	W	8	3	A	W	W	20	107	16
2. Downey (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	9	W	W	R	189	28	87
3. Mrazek (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	10	W	W	R	51	78	39
4. Lent (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	9	W	W	R	78	69	30
5. McGrath (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	36	6	100
6. Wortley (R)	R	W	R	*	*	*	*	*	*	R	W	6	5	W	W	R	6	77	7
7. Ackerman (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	56	26	98
8. Scheuer (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	264	6	92
9. Manton (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	2	W	W	R	26	22	90
10. Schumer (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	2	W	W	R	84	6	93
11. Towns (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	9	0	W	W	R	53	1	98
12. Owens (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	167	24	98
13. Solarz (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	9	2	W	W	R	122	70	89
14. Molinari (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	254	26	96
15. Green (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	6	5	W	W	R	85	68	56
16. Rangel (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	242	17	93
17. Weiss (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	9	2	W	W	R	160	16	91
18. Garcia (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	0	W	W	R	138	6	96
19. Biaggi (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	237	33	88
20. DioGuardi (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	7	4	W	W	R	15	16	48
21. Fish (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	1	W	W	R	173	146	46
22. Gilman (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	9	2	W	W	R	254	71	78
23. Solomon (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	9	2	W	W	R	26	104	20
24. Soloman (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	1	W	W	R	40	21	66
25. Boehlert (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	5	5	W	W	R	24	66	27
26. Martin D. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	6	5	W	W	R	24	70	26
27. Wortley (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	7	4	W	W	R	174	141	27
28. McHugh (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	209	67	76
29. Horton (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	0	W	W	R	47	192	20
30. Eckert (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	178	36	83
31. Kemp (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	0	W	W	R	202	20	91
32. LaFalce (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	8	2	W	W	A	152	32	83
33. Nowak (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	0	W	W	A	9	0	100
34. Lundine (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	R	9	0	W	W	A	9	0	100
NORTH CAROLINA																			
1. Jones W. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	4	R	R	R	131	24	85
2. Valentine (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	7	R	W	R	24	34	41
3. Whitley (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	5	7	W	W	R	85	39	69
4. Cobey (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	108	103	51
5. Neal (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	7	4	W	W	R	138	24	85
6. Coble (R)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	7	86	8
7. Rose (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	6	5	W	W	R	138	105	57
8. Hefner (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	6	5	W	W	R	109	6	94
9. McMillan (R)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	6	274	2
10. Broyhill (R)	R	R	R	*	W	W	*	*	*	R	W	2	7	W	W	R	28	75	9
11. Hendon (R)	R	R	R	R	W	W	*	W	*	R	W	4	7	R	W	R	16	50	24
NORTH DAKOTA																			
AL Dorgan (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	9	2		68	26	R	W	W	142	184	43
OHIO																			
1. Luken (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	R	R	131	83	61
2. Gradison (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	8	3	R	R	R	183	29	84
3. Hall, T. (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	R	R	6	84	7
4. Oxley (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	84	77	52
5. Latta (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	43	202	19
6. McEwen (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	6	77	7
7. DeWine (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	8	53	13
8. Kindness (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	30	187	14
9. Kaptur (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	3	7	R	W	R	53	6	90
10. Miller, C. (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	53	255	17
11. Eckart (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	83	6	93
12. Kasich (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	10	51	16
13. Pease (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	3	8	R	W	R	145	32	82
14. Seiberling (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	W	R	231	30	89
15. Wylie (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	9	2	R	W	R	66	218	23
16. Regula (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	W	R	84	163	34
17. Traficant (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	9	2	R	W	R	31	0	100
18. Applegate (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	W	R	130	7	89
19. Feighan (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	W	R	54	13	93
20. Oakar (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	W	R	161	15	94
21. Stokes (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	W	R	244	15	94
OKLAHOMA																			
1. Jones, J. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	7	3	R	R	R	109	78	58
2. Synar (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	R	R	78	37	76
3. Watkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	4	R	R	R	76	37	67
4. McCurdy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	5	R	R	R	37	14	72
5. Edwards, M. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	10	R	W	R	14	65	17
6. English (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	6	5	R	W	R	65		29
OREGON																			
1. AuCoin (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	2	7	R	W	R	143	63	71
2. Smith, R. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	R	2	8	R	W	R	9	11	80
3. Wyden (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	8	R	W	A	37	13	74
4. Weaver (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	8	R	W	A	68	27	87
5. Smith, D. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	8	R	W	A	34	203	8
PENNSYLVANIA																			
1. Foglietta (D)	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	10	0	R	R	A	88	3	97
2. Gray (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	A	R	10	0	R	R	A	124	5	96
3. Borski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	R	A	58	2	97
4. Kolter (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	R	A	53	6	90
5. Schulze (R)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	5	6	W	W	R	6	170	4
6. Yatron (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	A	R	9	2	R	R	A	241	23	91
7. Edgar (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	R	A	182	19	89
8. Kostmayer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	R	A	122	23	87
9. Shuster (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	2	R	R	R	39	19	67
10. McDade (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	210	198	16
11. Kanjorski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	R	A	216	5	97
12. Murtha (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	R	A	191	37	84
13. Coughlin (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	3	R	R	R	98	84	54
14. Coyne (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	R	A	95	56	56
15. Ritter (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	4	R	W	R	49	34	59
16. Walker (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	7	W	W	R	29	16	21
17. Gekas (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	10	W	W	R	13	8	62
18. Walgren (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	144	48	75
19. Goodling (R)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	55	30	64
20. Gaydos (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	10	0	R	R	A	235	26	90
21. Ridge (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	0	R	W	R	30	31	49
22. Murphy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	W	R	139	34	80
23. Clinger (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	W	R	53	79	40
RHODE ISLAND																			
1. St. Germain (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	11	0	R	R	A	281	32	90
2. Schneider (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	A	65	26	71
SOUTH CAROLINA																			
1. Hartnett (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	1	9	W	W	W	8	83	9
2. Spence (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	4	7	R	W	R	40	226	15
3. Derrick (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	10	1	R	R	A	117	54	54
4. Campbell (R)	R	R	R	R	A	W	W	W	W	A	W	5	6	W	W	R	112	112	50
5. Spratt (D)	R	R	R	R	A	W	W	W	W	A	W	5	5	R	R	A	32	38	63
6. Tallon (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	8	3	R	R	A	38	22	
SOUTH DAKOTA																			
AL Daschle (D)	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	8	3		94	36	R	W	W	49	253	16
TENNESSEE																			
1. Quillen (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	5	6	W	W	R	56	248	19
2. Duncan (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	5	6	W	W	R	93	95	56
3. Lloyd (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	8	W	W	R	107	21	84
4. Cooper (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	107	21	84
5. Boner (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	22	8	74
6. Gordon (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	107	50	68
7. Sundquist (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	9	W	W	R	22	17	62
8. Jones, E. (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	7	3	R	W	R	10	62	14
9. Ford H. (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	A	R	8	0	R	R	A	162	99	91
TENNESSEE																			
AL Duncan (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	8	3	R	W	W	193	18	
TEXAS																			
1. Chapman (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	3	R	W	A	94	36	72
2. Wilson (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	8	3	R	W	A	20	107	16
3. Bartlett (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	1	R	W	A	189	28	87
4. Hall R. (D)	R	R	R	W	A	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	R	W	A	51	78	39
5. Bryant (D)	R	R	R	W	A	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	R	W	A	78	58	58
6. Barton (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	36	54	37
7. Archer (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	6	1	86
8. Fields (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	56	26	68
9. Brooks (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	264	22	92
10. Pickle (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	2	W	W	R	26	3	90
11. Leath (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	2	W	W	R	84	6	93
12. Wright (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	9	0	W	W	R	53	1	98
13. Boulter (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	6	5	W	W	R	167	24	98
14. Wyatt (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	9	2	W	W	R	122	70	89
15. Leland (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	242	17	93
16. Coleman R. (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	85	68	56
17. Stenholm (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	9	W	W	R	160	17	91
18. Leland (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	9	W	W	R	138	6	96
19. Combest (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	237	33	88
20. Gonzalez (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	15	16	48
21. Loeffler (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	173	146	46
22. DeLay (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	1	W	W	R	254	71	78
23. Bonilla (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	7	4	W	W	R	26	104	20
24. Frost (D)	R	R	R	W	A	W	W	W	W	R	W	7	2	W	W	R	40	21	66
25. Andrews M. (D)	R	R	R	W	A	W	W	W	W	R	W	8	3	W	W	R	24	66	27
26. Armey (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	8	W	W	R	24	70	26
27. Ortiz (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	9	2	W	W	R	174	141	27
UTAH																			
1. Hansen J. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	0	11	W	W	R	209	67	76
2. Monson (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	0	9	W	W	R	47	192	20
3. Nielson (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	9	W	W	R	178	36	83
VERMONT																	202	20	91
AL Jeffords (R)	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	8	3		103	113	R	W	R	152	32	83
VIRGINIA																			
1. Bateman (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	0	11	W	W	R	131	146	47
2. Pickett (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	0	10	W	W	R	24	39	39
3. Bliley (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	10	W	W	R	85	29	69
4. Sisisky (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	7	4	W	W	R	108	103	51
5. Daniel (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	7	4	W	W	R	138	24	85
6. Olin (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	7	W	W	R	7	86	8
7. Slaughter (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	7	W	W	R	138	105	57
8. Parris (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	7	W	W	R	6	274	2
9. Boucher (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	11	0	W	W	R	28	75	9
10. Wolf (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	10	W	W	R	16	50	24
WASHINGTON																			
1. Miller J. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	4	7	W	W	R	142	184	43
2. Swift (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	8	3	R	W	R	183	29	84
3. Bonker (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	8	3	R	W	R	6	84	7
4. Morrison S. (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	8	W	W	R	84	77	52
5. Foley (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	9	W	W	R	43	202	19
6. Dicks (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	8	W	W	R	6	77	7
7. Lowry (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	3	8	W	W	R	8	53	13
8. Chandler (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	2	9	W	W	R	30	187	14
WEST VIRGINIA																	53	6	90
1. Mollohan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	53	255	17
2. Staggers (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	83	6	93
3. Wise (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	10	51	16
4. Rahall (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	R	R	145	32	82
WISCONSIN																	231	30	89
1. Aspin (D)	R	R	R	A	W	A	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	66	218	23
2. Kastenmeier (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	R	R	84	163	34
3. Gunderson (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	6	3	R	W	R	31	0	100
4. Kleczka (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	R	W	R	130	7	89
5. Moody (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	A	R	10	1	R	W	R	54	13	93
6. Petri (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	10	R	W	R	161	15	94
7. Obey (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	0	R	W	R	244	15	94
8. Roth (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	10	R	W	R			
9. Sensenbrenner (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	10	R	W	R			
WYOMING																			
AL Cheney (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	0	11	R	W	R	7	124	5

	Cumulative Voting Record R	Cumulative Voting Record W	Cumulative Right Percentage
PENNSYLVANIA			
1. Foglietta (D)	97	96	4
2. Gray (D)	96	97	3
3. Borski (D)	97	96	4
4. Kolter (D)	90	90	10
5. Schulze (R)	20	170	4
6. Yatron (D)	87	89	8
7. Edgar (D)	89	87	11
8. Kostmayer (D)	87	89	8
9. Shuster (R)	16	68	16
10. McDade (R)	84	84	14
11. Kanjorski (D)	5	97	3
12. Murtha (D)	84	84	14
13. Coughlin (R)	56	56	44
14. Coyne (D)	34	87	13
15. Ritter (R)	59	34	66
16. Walker (R)	21	16	84
17. Gekas (R)	8	48	52
18. Walgren (D)	75	26	74
19. Goodling (R)	73	31	69
20. Gaydos (D)	90	90	10
21. Ridge (R)	49	60	40
22. Murphy (D)	60	40	60
23. Clinger (R)	40	60	40
RHODE ISLAND			
1. St. Germain (D)	90	71	29
2. Schneider (R)	71	29	71
SOUTH CAROLINA			
1. Hartnett (R)	9	15	85
2. Spence (R)	15	54	46
3. Derrick (D)	54	50	50
4. Campbell (R)	50	17	62
5. Spratt (D)	63	17	62
6. Tallon (D)	37	91	9
SOUTH DAKOTA			
AL Daschle (D)	72	36	64
TENNESSEE			
1. Quillen (R)	16	59	41
2. Duncan (R)	19	56	44
3. Lloyd (R)	16	60	40
4. Cooper (D)	83	16	84
5. Boner (D)	16	94	6
6. Gordon (D)	10	90	10
7. Sundquist (R)	3	94	6
8. Jones, E. (D)	87	13	87
9. Ford H. (D)	91	9	91
TENNESSEE			
AL Duncan (R)	7	93	7
TEXAS			

HOW YOUR SENATORS VOTED

	Hobbs	Service Contracts	Davis Bacon	Federal Employees	Conrail	Total Labor Votes		Gramm Rudman	Balanced Budget	Taxes	Revenue Sharing	Education	Manion	Fitzwater	Sanctions I	Sanctions II	Energy	Cumulative Lifetime		Cumulative Lifetime
	1	2	3	4	5	R	W	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	R	W	%
ALABAMA																				
Heflin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	85	58	59
Denton (R)	W	W	W	R	W	1	4	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	94	10
ALASKA																				
Murkowski (R)	R	R	R	W	A	3	1	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	23	79	23
Stevens (R)	R	R	R	R	W	4	1	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	108	148	42
ARIZONA																				
DeConcini (D)	W	R	W	R	W	2	3	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	105	67	61
Goldwater (R)	A	W	W	W	W	0	4	A	W	W	W	A	W	W	A	A	W	23	247	9
ARKANSAS																				
Bumpers (D)	W	R	W	R	W	2	3	W	R	R	R	R	R	A	W	R	R	142	76	65
Pryor (D)	W	R	W	W	W	1	4	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	84	60	58
CALIFORNIA																				
Cranston (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	233	22	91
Wilson (R)	W	W	W	R	W	1	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	55	8
COLORADO																				
Hart (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	174	37	82
Armstrong (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	1	137	1
CONNECTICUT																				
Dodd (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	95	6	94
Weicker (R)	R	A	A	R	W	2	1	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	155	88	64
DELAWARE																				
Biden (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	187	46	80
Roth (R)	W	W	W	W	R	1	4	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	48	217	18
FLORIDA																				
Chiles (D)	W	R	W	R	R	3	2	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	139	124	53
Hawkins (R)	A	W	W	R	W	1	3	R	W	W	A	A	W	W	W	W	A	30	68	31
GEORGIA																				
Nunn (D)	R	R	W	W	W	2	3	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	97	161	38
Mattingly (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	100	7
HAWAII																				
Inouye (D)	R	R	R	R	A	4	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	A	242	29	89
Matsunaga (D)	R	R	R	W	W	3	2	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	148	29	84
IDAHO																				
Symms (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	98	2
McClure (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	20	213	9
ILLINOIS																				
Dixon (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	83	24	78
Simon (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	32	4	89
INDIANA																				
Quayle (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	97	8
Lugar (R)	W	W	W	W	A	0	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	18	165	10
IOWA																				
Grassley (R)	W	W	W	W	R	1	4	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	19	89	18
Harkin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	3	92
KANSAS																				
Dole (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	42	225	16
Kassebaum (R)	W	W	W	W	A	0	4	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	29	111	21
KENTUCKY																				
Ford (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	163	59	73
McConnell (R)	W	W	W	W	R	1	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	33	8
LOUISIANA																				
Johnston (D)	R	R	R	R	W	4	1	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	106	120	47
Long (D)	R	R	R	W	W	3	2	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	168	165	50
MAINE																				
Mitchell (D)	R	R	R	R	W	4	1	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	101	17	86
Cohen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	53	90	37
MARYLAND																				
Sarbanes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	175	4	98
Mathias (R)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	R	R	R	A	R	R	A	W	W	R	191	67	74
MASSACHUSETTS																				
Kennedy (D)	R	R	R	A	A	3	0	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	263	21	93
Kerry (D)	R	R	R	W	A	3	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	2	94
MICHIGAN																				
Levin (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	137	9	94
Riegle (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	168	11	94
MINNESOTA																				
Boschwitz (R)	W	R	W	W	W	1	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	22	125	15
Durenberger (R)	R	R	R	W	W	3	2	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	55	80	41
MISSISSIPPI																				
Stennis (D)	R	R	W	R	W	3	2	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	A	W	W	102	236	30
Cochran (R)	W	W	W	W	A	0	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	19	123	13
MISSOURI																				
Eagleton (D)	R	A	A	R	W	2	1	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	A	229	33	87
Danforth (R)	R	R	R	W	W	3	2	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	51	132	28
MONTANA																				
Baucus (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	105	37	74
Melcher (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	R	W	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	147	32	82
NEBRASKA																				
Exon (D)	R	R	W	W	R	3	2	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	54	80	40
Zorinsky (D)	W	W	W	W	R	1	4	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	62	124	33

	Hobbs	Service Contracts	Davis Bacon	Federal Employees	Conrail	Total Labor Votes		Gramm Rudman	Balanced Budget	Taxes	Revenue Sharing	Education	Manion	Fitzwater	Sanctions I	Sanctions II	Energy	Cumulative Lifetime		Cumulative Lifetime
	1	2	3	4	5	R	W	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	R	W	%
NEVADA																				
Hecht (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	62	3
Laxalt (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	20	190	10
NEW HAMPSHIRE																				
Rudman (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	18	88	17
Humphrey (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	132	6
NEW JERSEY																				
Bradley (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	124	20	86
Lautenberg (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	60	3	95
NEW MEXICO																				
Domenici (R)	W	R	W	R	W	2	3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	52	187	22
Bingaman (D)	R	R	R	R	W	4	1	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	54	10	84
NEW YORK																				
Moynihan (D)	R	R	R	W	W	3	2	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	163	16	91
D'Amato (R)	R	R	R	R	W	4	1	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	45	61	42
NORTH CAROLINA																				
East (R)	W	*	*	W	W	0	3	*	W	W	W	W	*	W	*	*	W	3	89	3
Broyhill (R)	*	W	W	*	*	0	2	W	*	*	*	*	W	*	W	W	*	0	6	0
NORTH DAKOTA																				
Burdick (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	274	50	85
Andrews (R)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	50	56	47
OHIO																				
Glenn (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	171	43	80
Metzenbaum (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	179	12	94
OKLAHOMA																				
Boren (D)	W	R	W	W	W	1	4	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	55	89	38
Nickles (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	105	2
OREGON																				
Hatfield (R)	R	R	W	R	W	3	2	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	133	135	50
Packwood (R)	R	R	R	W	W	3	2	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	118	150	44
PENNSYLVANIA																				
Heinz (R)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	113	65	63
Specter (R)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	72	36	67
RHODE ISLAND																				
Pell (D)	W	R	R	R	R	4	1	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	290	26	92
Chafee (R)	W	R	W	R	W	2	3	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	82	100	45
SOUTH CAROLINA																				
Hollings (D)	R	R	W	R	W	3	2	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	152	121	56
Thurmond (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	37	316	10
SOUTH DAKOTA																				
Abdnor (R)	W	W	W	R	R	2	3	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	28	81	26
Pressler (R)	W	W	W	R	R	2	3	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	44	85	34
TENNESSEE																				
Sasser (D)	R	R	R	R	W	4	1	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	139	38	79
Gore (D)	R	R	R	R	W	4	1	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	31	5	86
TEXAS																				
Bentsen (D)	W	R	W	W	W	1	4	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	126	125	50
Gramm (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	36	0
UTAH																				
Garn (R)	W	W	W	R	W	1	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	22	200	10
Hatch (R)	W	W	W	R	W	1	4	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	19	159	11
VERMONT																				
Leahy (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	187	37	83
Stafford (R)	R	R	A	W	R	3	1	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	143	107	57
VIRGINIA																				
Trible (R)	W	W	W	R	W	1	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	56	11
Warner (R)	W	W	W	R	W	1	4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	19	128	13
WASHINGTON																				
Evans (R)	R	R	W	W	R	3	2	W	R	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	41	21
Gorton (R)	R	R	W	W	R	3	2	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	26	82	24
WEST VIRGINIA																				
Byrd (D)	R	R	R	R	R	5	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	251	99	72
Rockefeller (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	33	3	92
WISCONSIN																				
Kasten (R)	W	R	W	W	W	1	4	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	22	85	21
Proxmire (D)	R	R	R	W	R	4	1	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	230	120	66
WYOMING																				
Simpson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	136	6
Wallop (R)	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	165	8

Key to Symbols

R	Voted Right or was paired Right.
W	Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong.
A	Absent and not paired or voted "present."
*	Not in Congress at time.

MAJOR ISSUES IN THE SENATE

1. Union-Busting by Federal Law

In 1986 the National Right to Work Committee renewed its attack on basic labor rights by pushing legislation to return to the days when the federal government policed strikes and busted unions for the benefit of employers. This was the intent of legislation introduced by Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) that would have repealed a Supreme Court decision relating to the federal anti-extortion law—the Hobbs Act—and apply its penalties of up to $10,000 in fines and a maximum sentence of up to 20 years in prison to incidents of picket-line violence. In contrast to its harsh treatment of people on strike to protect or improve their wages and working conditions, the Grassley bill would not have subjected to federal prosecution an employer or his agents who committed the same offenses during the same labor dispute. By imposing intimidating sanctions on the side of employers, the bill would have undermined the collective bargaining process and jeopardized the basic right to strike. The AFL-CIO strongly opposed the Grassley bill, calling it unnecessary since strikes are few and picket-line violence is even rarer. Furthermore, such incidents are covered by state or local laws and their enforcement agencies. Therefore, no union member or official is immune if he or she commits illegal acts during a labor dispute.

Although Grassley had failed in 1985 to get the approval of the Republican-controlled Senate Judiciary Committee for his Hobbs Act legislation, an "end run" was devised in 1986 with the cooperation of Senate Republican Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.). After Grassley had introduced his new Hobbs Act proposal, the bill was "held at the desk" and not referred to a committee for hearings. In April, Dole tried to move the bill directly before the Senate for its consideration. However, labor's allies succeeded in defeating Dole's strategy by initiating a filibuster (unlimited debate) against the Grassley bill. A motion by Dole on Apr. 14 to invoke cloture (and thus end the filibuster) failed 44-54—16 votes short of the 60 votes needed.

For cloture—Wrong Against cloture—Right

2. Service Contract Act

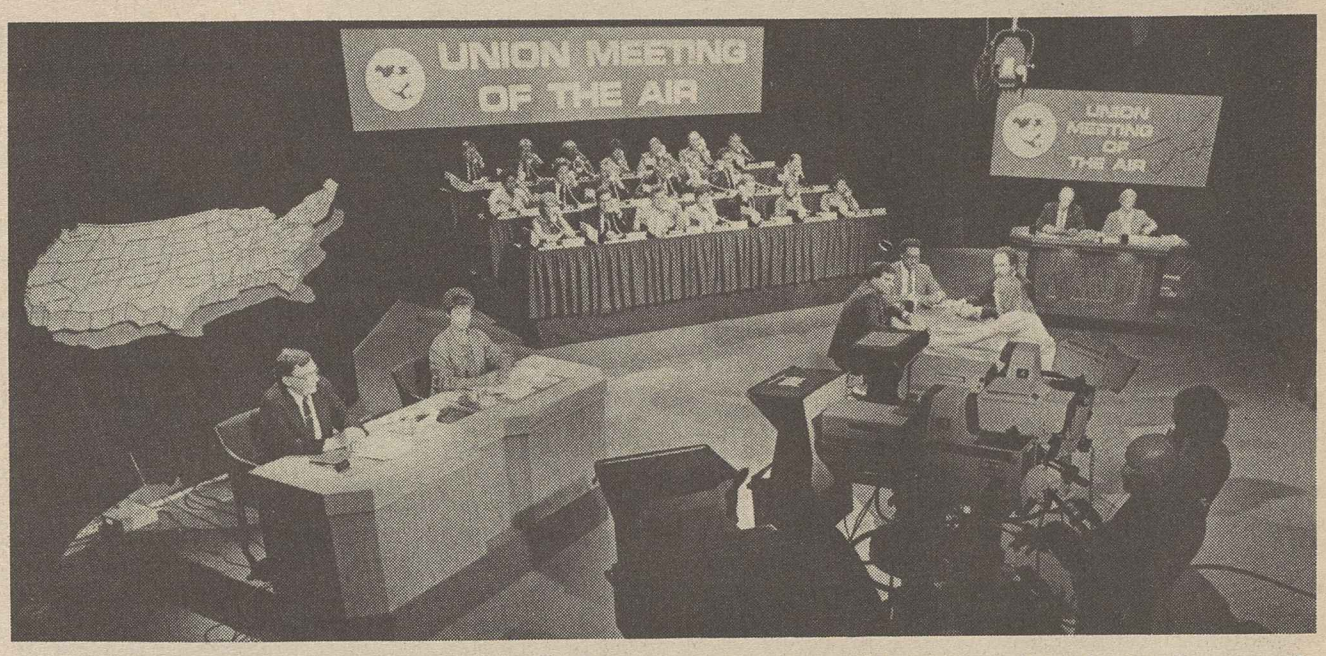
The assault on the nation's fair labor standards laws by right-wing Senate conservatives continued in 1986. One of the most serious forays came against the 1965 Service Contract Act (SCA). Like the Davis-Bacon Act, the SCA is based on the principle that the federal government should not give contracts to employers who underbid by paying their workers less than community wage scales. SCA protects the living standards of those who are employed as a direct result of federal government service contracts, particularly those in low-wage occupations.

During Senate Armed Services Committee consideration of the Dept. of Defense (DOD) authorization bill, Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), who led last year's assault on the Davis-Bacon Act, took aim at SCA contract protections for DOD workers. Among other crippling provisions, the bill would have raised from the current $2,500 to $1 million the size of the contract over which SCA provisions would apply. This would have eliminated almost 90 percent of all contracts currently protected by the SCA. Such a change would have affected drastically the income levels of thousands of service workers, many of whom are minority and female employees in low-wage occupations. During Senate consideration of the Pentagon funding bill, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) offered an amendment to strike the Gramm threshold provision. By an overwhelming 62-34 vote on Aug. 8, the Senate agreed to delete this anti-worker amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

3. Protecting Fair Wages for Construction Workers

The 1931 Davis-Bacon Act insures that workers on federally financed construction projects will be paid at wage rates that prevail in their area of the country. For over 50 years this law has assured that contractors who uphold community labor standards have a fair chance to compete for government projects without being underbid by firms using cut-rate labor. It has also protected the government and taxpayers from fly-by-night operators seeking to win federal contracts by paying wages too low to attract competent craftsmen. During 1986 debate on a Defense Dept. authorization bill, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D- Mass.) offered an amendment to delete from the bill a committee-approved provision sponsored by Sen. Phil Gramm



High-tech, grass roots lobbying at work—In late spring the AFL-CIO took its legislative agenda to the airwaves in a national teleconference briefing with union members in 21 cities.

(R-Tex.) to exempt 80 percent of all military construction from the fair-wage standards of the Davis-Bacon law. Gramm's provision manages this by increasing the $2,000 contract threshold to $250,000. By a 44-51 vote on July 8, the Republican-controlled Senate rejected the Kennedy amendment, leaving in place Gramm's anti-Davis-Bacon provision.

For—Right Against—Wrong

4. Federal Employee Pension Rights

In 1986 much of Congress's attention was focused on the issue of tax reform. The House-passed tax revision bill included a provision to undercut the so-called three-year recovery rule, which allows federal retirees to withdraw their contributions to the civil service pension system before beginning to pay taxes on their annuities. The recovery rule is the basis of retirement plans for 19 million postal, federal and public employees. It embodies a promise made by the government to generations of public and federal employees that in exchange for their contributions of a taxable amount up front to the government for its use, at retirement time the already-taxed contribution is refunded as an annuity during a brief tax-exempt period.

The House-passed bill and that approved by the Senate Finance Committee would abolish this recovery rule. If implemented, its effects upon the standard of living of public employees would be devastating. As one example, letter carriers retiring in 1988 would pay $788 more until 1991. Those retiring in 1989, when the recovery rule is completely phased out, would pay over $1,500 more until 1991. Such taxes would hit older workers at the worst time—when they retire and their income drops drastically. During Senate floor consideration of the tax bill, the AFL-CIO backed an amendment offered by Sen. Paul Trible (R-Va.) which would maintain the current three-year recovery rule. However, on a motion by Finance Committee Chairman Robert Packwood (R-Ore.) the Senate agreed to a tabling motion to kill the amendment by a 57-42 vote on June 17.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

5. Conrail Sale

During the 99th Congress the Reagan Administration proposed to sell off the Conrail—Consolidated Rail Corp.—system. Created by Congress in 1975 from the ashes of the bankrupt Penn Central and six other railroads, Conrail had begun to turn a profit after years of government subsidy. But the railroad was under the Reagan game plan to be unloaded at a bargain-basement price of $1.2 billion to the Norfolk Southern Railroad. This was $200 million under a competing bid. Moreover, the acquisition of the Conrail system by Norfolk Southern, according to a Congressional Budget Office estimate, would cost the government potentially $400 million in tax revenues and $800 million in interest and dividend payments over the next five years. The Norfolk Southern deal was strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO, rail unions, northeastern shippers and Conrail management itself because it would reduce competition, raise freight rates and cost thousands of jobs for workers who had already made great sacrifices to make Conrail solvent. Instead, organized labor proposed a public sale of Conrail.

During Senate consideration of the Conrail sale, opponents led by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) and Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) launched a short-lived filibuster against the proposal. However, Republican loyalists achieved cloture and, despite labor's continuing opposition, later succeeded in gaining Senate approval of the Norfolk Southern deal by a 54-39 vote on Feb. 4, 1986. Later in the year, however, House opposition squelched the Norfolk Southern bid and they withdrew their offer.

For—Wrong Against—Right

6. Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Budget Amendment

Reagan budgetary policies of big tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations, combined with large military funding increases, continued to haunt the federal government in 1986 in the form of record budget deficits. As a result, economic growth slowed to a standstill by mid-1986. To cope with the deficits, conservatives in late 1985 had taken advantage of a growing congressional panic to push through the so-called Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget constraint. Their mechanism arbitrarily required the end of deficit spending by FY 1991, forcing huge annual cuts in domestic spending programs and threatening scores of federal programs.

However, by early 1986, just as Gramm-Rudman-Hollings began to take its toll, the Supreme Court—ruling on a lawsuit filed by several House Democrats and joined by the AFL-CIO—found parts of it to be unconstitutional. This caused the Republican-controlled Senate to go back to the drawing board and in a matter of weeks a revised, reinforced version emerged. Although the AFL-CIO continued to oppose this meat-ax approach to budget balancing, the Senate added the new version of Gramm-Rudman to a public debt limit bill by a 63-36 vote, July 30.

For—Wrong Against—Right

7. Keeping Radical Economics Out of the Constitution

After his budget policies had produced the largest deficits in U.S. history, President Reagan demanded that Congress pass a constitutional amendment to make him do what his policies had not accomplished—namely, balance the federal budget. The Reagan-backed amendment would have required the federal government to balance its books annually, regardless of economic conditions. Furthermore, this constitutional restraint could be waived only for a national emergency or by a three-fifths vote. The AFL-CIO again led a broad-based coalition effort against the amendment; more than 500 nationally known economists and constitutional scholars announced their opposition to this constitutional mischief. The coalition opposed the amendment for several reasons: such a constitutional straitjacket would prevent Congress from using its taxing and spending authority to cope with depression, natural disaster or other emergencies; the three-fifths majority required by the amendment to allow a deficit would undermine the principle of majority rule by handing over the congressional power of the purse to a two-fifths minority, and finally, the budgetary fallout of the amendment would wipe out most federal programs that help working Americans.

Although the Senate had passed the amendment in 1982, an intensive AFL-CIO lobbying campaign aided by the bipartisan floor leadership of Senators Dan Evans (R-Wash.) and Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) led to Senate rejection of the amendment by a 34-66 vote on Mar. 25. (A two-thirds majority—67 votes—is required to pass a constitutional amendment.)

For—Wrong Against—Right

MAJOR ISSUES IN THE SENATE

8. Tax Reform

Tax legislation passed by Congress over the last two decades has seriously eroded the fairness of the federal tax code. For example, the corporate share of tax revenues which operate our federal government has fallen steadily from 25 percent in 1960 to around 8.5 percent by 1985. As a result, individuals—mostly working families—have been forced to make up the difference. The deepest plunge in tax intake came as a result of the 1981 Reagan tax bill, which cut corporate taxes in half (by $170 billion) over five years. In 1984, nearly 90,000 corporations paid no taxes at all. In fact, many corporations earning billions of dollars in profits in 1984 not only paid no taxes, but received hundreds of millions of dollars in handouts or in future write-offs from the federal government.

During floor deliberations on House-passed tax reform, Senators had a chance to significantly improve the tax bill that had emerged from the Finance Committee. Sen. George Mitchell (D-Me.) led a labor-backed effort to add a third tax bracket to the committee bill, which had collapsed the 14 existing tax brackets (ranging from 14 percent to 50 percent) to two brackets of 15 percent and 27 percent. While 80 percent of all taxpayers would be at the new 15 percent rate, the lower rate for wealthy taxpayers gave them a disproportionate share of the total tax savings. The Mitchell amendment was designed to shift more of the burden back onto the rich by setting the highest rate at 35 percent. By a 71-29 vote on June 18 the Senate rejected the Mitchell amendment by agreeing to a tabling motion by Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.).

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

9. Community Development and Jobs Programs

Revenue sharing, first enacted in 1972, provides federal grants to local governments for use on locally controlled programs based on local priorities. These grants have been used in a wide variety of projects ranging from pothole repair on local streets to health screening and immunization, and improved police and fire services. Revenue sharing has provided jobs and helped soften the blow of the economic recession which continued to batter more than 30 states and hundreds of communities throughout 1986. In 1984, Reagan budget cutters had succeeded in convincing the Congress to phase out revenue sharing by the end of fiscal year 1986. During debate on the federal budget bill, Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.) offered an amendment to restore $4.6 billion to keep the program alive. However, on Apr. 24 the Senate by a 54-41 vote approved a tabling motion offered by Budget Committee Chairman Peter Domenici (R-N.M.) to kill the amendment.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

10. Education

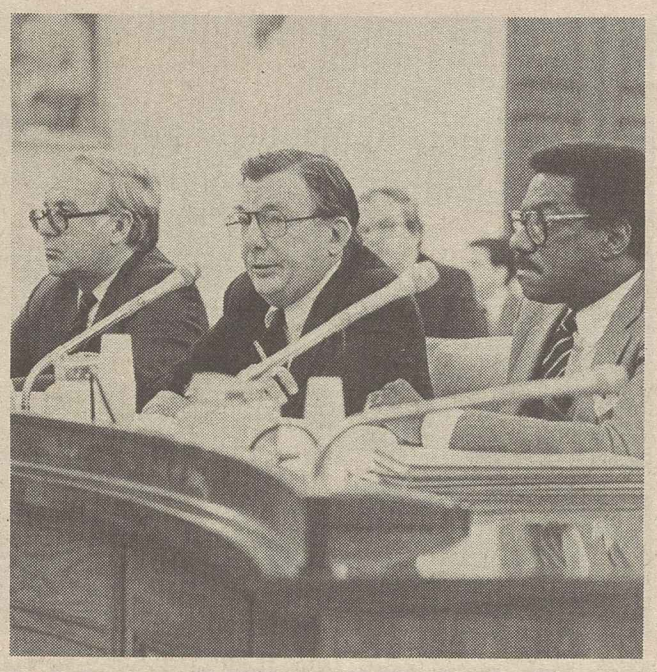
President Reagan's five-year crusade to slash federal aid to public schools has worsened education problems at the very time that many states have sought to resolve serious deficiencies in their educational systems. Although federal funding for education has increased in dollar amount, after adjustment for inflation it has actually declined by about 16 percent since fiscal year 1980. As a percentage of total federal expenditures, education receives only 1.6 percent today, compared to 2.3 percent in 1980. Budget reductions have forced the cancellation of special teaching programs and tightened the squeeze on school districts, leaving many teaching posts unfilled.

During the battle of the budget (FY 1987), the Senate Budget Committee had cut federal aid to education by some $800 million below 1986 levels. During floor debate Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) teamed up with Sen. Mark Andrews (R-N.D.) to offer an amendment to put $1.2 billion back into the budget for education. This, in effect, would keep the education budget for fiscal year 1987 at 1986 levels (adjusted for inflation). By a 60-38 vote on Apr. 23 the Senate agreed to the Hollings-Andrews amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

11. The Manion Nomination

In 1986 the Senate became a battleground over several of President Reagan's nominations to the federal judiciary. The most controversial nomination was that of Daniel Manion, who had been picked by President Reagan to serve on the 7th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals. Manion's nomination was questioned because of his espousal of right-wing causes and his lack of judicial qualifications to serve on the nation's second-highest court. Manion had never argued a case before that court or any other court of appeals, had never been the lead counsel in any federal case, and had never been involved in any litigation concerning federal constitutional issues. For these reasons, he received the lowest "passing" rating of the American Bar Association and was found unqualified by the Chicago Council of Lawyers. Manion, the son of Clarence Manion, a leading national spokesman for the extreme right-wing John Birch Society, was a member of the Indiana State Senate for one term, during which he co-authored a bill to allow the posting of the Ten Commandments in public school classrooms two months after the Supreme Court found a similar Kentucky law to be unconstitutional. Although during his Senate confirmation hearing he admitted he knew the bill was unconstitutional, he stated he had introduced the legislation to indicate his disagreement with the court's original decision—an action that was, in effect, a violation of his senatorial oath of office, which includes a pledge to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States. Manion had also taken extreme positions on several other issues.



AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, with Research Director Rudy Oswald (left) and Legislative Director Robert McGlotten, testifies at congressional hearings on the crisis in foreign trade.

Because of this record, the Republican-controlled Senate Judiciary Committee failed to report the nominee favorably, choosing instead to employ the rare procedure of reporting Manion's nomination with no recommendation. Despite overwhelming evidence indicating that Manion was clearly unqualified for a lifetime judicial appointment, the Senate approved his nomination. The key vote came on a motion by Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) to reconsider an earlier vote confirming Manion. However, the motion was rejected by a 49-50 vote on July 23.

For reconsideration—Right Against—Wrong

12. The Fitzwater Nomination

A second judicial nomination opposed by the AFL-CIO was that of Sidney Fitzwater of Dallas, who was nominated by President Reagan to be a federal district court judge. Fitzwater, a state judge from Dallas County, Tex., had been involved in an infamous "ballot security program" ramrodded through by Republicans in certain states during the 1982 election. Fitzwater had posted in several minority precincts in Texas "warning" signs that were clearly designed to intimidate or discourage those voters from participating in the election process. The posted notices had misstated the Texas election law. In opposing the nomination, the AFL-CIO decried Fitzwater's participation in this campaign as casting grave doubt on his commitment to equal justice. This, the AFL-CIO contended, revealed an insensitivity to basic voting and First Amendment rights that is incompatible with the high moral standards that should be mandatory for a member of the federal judiciary. Despite the objections of the AFL-CIO and the civil rights community, the Senate, by a 52-42 vote on Mar. 18, confirmed Fitzwater's appointment.

For—Wrong Against—Right

13. Fighting Racism in South Africa—I

Since 1958 the AFL-CIO has repeatedly expressed its outrage in Congress, international forums and elsewhere over the South African government's long-standing racist policy of apartheid. Under this system black South Africans—who comprise nearly 75 percent of the nation's population—endure a strictly enforced policy of racial discrimination and segregation that denies them basic human, political, economic and social rights. For trade unionists in South Africa apartheid can be particularly vicious, denying workers the freedom of association necessary to improve wages and working conditions.

In the 99th Congress, the AFL-CIO backed legislation to impose a series of economic sanctions on South Africa in order to pressure that government to move toward reform and eventual elimination of apartheid. During the Senate debate Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), along with Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.) and Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), cosponsored an amendment to strengthen significantly the weak sanctions bill reported by the Republican-controlled Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The labor-backed Cranston amendment would have established an embargo on all U.S. trade with South Africa, provided for an orderly withdrawal of U.S. investments and banned landing rights for South African airlines. Committee Chairman Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) led the effort to kill the Cranston proposal. The Senate voted 65-33 to approve Lugar's motion to table the amendment on Aug. 15.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

14. Fighting Racism in South Africa—II

An earlier fallback effort by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) to improve the Foreign Relations Committee bill had met the same fate. His amendment would have added to the bill several sanctions already approved by the so-called Commonwealth Nations. For the United States these sanctions would have included bans on renewal of existing bank loans to South African businesses, U.S. importation of South African coal, iron and agricultural products, and exports to South Africa of U.S. crude oil and petroleum products.

Despite AFL-CIO efforts, the Senate agreed by a narrow 51-48 vote to a tabling motion by Sen. Lugar on Aug. 14.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

15. Protecting Consumers

When Congress partially deregulated natural gas prices in 1978, the cost of this vital fuel skyrocketed. By the 1982-83 winter, residential fuel price increases averaged 25 percent across the country, with some regions facing boosts as large as 60 percent. However, when Congress deregulated the price of natural gas, one category of this fuel—old natural gas—was to remain regulated, because the cost of producing this commodity was paid for years ago, and deregulating its price would only provide a bonanza for oil and gas producers.

Since 1981 the Reagan Administration has attempted total deregulation of all gas prices. In 1986 the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) adopted in principle a rule that amounted to decontrol of old gas, even though the Senate had voted against similar legislation in 1983. If the FERC increase were allowed to stand, consumers might pay as much as $100 more per year in higher natural gas prices, providing a windfall of billions to gas producers. During the Senate debate on a supplemental appropriations bill, Sen. James Exon (D-Neb.) offered an amendment to block the FERC from deregulating the price structure for old natural gas. However, once again the Republican-controlled Senate came to the defense of the energy industry and on a motion by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) voted 48-47 to table the Exon proposal on June 6.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

Pennsylvania union members meet with Republican Sen. John Heinz about the export of American jobs.

Barry gets full term

IBEW delegates hit anti-worker policies

Toronto—The economic policies of the United States and Canada came under sharp attack from Electrical Workers President John J. Barry, who accused the governments of pursuing economic policies "that are allowing the rich to become richer and the poor to become poorer."

In his keynote address to the IBEW's 33rd convention, Barry told the 6,000 delegates and alternates that unions are "under the gun and suffering from the legislative attacks of ultra-conservatives who hold a ruling hand in setting economic and social policies" on both sides of the border.

At the same time, he declared, multinational corporations have promoted an anti-union atmosphere and have exported "millions of American and Canadian workers' jobs overseas so more profits can be made by employing unskilled workers in low-wage countries."

As a result, IBEW members in the electronics and telecommunications industries "have seen their jobs vanish as the companies have abandoned their plants to chase cheap labor" in Mexico, Japan, Taiwan and South America, Barry pointed out.

Lost jobs

Because of the impact of foreign trade and the flight of American industry, he emphasized, "nearly 8.5 million workers are looking for jobs that are not to be found. A million more have become so discouraged they have stopped looking for employment, and nearly 6 million people who want to work full time have been forced to settle for part-time jobs, most of them low paying and lacking any benefits at all."

The IBEW president said the time has come to "send the professional union-busters back to their natural habitat in the marshes and under the rocks," and to require the Canadian and American governments to "protect the interests of those who work for wages rather than those who reap the rewards of greed and profit."

He urged IBEW members to take the lead in redirecting "the swing of the political pendulum away from the far right and back toward the justice and fairness of the middle ground."

Barry called on members and local unions to intensify their role in political, civic and community affairs "which elevate the social and economic standards" for all citizens. "No outside forces can harm us as long as we maintain our strength from within," he declared.

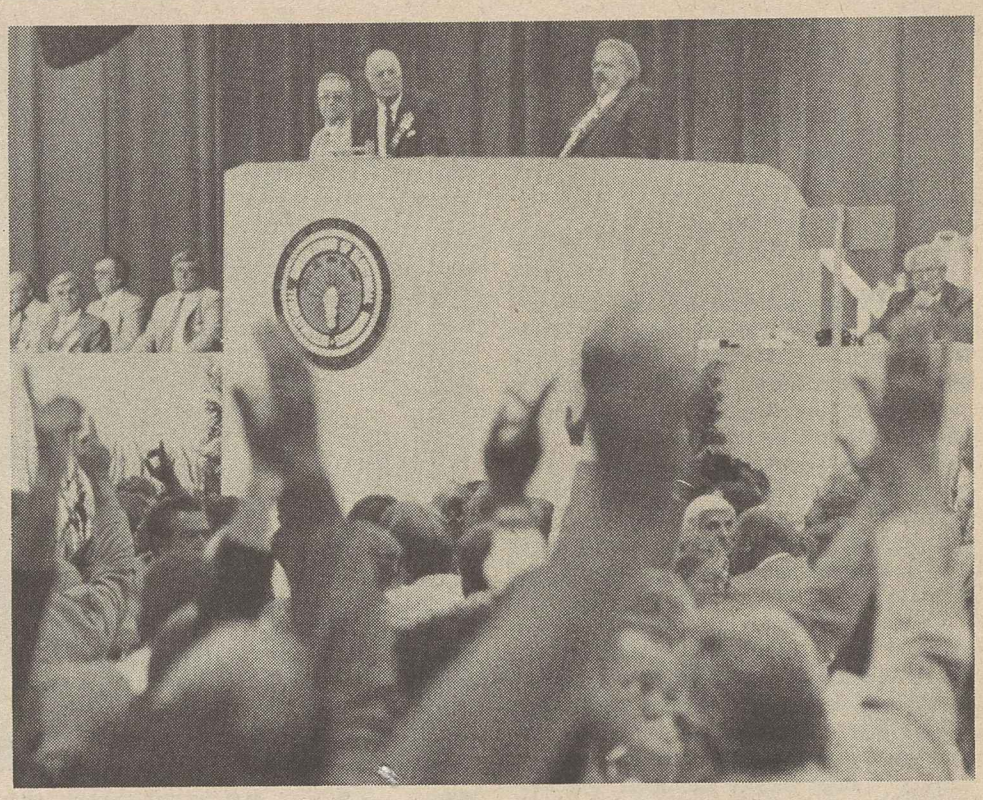
Barry and Sec. Jack F. Moore were elected by acclamation to their first full four-year terms after having been named to succeed retiring President Charles H. Pillard and Sec. Ralph E. Leigon. Treas. Thomas Van Arsdale was re-elected unanimously.

Delegates voted a $1 increase in the monthly per capita tax effective next Jan. 1, raising the rate to $6 and adopted a range of resolutions that included:

- A call for the promotion of employment opportunities in current trade negotiations between the United States and Canada.
- Support for a higher minimum wage to adjust for past erosion, and indexing the minimum to prevent future losses in purchasing power.
- Condemnation of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua for its violation of trade union rights, censorship of the media and religious persecution.
- Support for immigration reform and adequate funding for its implementation.

Other resolutions supported the AFL-CIO's "one-on-one" campaign, the Davis-Bacon Act, nuclear power, nuclear disarmament, and a shorter workweek.

Among convention speakers were Canadian Labor Minister Pierre Cadieux, Ontario Labor Minister William Wrye, Canadian Federation of Labor President James A. McCambly and President Robert A. Georgine of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept.



IBEW President John J. Barry counts votes at Toronto convention.

IUD spells out recovery program

Continued from Page 1

ployment with an international economic policy in a "coherent" effort to revitalize the nation's industrial base.

- Developing an affirmative trade policy geared to full employment and a fair economy—"in the same way other nations have chosen to use their trade policies."
- Forging an industrial strategy designed to advance productivity and international competitiveness while promoting economic growth, full employment and higher real incomes. "Our nation," the IUD said, "can do no less in this respect than other industrial nations."

The industrial strategy, it continued, would target such basic industries as auto and steel for revitalization through the creation of a development bank empowered to make long-term loans for companies undergoing restructuring.

At the same time, it should provide special loans, grants and other investment assistance to help such industries as new biotechnology firms gain a solid footing.

The IUD dismissed the claim that there is a difference between the emerging "high-tech" industries and the "smokestack" industries that powered the national economy throughout this century.

The auto industry, Bieber pointed out, is the nation's largest consumer of American high-tech products. If the smokestack industries survive and thrive, he added, their workers will be the most reliable consumers of high-tech production.

Health care unions seek emergency hepatitis rule

Unions representing 470,000 health care workers petitioned the Occupational Safety & Health Administration for an emergency standard to prevent hepatitis B infections, and sought an immediate directive that employers provide the vaccine free of charge to their workers.

The letter to OSHA Administrator John Pendergrass emphasized that compliance with the current "guidelines" issued by the agency is weak. It was signed by Presidents John J. Sweeney of the Service Employees, Henry Nicholas of the Hospital & Health Care Employees and Georgianna Johnson of Local 1199, the health care division of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union.

The unions pointed out that although some facilities have been persuaded by the guidelines to set up control programs, worker participation has been low mainly due to the "$100 price tag on the series of three vaccine injections required."

OSHA already has the authority to require employers to provide the vaccines free to high-risk workers, the unions said. They noted that hepatitis B strikes some 200,000 persons annually, 10,000 of whom are hospitalized. Some 250 people die each year directly from the disease and the infection contributes to about 3,500 other deaths from cirrhosis of the liver and 850 from liver cancer.

"Certain health care job categories experience infection rates up to 15 times the average for the U.S. population," the letter stressed. The unions urged that some 15 requirements contained in the current guidelines be made part of a formal regulation. These include:

- Notifying workers of patients who are infected with hepatitis B.
- Treatment and reporting procedures for employees incurring needle-stick injuries.
- Use of gloves and gowns.
- "Redbagging" of contaminated linen and other articles.
- Provisions for proper use and disposal of needles.
- Proper room cleaning and hand-washing requirements.
- Decontamination and sterilization techniques.

The union leaders stressed that while they support development of OSHA standards for a variety of infectious diseases, they think the hepatitis B problem needs individual and prompt emergency action.

OSHA has 90 days in which to respond to the petition for an emergency standard.

Distillery strike shuts 12 wineries in contract dispute

San Francisco—Some 1,000 Distillery Workers struck E. & J. Gallo Co., the nation's largest wine producer, shutting down the last of the 12 firms represented by the California Winery Employers Association.

Locals 45 and 186 launched the walkout Aug. 18 against Christian Brothers, Franzia Winery, Vie-Del Co., Fromm-Sichel and Bronco Wineries after 95 percent of the DWU members turned down the association's final offer in a secret ballot.

The strike, which comes at the start of harvest-time operations, has since spread to Almaden, LaMont, Gibson, C. Mondavi, Del-Ray Co-op and Midcal. With the Gallo walkout, a total of 2,500 DWU members are now on strike.

Meanwhile, talks continue with 13 other wineries which broke from the association to negotiate on an individual basis. DWU President George Orlando said these wineries have agreed to make their financial records available to the union, in contrast to the refusal by association members to disclose their financial picture while insisting on a "total revamping" of the contract.

Give and take

Recognizing that foreign competition is grabbing an increasing share of domestic wine sales, the union went to the bargaining table offering to accept a 50-cents-an-hour wage cut and reductions in health and welfare contributions if the employers agreed to bonuses in the second and third years and continuation of other provisions in the collective agreement.

The association countered with demands for elimination or substantial reductions in all fringe benefits, targeting the pension fund for major cuts. The DWU has urged the 12 struck wineries to join the union in accepting the Federal Conciliation & Mediation Service's offer to enter the bargaining talks.

Employers want to gut Davis-Bacon

Anti-union employer groups are the driving force behind the Labor Dept.'s efforts to undermine the Davis-Bacon Act, President Robert A. Georgine of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. charged at House hearings.

The Reagan Administration wants to exclude federal construction contracts of less than $1 million from the prevailing wage requirements of the Davis-Bacon Act, and Labor Sec. William E. Brock said a Senate-passed bill that would set a $250,000-threshold represents a "meaningful first step" toward that goal.

Georgine noted that Davis-Bacon Act protections have already been weakened by regulatory changes imposed by the Labor Dept. "at the insistence of anti-labor forces" such as the Associated General Contractors and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The House rejected the $250,000-threshold under Davis-Bacon the Senate wrote into a military construction bill and substituted a $25,000-threshold more in line with the inflation changes in the 51 years since the $2,000-coverage figure was adopted. The different versions are now before a House-Senate conference committee.

Brock dismissed the $25,000-threshold voted by the House as a mere "token gesture," that wouldn't achieve any meaningful "savings."

Subcommittee Chairman Austin J. Murphy (D-Pa.) told Brock that the majority of House members clearly disagree with the Administration's position and questioned the claims of huge savings to the government from a reduction in Davis-Bacon Act coverage.

Fly-by-nighters

Georgine noted in his testimony that the intent of the Davis-Bacon Act was to prevent the use of government contracts to push down local patterns of wages and working conditions. An important byproduct, he noted, is that construction quality is substantially higher than if the work was done by "fly-by-night" contractors using poorly trained workers.

Georgine sharply disputed assertions that the Davis-Bacon Act cuts back job opportunities for small contractors and minority workers.

Eliminating wages as a basis for competition puts larger and smaller firms on an equal footing, with management efficiency a key factor, Georgine noted.

Minority workers have been attracted to the construction industry "because of the expectation of a fair standard of living," Georgine pointed. Giving a contract advantage to firms paying substandard wages would undermine gains made by minorities and women and relegate them "to the lower rungs of the economic ladder," he said.

A statement submitted by the Laborers bore out that point, noting that the a large part of the union's membership is made up of minority group workers.

The problem has been too little rather than too much Davis-Bacon enforcement, the union stressed. It said construction workers have often been shortchanged because government agencies have done a poor job of monitoring compliance with Davis-Bacon Act standards. Employers found to have cheated workers and falsified wage reports should be barred from bidding on government contracts, the union urged.

House deletes age-70 ceiling for retirement

The House voted 394-0 to eliminate nearly all mandatory age requirements in both private and public employment. The bill would amend the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, which now applies only to workers under 70.

Earlier, it adopted an amendment supported by both the Fire Fighters and the Union of Police Associations that allows state and local governments to set age limits for employment, but does not require them to do so.

Otherwise, exemptions would be unchanged from present law. These are primarily federal workers covered by separate legislation such as air traffic controllers, federal law enforcement officers and persons in the foreign service. At one time, tenured college faculty members were excluded from the law's protection but that provision expired in 1982 and was not renewed.

The bill also leaves untouched an exemption allowing mandatory retirement at age 65 or older for executives entitled to a pension of at least $44,000 a year.

Business opposition

Passage of the legislation was supported by the AFL-CIO and opposed by both the Reagan Administration and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The House bill would not affect retirement requirements of collective bargaining agreements until the expiration of the agreement or Jan. 1, 1990, whichever comes first.

With the Senate's crowded calendar, the House-passed bill is likely to die with the adjournment of Congress in October. But the unanimous House vote may enhance prospects for action in the next Congress.

In a letter supporting a companion bill that has been introduced in the Senate, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten said older people should have the opportunity to work and should not be judged on their abilities, not on "some arbitrary age."

He noted that the legislation is not likely to have a significant impact on employment opportunities since most workers do not wish to stay on the job after becoming eligible for retirement and some 70 percent of workers retire before age 65.

Trade measure stalls in Senate

With time running out, the AFL-CIO pressed the Senate Finance Committee to bring to the floor a comprehensive trade bill that includes key ingredients of the measure the House passed last May by a 295-115 margin.

The Reagan Administration, committed to a "free trade" policy that has cost the United States heavily in lost jobs, has been trying to head off final passage of any legislation that would compel a change of course.

AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten expressed labor's concerns in a letter to Finance Committee Chairman Bob Packwood (R-Ore.).

It's the responsibility of Congress to deal with the "devastating" trade deficit, McGlotten stressed. "Ineffective, weak trade revisions" won't "reverse the trade deficit and relieve the suffering it has caused."

The AFL-CIO letter urged that the Senate bill include key elements of the House-passed measure, including:

- A deficit-reduction provision requiring countries that have high trade surpluses with the United States and also engage in discriminatory trade practices to gradually reduce their surplus by opening their markets to U.S. exports or reducing the volume of goods they export to the United States.
- Denial of most-favored-nation trade advantages to any country that fails to take steps to meet internationally recognized worker rights.
- More effective relief for industries hurt by unfair labor practices and automatic provision for trade adjustment assistance to workers whose jobs have been wiped out. In addition, the U.S. response to foreign industrial targeting aimed at taking over domestic markets "must go beyond symbolic actions."

On the line

Workers at the Grant Park nursing home in Washington seeking their first contract, demonstrate with 100 union supporters during an afternoon rally. The 150 members of the Hospital & Health Care Employees have set up daily "work and walk" picket lines at the nursing home in efforts to win a fair agreement after voting for union representation in June 1985. The union is seeking a pay increase and fair grievance and arbitration procedures, while management is demanding a pay freeze.

New air controllers union wins clearance for takeoff

Continued from Page 1

John F. Thornton, a former controller who is directing the organizing effort.

The newly adopted constitution provides for the election of the president and executive vice president for three-year terms by secret membership ballot at the end of 1987. The first biennial convention will be held next year.

The constitution contains the equivalent of a no-strike pledge, committing the union to seek its objectives by "all lawful means." Federal employees are barred by law from striking.

In his opening address, Thornton emphasized that NATCA is a "new union" that is "determined to work with the FAA and Congress to promote the safety of the American flying public and the welfare of the nation's air traffic controllers."

He stressed the union's opposition to drug use, "and above all in air traffic facilities." But Thornton criticized the "errors and abuses" of an FAA drug probe at the Los Angeles traffic control center. The investigating team's actions, he said, "needlessly compromised the good working relationship between management and the controllers as well as the reputations and careers of many individuals."

Various delegates critized the heavy workload imposed on controllers, whose total is down from about 14,000 five years ago to 8,500 fully trained professionals now. Some 3,000 partially trained interns and 1,500 clerks also work in traffic control facilities. The understaffing comes at a time when air traffic is up and sophisticated new equipment has yet to be installed.

John F. Leyden, director of the federal/postal division of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept. and PATCO president from 1970 to 1980, praised MEBA's support of the organizing effort.

He told delegates the fastest way to ease the FAA staffing crunch would be to rehire a substantial number of the controllers Reagan fired after the PATCO strike five years ago.

Amnesty suggested

The government granted amnesty to those who left the country to avoid the draft during the Vietnam conflict and former President Nixon received amnesty after resigning in the midst of impeachment proceedings, Leyden noted, so "there ought to be amnesty for the fired controllers, too."

Other convention speakers included Howard Johannsen, president of the Professional Airways Systems Specialists; John O'Brien, safety expert for the Airline Pilots; William Brett of the British Institute of Professional Civil Servants; Jack Butt, president of the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers; Bruce Henry, president of the Air Traffic Specialists, and John Sheehan of the Aircraft Owners & Pilots.

Tax reform moves toward final approval

Continued from Page 1

members of Congress eased the impact of tax reforms on a number of corporations. But one labor-opposed special tax preference—added by the Senate to give a tax break to the Toyota Motor Co. for construction of a plant in Georgetown, Ky.—was dropped from the final version of the bill.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council had termed the proposed tax windfall for Toyota "particularly objectionable" in view of the company's "disdain for the basic rights of U.S. workers." The Building & Construction Trades Dept. had charged that Toyota refused to use union workers to erect its Kentucky plant unless their unions signed a "peace and harmony" commitment drawn up by the company.

BCTD President Robert A. Georgine said the department was "very pleased" with the decision to drop the Toyota tax preference.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., who is retiring from Congress, rallied wavering Democrats and prodded President Reagan to lobby Republicans to assure the bill's passage.

O'Neill took the House floor just before the vote to urge his colleagues to say 'yes' to fairness.

In some other congressional developments:

- The House passed a labor-supported Administration-opposed bill strengthening protections against pesticides for both consumers and farm workers.

It expands the authority of the Environmental Protection Agency to regulate pesticides, provides public access to health and safety data before the EPA rules on approval of a pesticide, and directs the agency to issue regulations to protect workers who mix, load or apply pesticides and agricultural employees who work in pesticide-treated areas. The bill was weakened before passage by the 214-121 adoption of an amendment barring states from setting stricter limits on pesticide traces in foods being marketed than the EPA requires.

A companion bill is awaiting action by the Senate.

- A House-Senate conference agreement paved the way for final congressional approval of a bill that would raise the amount students can borrow at low interest rates to finance their college education—if they meet need and academic standards. It also would raise the present $2,100 limit on annual grants to the neediest students by $200 a year over the next five years.
- The AFL-CIO expressed opposition to a product liability bill before the Senate that would make it more difficult for workers to obtain compensation for occupational injuries or diseases as a result of working on unsafe machinery or with toxic substances. The Senate bill doesn't fit the "balanced reforms" the AFL-CIO had urged "to protect both consumers and providers of safe goods and services."

Schedule of Labor Studies Center courses

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies will offer eight institutes and workshops during October and November. The schedule:

Organizing in the Construction Industry, Oct. 5-10—A workshop for organizers in the building trades in oral and written communications, regional surveys and targeting techniques, on-site recruitment and labor law.

Advanced Arbitration, Oct. 5-10—A program for experienced union representatives focusing on the examination and cross-examination of witnesses, preparation of briefs and researching issues.

Organizing Techniques, Oct. 19-24—A six-day session covering organizing basics, including measures to counteract employers anti-union tactics.

Contract Administration: Life without Arbitration, Nov. 2-6—A program to explore alternatives to traditional arbitration designed to reinforce promptness, clarity and lower costs. Grievance mediation will be discussed.

Arbitration Techniques: Preparation & Presentation, Nov. 2-7—A workshop on presenting mock cases before professional arbitrators. Participants will be videotaped for review.

Using Micro Computers in Negotiations, Nov. 16-21—A course for union staff and officers on use of small computers in contract negotiations. Emphasis is on spreadsheet software for costing out contracts and weighing managment proposals. Previous knowledge of computers not required.

Speed Reading & More Effective Writing, Nov. 23-26—A class in how to read faster, increase concentration and comprehension, and improve report-writing skills.

Opinion Polling for Organizers, Nov. 23-26—A workshop on use of opinion polls in campaigns, conducting polls, using case studies and practice sessions, developing questionnaries, samples and analyses of poll results.

Public Communications: Working with the Media, originally scheduled for Nov. 2-6, has been rescheduled for Dec. 14-18. —A workshop for business representatives and local union officers on how to use radio, television and newspapers to improve labor's image.

AFL-CIO affiliates using the campus in October and November for their own staff training programs are: Communications Workers, Oct. 5-9 and Oct. 19-31; Flight Attendants, Oct. 5-10; Utility Workers, Oct. 15-17; Government Employees, Oct. 26-29 and Nov. 30-Dec. 5; Service Employees, Oct. 26-31; Teachers, Nov. 9-14; State, County & Municipal Employees, Nov. 16-21.

Other groups using the center include: African-American Labor Center, Oct. 4-24; American Institute for Free Labor Development, Oct. 12-Nov. 14; University & College Labor Education Association, Oct. 14-15; American Council on Germany, Nov. 4-7; Artists' Equity Association, Nov. 12-14; AFL-CIO Dept. for Professional Employees, Nov. 14; AFL-CIO Dept. of Information & National Press Foundation, Nov. 16-19; Frontlash, Nov. 16-21 and Nov. 23-26; Labor's Council on Higher Education, Nov. 24-25.

More information about these programs is available from Robert Pleasure, executive director, George Meany Center, 10000 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring, Md. 20903. Telephone 301/431-6400.

EDITORIALS

Consensus for Sanctions

THE VOTE in Congress to impose economic sanctions on South Africa was as close to a consensus as is likely to be achieved on any difficult issue.

By an 84-14 margin in the Senate and a 308-77 vote in the House, Congress agreed to use America's economic pressure to prod the South African government to restore democratic rights and abandon the vicious system of apartheid.

Unless wiser counsel somehow prevails in the inner circles of the White House, President Reagan is likely to veto the legislation.

If so, the veto should be promptly overridden.

The issue is not support or embarrassment of the President. It is adherence to national values that should transcend politics.

THE SANCTIONS that Congress imposed are milder than a House-passed bill would have provided. The House had voted to break virtually all commercial ties with South Africa. But it agreed to the less stringent Senate version in an effort to achieve a broad consensus behind a bill that would become law—with or without the President's signature.

The bill sent to the President bars the importation of South African textiles, uranium, iron, steel, coal and agricultural products. It prohibits U.S. firms from new investments in South Africa, and imposes some other commercial restrictions.

Under its terms, the sanctions will be lifted when the South African government frees its political prisoners and takes specified actions to bring about a "free and democratic" society.

If South Africa fails to do so, the President will be required to recommend additional sanctions to Congress.

AS A MEANS of pushing South Africa along a path that decency and justice compel, it makes a lot more sense than the textile treaty the Administration negotiated that guarantees South Africa a steadily rising share of the U.S. market.

Sanctions imposed by the world's biggest market represents the best chance—perhaps even the last chance—to achieve a peaceful and negotiated transition to full democracy. The stakes are so high, it is surely worth trying.

We in the trade union movement were not neutrals in the civil rights struggle in our own country. Nor are we neutrals as the black trade unions of South Africa take a leading role in the struggle against apartheid.

The White House protests that sanctions will bring hardship to the black majority of South Africa.

But our union delegations have come back bearing the word that South African workers are willing to accept any economic hardships that sanctions might bring because "freedom is worth any price."

We have seen the scars and lash marks on the bodies of union leaders imprisoned and tortured. They bear witness to the reality that hardship is no stranger to South Africa's black workers.

It will be tragic if the sanctions bill voted by Congress with such broad and bipartisan support does not become law.

It would be best if it became law with President Reagan's signature, demonstrating to the world a nation united.

But if that is not to be, let the sanctions be imposed without his signature. That also will send a message to the world.

Unfinished Business

THE CONSENSUS that united Congress on South African sanctions and is moving tax reform to final enactment has thus far failed to achieve agreement on a desperately needed trade bill.

People without jobs don't pay taxes, and the trade legislation that would pump vigor into a faltering economy remains stalled in the Senate Finance Committee while the adjournment clock ticks away.

The House has done its job. Back last May, it passed a bill that takes important steps to make trade a two-way street and to stop subsidizing the destruction of American jobs.

Since then, the trade deficit has continued to widen, leaving a trail of plant closings, bankruptcies and depressed living standards. Inaction carries a terrible price tag.

Washington Window

Administration vendetta hobbles air traffic safety

By Press Associates Inc.

Years of frustration, anger and a feeling of neglect by members of the busted Air Traffic Controllers union boiled over on Aug. 3, 1981, into a strike against their employer, the Federal Aviation Administration.

Two days later, President Reagan fired some 11,000 PATCO members who disregarded his ultimatum to return to work. Reagan charged that the air traffic controllers had violated their no-strike pledge.

Standing tall before televison cameras, the popular President—who had recently survived an assassin's bullet and had ramrodded his budget tax scheme through Congress—stirred memories of John Wayne corralling a band of outlaws. Most of the mass media aided the Administration, portraying strikers as overpaid, greedy, irresponsible hotheads endangering public safety.

Forgotten was Reagan's pre-election pledge contained in an October 1980 letter to the union. Reagan promised to work with PATCO in "a spirit of cooperation" to improve the "deplorable state of the nation's air traffic control system . . . too few people working unreasonable hours with obsolete equipment has placed the nation's air travellers in unwarranted danger."

Harsh punishment

Instead of cooperation and compromise, there was only punishment and retribution: heavy fines, prison terms and lost jobs, followed by the decertification and bankruptcy of PATCO, and blacklisting of its members. The union's repeated call for negotiations was ignored by the Administration.

Today, most of the "hotheads" who chose to strike are still absent from the control towers and radar rooms from which commercial and private aircraft are guided through the increasingly crowded skies. The problems, however, which caused them to risk their careers by going on strike still abound.

Understaffing—causing overwork and overstress in jobs where human lives hang in the balance—tops the list of problems. This situation is now far worse than it was before the strike and can be remedied only by rehiring enough fired controllers to improve air travel safety.

Despite continuing opposition from Reagan, Congress has been moving in that direction, although haltingly. Many in Congress buy the Administration line that the ex-strikers should be left to twist slowly in the wind as an example to others, regardless of the consequences.

No consolation

The House in July rejected by 226-193 an amendment to the 1987 transportation funding bill that would have required the FAA to rehire at least 1,000 of the former controllers in the next two years. Before the vote, Rep. Richard J. Durbin (D-Ill.) warned his colleagues, "It will be no consolation to the families of those who may be injured or killed in an air crash due to controller error to be told that the Administration had stood firm in its opposition to the rehirings."

The House later voted to lift the ban on rehiring the controllers, a gesture which is unlikely to budge the Reagan FAA. The Senate, by voice vote Sept. 17, rejected even this modest step. However, the Senate at the same time approved a measure to require the FAA to have on staff 15,000 controllers by October 1987. To accomplish this, the FAA would have to rehire some of the fired controllers. House-Senate conferees are trying to mesh the differences and send a bill to the White House.

It takes three years to fully train a controller. Of the current 14,000 FAA controllers, only 8,750 are fully trained compared to 14,000 before the strike.

In 1981, there were 395 reported near midair collisions and more than 400 in the first half of 1986.

Reagan and his allies in Congress could have only one motive in pursuing their vendetta against the fired controllers—to intimidate public employees and the labor movement as a whole.

Meanwhile, safety is ignored and air travelers endangered.

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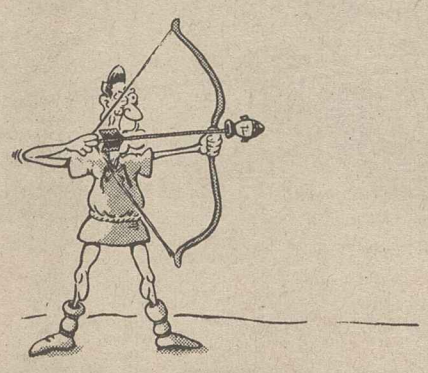

Will 1986 Be The Year For Immigration Reform?

Unless House and Senate members are urged to take action, 1986 will be the third straight year that Congress fails to solve the problem of illegal immigration.

After decades of uncontrolled immigration accross U.S. borders, and with an illegal alien population estimated to be as high as 12 million, legislators began trying to find a solution in 1980. There were several serious problems with the first attempts at immigration reform introduced by Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) and Rep. Romano Mazzoli (D-KY). Although both the House and the Senate passed versions of the legislation in 1984, agreement on a final bill could not be reached in conference.

The 99th Congress (1985-86), saw Rep. Peter Rodino (D-NJ) join Senator Simpson and Rep. Mazzoli in trying to get legislation introduced. On September 19, 1985 the Senate passed S. 1200, which also contained some serious flaws: an almost unrestricted agricultural "guest-worker" program, no effective anti-discrimination remedies and delayed legalization procedures.

It took another 9 months for any action to be taken in the House. On June 25th the House Judiciary Committee finally adopted its own version of the bill. As approved, H.R. 3810 went a long way to solving problems in earlier legislation. It contained effective and enforceable employer sanctions, comprehensive anti-discrimination provisions and legalization for those who qualify and came to the U.S. before 1982. It did not create a new "guest-worker" program.

As of press time for the Legislative Alert, the bill is scheduled for debate by the full House. If adopted by the House, it will then have to be reconciled with the Senate-passed immigration bill.

What you can do: Tell your senator and representative that illegal immigration undermines the wages, working conditions and job opportunities of U.S. workers, while it subjects illegal workers to vicious exploitation which they are powerless to control. Tell them the time is now to produce a remedy for these conditions.

House Victory By 257 Votes

Roll Call: How They Voted On Airline Worker Protections

On September 16, the House passed H.R. 4838 by an overwhelming 329-72 vote. The bill requires that labor protections be imposed to assist employees adversely affected in airline merger cases.

The bill's chief sponsor, Rep. Norman Mineta (D-CA), Chairman of the Public Works and Transportatioin Subcommittee on Aviation, stated that "the need for this legislation has increased greatly in recent months with a series of airline mergers involving a substantial portion of the industry's employees." He also criticized the Reagan Administration for having "refused to follow existing statutes and explicit congressional directives" to protect workers injured by mergers.

Efforts are being made to get similar legislation through the Senate before the end of the session.

Roll Call: Find your representative and see how he or she voted on H.R. 4838. "R" means they voted right, "W" wrong, "A" absent, and "S" the Speaker did not vote.

ALABAMA
1. Callahan (R) R
2. Dickinson (R) R
3. Nichols (D) R
4. Bevill (D) R
5. Flippo (D) A
6. Erdreich (D) R
7. Shelby (D) R

ALASKA
AL Young, D. (R) R

ARIZONA
1. McCain (R) R
2. Udall (D) R
3. Stump (R) W
4. Rudd (R) W
5. Kolbe (R) R

ARKANSAS
1. Alexander (D) R
2. Robinson (D) R
3. Hammerschmidt (R) R
4. Anthony (D) R

CALIFORNIA
1. Bosco (D) R
2. Chappie (R) R
3. Matsui (D) R
4. Fazio (D) R
5. Burton, S. (D) A
6. Boxer (D) R
7. Miller, G. (D) R
8. Dellums (D) R
9. Stark (D) R
10. Edwards, D. (D) R
11. Lantos (D) R
12. Zschau (R) A
13. Mineta (D) R
14. Shumway (R) W
15. Coelho (D) A
16. Panetta (D) R
17. Pashayan (R) R
18. Lehman, R. (D) R
19. Lagomarsino (R) W
20. Thomas, W. (R) A
21. Fiedler (R) R
22. Moorhead (R) W
23. Beilenson (D) R
24. Waxman (D) R
25. Roybal (D) R
26. Berman (D) R
27. Levine (D) R
28. Dixon (D) R
29. Hawkins (D) R
30. Martinez (D) R
31. Dymally (D) R
32. Anderson (D) R
33. Dreier (R) W
34. Torres (D) R
35. Lewis, J. (R) R
36. Brown, G. (D) R
37. McCandless (R) W
38. Dornan (R) R
39. Dannemeyer (R) W
40. Badham (R) W
41. Lowery (R) R
42. Lungren (R) W
43. Packard (R) R
44. Bates (D) R
45. Hunter (R) W

COLORADO
1. Schroeder (D) R
2. Wirth (D) R
3. Strang (R) W
4. Brown, H. (R) W
5. Kramer (R) W
6. Schaefer (R) W

CONNECTICUT
1. Kennelly (D) R
2. Gejdenson (D) A
3. Morrison, B. (D) R
4. McKinney (R) R
5. Rowland, J. G. (R) R
6. Johnson (R) R

DELAWARE
AL Carper (D) R

FLORIDA
1. Hutto (D) R
2. Fuqua (D) A
3. Bennett (D) R
4. Chappell (D) R
5. McCollum (R) R
6. MacKay (D) R
7. Gibbons (D) R
8. Young, C. (R) R
9. Bilirakis (R) R
10. Ireland (R) W
11. Nelson (D) R
12. Lewis, T. (R) R
13. Mack (R) W
14. Mica (D) R
15. Shaw (R) W
16. Smith, L. (D) R
17. Lehman, W. (D) R
18. Pepper (D) R
19. Fascell (D) R

GEORGIA
1. Thomas, L. (D) R
2. Hatcher (D) W
3. Ray (D) W
4. Swindall (R) R
5. Fowler (D) R
6. Gingrich (R) R
7. Darden (D) R
8. Rowland (D) R
9. Jenkins (D) R
10. Barnard (D) R

HAWAII
1. Vacancy
2. Akaka (D) R

IDAHO
1. Craig (R) W
2. Stallings (D) R

ILLINOIS
1. Hayes (D) R
2. Savage (D) R
3. Russo (D) R
4. Vacancy
5. Lipinski (D) R
6. Hyde (R) R
7. Collins (D) R
8. Rostenkowski (D) R
9. Yates (D) R
10. Porter (R) W
11. Annunzio (D) R
12. Crane, P. (R) W
13. Fawell (R) W
14. Grotberg (R) A
15. Madigan (R) R
16. Martin, L. (R) W
17. Evans, L. (D) R
18. Michel (R) R
19. Bruce (D) R
20. Durbin (D) R
21. Price (D) R
22. Gray, K. (D) A

INDIANA
1. Visclosky (D) R
2. Sharp (D) R
3. Hiler (R) W
4. Coats (R) W
5. Hillis (R) R
6. Burton, D. (R) W
7. Myers (R) R
8. McCloskey (D) R
9. Hamilton (D) R
10. Jacobs (D) R

IOWA
1. Leach (R) R
2. Tauke (R) W
3. Evans, C. (R) W
4. Smith, N. (D) R
5. Lightfoot (R) W
6. Bedell (D) R

KANSAS
1. Roberts (R) W
2. Slattery (D) R
3. Meyers (R) R
4. Glickman (D) R
5. Whittaker (R) W

KENTUCKY
1. Hubbard (D) R
2. Natcher (D) R
3. Mazzoli (D) R
4. Snyder (R) R
5. Rogers (R) R
6. Hopkins (R) W
7. Perkins (D) R

LOUISIANA
1. Livingston (R) R
2. Boggs (D) R
3. Tauzin (D) R
4. Roemer (D) R
5. Huckaby (D) R
6. Moore (R) A
7. Breaux (D) A
8. Long (D) R

MAINE
1. McKernan (R) A
2. Snowe (R) R

MARYLAND
1. Dyson (D) R
2. Bentley (R) R
3. Mikulski (D) R
4. Holt (R) R
5. Hoyer (D) R
6. Byron (D) R
7. Mitchell (D) R
8. Barnes (D) R

MASSACHUSETTS
1. Conte (R) R
2. Boland (D) A
3. Early (D) R
4. Frank (D) R
5. Atkins (D) A
6. Mavroules (D) R
7. Markey (D) R
8. O'Neill (D) S
9. Moakley (D) R
10. Studds (D) R
11. Donnelly (D) R

MICHIGAN
1. Conyers (D) R
2. Pursell (R) R
3. Wolpe (D) R
4. Siljander (R) W
5. Henry (R) W
6. Carr (D) R
7. Kildee (D) R
8. Traxler (D) R
9. Vander Jagt (R) R
10. Schuette (R) R
11. Davis (R) R
12. Bonior (D) R
13. Crockett (D) R
14. Hertel (D) R
15. Ford, W. (D) R
16. Dingell (D) R
17. Levin (D) R
18. Broomfield (R) W

MINNESOTA
1. Penny (D) R
2. Weber (R) R
3. Frenzel (R) A
4. Vento (D) R
5. Sabo (D) R
6. Sikorski (D) R
7. Stangeland (R) R
8. Oberstar (D) R

MISSISSIPPI
1. Whitten (D) A
2. Franklin (R) W
3. Montgomery (D) R
4. Dowdy (D) R
5. Lott (R) R

MISSOURI
1. Clay (D) R
2. Young, R. (D) R
3. Gephardt (D) R
4. Skelton (D) R
5. Wheat (D) R
6. Coleman, E. (R) R
7. Taylor (R) R
8. Emerson (R) R
9. Volkmer (D) R

MONTANA
1. Williams, P. (D) R
2. Marlenee (R) W

NEBRASKA
1. Bereuter (R) R
2. Daub (R) W
3. Smith, V. (R) W

NEVADA
1. Reid (D) R
2. Vucanovich (R) R

NEW HAMPSHIRE
1. Smith, R. (R) W
2. Gregg (R) W

NEW JERSEY
1. Florio (D) R
2. Hughes (D) R
3. Howard (D) R
4. Smith, C. (R) R
5. Roukema (R) R
6. Dwyer (D) R
7. Rinaldo (R) R
8. Roe (D) R
9. Torricelli (D) R
10. Rodino (D) R
11. Gallo (R) R
12. Courter (R) R
13. Saxton (R) R
14. Guarini (D) R

NEW MEXICO
1. Lujan (R) R
2. Skeen (R) R
3. Richardson (D) R

NEW YORK
1. Carney (R) A
2. Downey (D) R
3. Mrazek (D) R
4. Lent (R) R
5. McGrath (R) A
6. Waldon (D) R
7. Ackerman (D) R
8. Scheuer (D) R
9. Manton (D) R
10. Schumer (D) R
11. Towns (D) R
12. Owens (D) R
13. Solarz (D) R
14. Molinari (R) R
15. Green (R) R
16. Rangel (D) R
17. Weiss (D) R
18. Garcia (D) R
19. Biaggi (D) R
20. DioGuardi (R) R
21. Fish (R) R
22. Gilman (R) R
23. Stratton (D) R
24. Solomon (R) R
25. Boehlert (R) R
26. Martin, D. (R) R
27. Wortley (R) R
28. McHugh (D) R
29. Horton (R) R
30. Eckert (R) W
31. Kemp (R) A
32. LaFalce (D) R
33. Nowak (D) R
34. Lundine (D) R

NORTH CAROLINA
1. Jones, W. (D) R
2. Valentine (D) R
3. Whitley (D) R
4. Cobey (R) W
5. Neal (D) R
6. Coble (R) W
7. Rose (D) R
8. Hefner (D) R
9. McMillan (R) W
10. Vacancy
11. Hendon (R) R

NORTH DAKOTA
AL Dorgan (D) R

OHIO
1. Luken (D) R
2. Gradison (R) W
3. Hall, T. (D) R
4. Oxley (R) W
5. Latta (R) R
6. McEwen (R) R
7. DeWine (R) W
8. Kindness (R) A
9. Kaptur (D) R
10. Miller, C. (R) R
11. Eckart (D) R
12. Kasich (R) R
13. Pease (D) R
14. Seiberling (D) R
15. Wylie (R) R
16. Regula (R) R
17. Traficant (D) R
18. Applegate (D) R
19. Feighan (D) R
20. Oakar (D) R
21. Stokes (D) R

OKLAHOMA
1. Jones, J. (D) R
2. Synar (D) R
3. Watkins (D) R
4. McCurdy (D) R
5. Edwards, M. (R) W
6. English (D) R

OREGON
1. AuCoin (D) R
2. Smith, R. (R) W
3. Wyden (D) R
4. Weaver (D) R
5. Smith, D. (R) W

PENNSYLVANIA
1. Foglietta (D) R
2. Gray (D) R
3. Borski (D) R
4. Kolter (D) R
5. Schulze (R) R
6. Yatron (D) R
7. Edgar (D) R
8. Kostmayer (D) R
9. Shuster (R) W
10. McDade (R) R
11. Kanjorski (D) R
12. Murtha (D) R
13. Coughlin (R) R
14. Coyne (D) R
15. Ritter (R) W
16. Walker (R) R
17. Gekas (R) R
18. Walgren (D) R
19. Goodling (R) R
20. Gaydos (D) R
21. Ridge (R) R
22. Murphy (D) R
23. Clinger (R) R

RHODE ISLAND
1. St Germain (D) R
2. Schneider (R) R

SOUTH CAROLINA
1. Hartnett (R) A
2. Spence (R) R
3. Derrick (D) R
4. Campbell (R) A
5. Spratt (D) R
6. Tallon (D) R

SOUTH DAKOTA
AL Daschle (D) R

TENNESSEE
1. Quillen (R) R
2. Duncan (R) R
3. Lloyd (D) R
4. Cooper (D) R
5. Boner (D) R
6. Gordon (D) R
7. Sundquist (R) R
8. Jones, E. (D) R
9. Ford, H. (D) A

TEXAS
1. Chapman (D) R
2. Wilson (D) R
3. Bartlett (R) W
4. Hall, R. (D) R
5. Bryant (D) R
6. Barton (R) W
7. Archer (R) W
8. Fields (R) A
9. Brooks (D) R
10. Pickle (D) R
11. Leath (D) R
12. Wright (D) R
13. Boulter (R) W
14. Sweeney (R) W
15. De la Garza (D) R
16. Coleman, R. (D) R
17. Stenholm (D) W
18. Leland (D) R
19. Combest (R) W
20. Gonzalez (D) R
21. Loeffler (R) W
22. DeLay (R) W
23. Bustamante (D) R
24. Frost (D) R
25. Andrews, M. (D) R
26. Armey (R) W
27. Ortiz (D) R

UTAH
1. Hansen, J. (R) W
2. Monson (R) W
3. Nielson (R) W

VERMONT
AL Jeffords (R) R

VIRGINIA
1. Bateman (R) R
2. Whitehurst (R) R
3. Bliley (R) A
4. Sisisky (D) A
5. Daniel (D) W
6. Olin (D) R
7. Slaughter (R) R
8. Parris (R) R
9. Boucher (D) R
10. Wolf (R) R

WASHINGTON
1. Miller, J. (R) R
2. Swift (D) R
3. Bonker (D) R
4. Morrison, S. (R) W
5. Foley (D) R
6. Dicks (D) R
7. Lowry (D) R
8. Chandler (R) R

WEST VIRGINIA
1. Mollohan (D) R
2. Staggers (D) R
3. Wise (D) R
4. Rahall (D) R

WISCONSIN
1. Aspin (D) R
2. Kastenmeier (D) R
3. Gunderson (R) R
4. Kleczka (D) A
5. Moody (D) R
6. Petri (R) W
7. Obey (D) R
8. Roth (R) R
9. Sensenbrenner (R) W

WYOMING
AL Cheney (R) W

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Senate Election Outlook

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Reagan pulls safety net from under truly needy

By Candice Johnson

Despite the repeated assurances that the safety net of social services is intact, the Reagan Administration has slashed billions of dollars from health care, food, education and other social programs, leaving America's "truly needy" in the lurch.

That's the conclusion of "The Republican Record," a study commissioned by the State, County & Municipal Employees which compared overall federal spending for social services from 1982 through 1986 with their 1981 levels, the "last federal budget enacted prior to Republican control."

The report compared the cost of maintaining services under the 50 programs at the same level and eligibility requirements of 1981, with the budget reductions adjusted for inflation. It found that federal grants to states and social service programs were nearly $115 billion below the 1981 mark.

"Between 1982 and 1986, federal grants-in-aid to state and local governments were reduced 15 percent below the level required to maintain service levels that existed in 1981, or a total of $76 billion in cuts," AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee charged.

"But the language of the Republican party" has attempted to hide these policy changes, McEntee continued, pointing out that the Administration's "repeated assurances" that elderly individuals would not be hurt by budget cuts "masked a $24-billion reduction in Medicare and a $10-billion loss in social security."

In addition to the $76-billion loss to state and local governments, individuals lost $38.4 billion over the same five-year period due to cuts in food stamps, social security, education aid and federal programs for the disabled, according to the AFSCME report.

Job training was hit hard, down $28 billion or 64 percent from its 1981 level, the study noted. These cuts were made despite the "high unemployment rates which have persisted throughout the Reagan years," and record numbers of plant closings that have thrown "a whole new

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They shall not be moved

Steelworkers in Fairfield, Ala., turn out for a mass demonstration at the gates of the USX Corp. mill. USWA members, who have been locked out for two months, are protesting company attempts to move steel products from the Fairfield plant. More than 22,000 USX employees across the country have been thrown out of work by the lockout. AFL-CIO union members are joining picket lines and sponsoring activities to mobilize support for the workers and their families.

Raging trade deficit depresses economy

Factory slump poses new jobless threat

The United States reeled under a new series of economic blows—including a $13.3-billion foreign trade deficit in August, sagging economic indicators, plunging machine told sales and declining orders for factory products—posing the threat of continued recession-level unemployment in the months ahead.

The AFL-CIO assailed the Reagan Administration's "disastrous" trade policies and urged the Senate to respond to "the needs of the people" by enacting a get-tough measure to curb imports. The call came as the August trade figures propelled the nation toward another record annual trade deficit.

The August shortfall between imports and exports was nearly 22 percent higher than for the same month in 1985.

Yawning trade gap

The yawning gap for the first eight months of the year has already reached $115 billion, Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald pointed out. At that rate, he said, the trade deficit "will exceed $173 billion this year"—16.5 percent above the previous peak of $148.5 billion set in 1985.

The job-gutting trade crisis shows no real signs of abating, despite determined optimism in the White House, Legislative Director Robert McGlotten noted. Before adjourning for the year, he stressed, the Senate has a duty to take "strong actions to reverse the trade deficit and relieve the suffering it has caused."

The House has already passed a tough, labor-backed bill cracking down on countries that flood the American market with their products while denying U.S.-made goods access to their markets.

The legislation also arms the Executive Branch with weapons to slam the trading door on countries that violate workers' rights, refuse to guarantee a safe workplace, exploit child labor and engage in other unfair practices.

Despite the Reagan Administration's open hostility to the trade measure, the Senate "must act quickly and decisively," McGlotten warned, "or once again Congress will return home and have failed to meet the needs of the people."

The August trade deficit was down from July's record-setting $18-billion level, helped by two temporary forces:

- An 8.2-percent decrease in the volume of oil imports, coupled with a reduction of 7.1 percent in oil prices. Industry sources indicate the oil price-cutting binge is over and prices will soon be on their way back up.
- A 27-percent plunge in the value of automobile imports from abroad, reflecting efforts by foreign automakers to unload huge inventories of unsold cars through price cuts and other incentives at the close of the model year. The volume of imported cars is expected to rise again with the introduction of 1987 models.

But bad news persisted on the textile and apparel front, where August's imports

Continued on Page 4

House votes guarantee of retiree health benefit

The House put a labor-supported bill to protect the health insurance benefits of retired workers on a fast track and passed it by voice vote.

It has bipartisan support and its chances in the Senate would normally be good. But as the 99th Congress enters its final days, the bill must compete with scores of other measures for increasingly scarce floor time.

The bill was prompted by the aborted LTV Corp. maneuver earlier this year to cancel the health insurance of its retirees when it filed for bankruptcy protection. The bill makes clear the intent of Congress that these retirement health and life insurance benefits be accorded the same protection in bankruptcy proceedings that Congress gave to wages and other provisions of union contracts.

Under its terms, a financially troubled employer could seek to negotiate changes in retiree health benefits. But if negotiations broke down, management would have to convince a bankruptcy judge that the union position was unreasonable and the company proposal was essential.

Other bills important to large groups of workers were also still in the congressional mill. But hope for Senate action on a House-passed trade bill was fading as adjournment neared.

In another area of labor concern, there

Continued on Page 5

Clock winds down with air, rail job protections stalled

A 49-49 tie vote in the Senate blocked at least temporarily labor's attempt to win final passage of legislation that would restore job rights to airline workers caught up in the wave of mergers that has battered the industry.

In a related area, the Reagan Administration's opposition to comparable protections for Conrail workers was holding up a House-Senate conference agreement on legislation authorizing a public sale of the government-owned freight railroad.

The two battles were being fought under the time pressure of an adjournment deadline in the shadow of a White House warning that President Reagan will veto any legislation that strays too far from the Administration position.

Both airline and railroad workers have seen the labor protection provisions that government regulatory agencies once routinely required in all mergers ignored under Reagan's deregulation philosophy.

Transportation Sec. Elizabeth Dole has consistently refused to require labor protection provisions, or LPPs. Congress authorized LPPs but did not require them.

The House in mid-September voted 329-27 for a bill by Rep. Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif.) to require worker protections, demonstrating overwhelming bipartisan support.

In an effort to get the legislation to conference, Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.)

Continued on Page 2

Veto override signals unity on South African sanctions

By David L. Perlman

Congress overrode President Reagan's veto and imposed economic sanctions intended to turn South Africa away from a suicidal path of government-imposed race discrimination and repression.

The 313-83 vote in the House and the 78-21 majority in the Senate, both well over the two-thirds needed to repass a bill over a presidential veto, demonstrated a bipartisan consensus that the Reagan White House didn't share—and couldn't overcome.

Although the sanctions were less stringent than the AFL-CIO had urged, they represent the strongest steps by a major industrial country in a world crusade against apartheid.

Unless it chooses a road leading to equal rights for all its people, South Africa will no longer be able to sell textiles, uranium, iron and steel, coal and farm products in the U.S. market. And American firms will be barred from new investments in that county.

Sanctions will be lifted if South Africa takes steps specified in the new law, including the freeing of political prisoners, elimination of apartheid and good-faith

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9/4/01

Steelworkers' story

Steelworkers-turned-actors offer the story of "Lady Beth" to a standing room crowd on Capitol Hill, part of a seven-city "national home town" tour. The nickname of a shut-down Bethlehem Steel mill outside Los Angeles, "Lady Beth" chronicles the dreams and despair shared by the unemployed workers, to the tune of Bruce Springsteen's "My Hometown." The drama is a production of the Theatre Workers' Project. The Washington performance was sponsored by the Labor Heritage Foundation, the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. and Representatives William Ford (D-Mich.), William Clay (D-Mo.) and Silvio Conte (R-Mass.).

Rail line faces big payout in sex bias case

Minneapolis—Burlington Northern Railroad Co. will have to offer jobs, promotions, retroactive seniority and $2.5 million in compensation to some 1,150 women if U.S. District Judge James M. Rosenbaum accepts the terms of a proposed settlement to end a five-year-old sex discrimination suit.

Judge Rosenbaum opened hearings on the settlement, which was reached following a 13-week trial on charges that Burlington Northern had discriminated against women on work assignments, promotions and salaries.

Under the proposed settlements, which could affect members of 13 rail unions, Burlington must:

- Offer up to 450 jobs with retroactive seniority and up to 200 promotions to exempt positions to present women employees. This involves vacancies that occur between now and June 30, 1990.
- Offer up to 500 jobs with retroactive seniority to women applicants denied employment in the past, to fill positions that come open between now and June 30, 1993.
- Pay a total of $5.7 million. This includes nearly $1.9 million in costs and $1.8 million in attorneys' fees, leaving a $2.5-million kitty to be divided among victims of the company's sex bias.

Jobs 'illusory'

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has filed an objection to the settlement, arguing that the 1,150 jobs are illusory in the face of a continued decline in railroad employment. The commission has urged that the settlement fund be increased to $7.5 million.

The case dates back to 1981 when a woman with 30 years' service accused Burlington Northern of a pattern of sexual discrimination.

An assistant director at BN's St. Paul operations and the highest-ranking woman in the company, she charged management with passing her over for promotion 14 times.

In the class-action case which followed, women charged they were denied advancement, subjected to different seniority and transfer rules, and locked into low-paying jobs in particular departments.

The railroad employs 40,000 workers, 3,000 of them women.

Workers 'pawns' as management buys out Fruehauf

Delphos, Ohio—More than 300 Allied Industrial Workers on strike at a Fruehauf Corp. parts manufacturing plant here were used as "pawns" in a leveraged buyout of the firm by the top company officers, AIW President Dominick D'Ambrosio charged.

"By failing to come up with a fair contract offer for the workers, the company officers are expecting the workers to pay off the borrowed funds" needed for the buyout, D'Ambrosio said, terming the company proposal "far too inadequate."

D'Ambrosio noted that the company adamantly opposed union proposals to secure worker protections in the event of a change of ownership or a plant closing. But at the same time, it provided severance guarantees to the firm's top 25 officers equal to nearly three years' pay and bonuses.

A group of investors that includes Fruehauf management and Merrill Lynch & Co. agreed to a $1.1-billion leveraged buyout to thwart a takeover bid by New York investor Asher B. Edelman, who reportedly will reap $30 million in profit on his 2 million shares of Fruehauf stock, plus $21 million to cover his expenses.

The strike began Aug. 16 when the previous contract expired. Fruehauf, which had net earnings of $70.5 million in 1985, demanded a three-year freeze on wages, pensions and benefits. It later sought a one-year freeze with a reopener clauses in the remaining two years.

Jobless pay attacked

In a related action, the company laid off half of the AIW members at its axle plant in Delphos and contested unemployment benefits for those workers, claiming that the layoff was caused by the strike.

Meanwhile, the Machinists reached a three-year agreement for 200 workers at Fruehauf's Memphis, Tenn., trailer plant. The new contract provides a $250 bonus the first year, a 21-cent hourly increase the second year and 20 cents hourly the third year. A dental plan was won, along with Martin Luther King's birthday as a paid holiday.

The Fruehauf parts plant is one of eight represented by the AIW. Earlier, the union settled contracts for a trailer manufacturing plant in Charlotte, N.C. A Steelworkers' agreement, reached following a company threat to shut its Uniontown, Pa., plant, froze wages and set a two-tier pay scale.

Override of Reagan's veto spurs fight to end apartheid

Continued from Page 1

negotiations to achieve a peaceful transition to a democratic political and social structure.

Reagan, who mounted a last-ditch campaign to undermine Republican support for the measure, is required by the legislation to recommend additional sanctions to Congress if South Africa doesn't make "substantial progress" toward ending apartheid during the next year.

The AFL-CIO forged fraternal ties with South Africa's black trade union movement, and has for many years been a leading voice against apartheid, the government-imposed separatism that made the country's black majority a permanent and disenfranchised underclass.

Kirkland relays call

On his return from an international trade union mission to South Africa last August, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that South Africa's black trade union leaders, many of whom have been imprisoned and beaten, "want strong and effective sanctions imposed on their country's racist regime."

They find President Reagan's professed concern that sanctions will bring hardships on South African blacks "insulting," Kirkland testified, because they consider freedom worth the price.

Two years ago, Reagan was able to head off legislation by issuing an Executive Order containing such slap-on-the-wrist measures as a ban on the importation of South African gold coins.

This time, the technique didn't work.

On the eve of the House vote on overriding his veto, Reagan offered to strengthen the Executive Order by including some of the milder provisions of the vetoed sanctions bill. But he changed few votes. The House had passed the sanctions bill by a 308-77 margin. It voted 313-83 to override Reagan's veto.

The Administration turned to the Senate, appealing to the Republican majority to "support the President." On the original 84-14 vote for the sanctions bill, only 14 of the Senate's 53 Republicans had done so.

In a bid for GOP switches, Reagan announced the choice of a black career diplomat to serve as the next U.S. ambassador to South Africa.

Sec. of State George P. Shultz went to Capitol Hill for a meeting with a group of Republican senators to argue that Reagan would be weakened in his summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Iceland if Congress repudiated his position on a foreign policy issue.

It may have influenced a few votes. An additional seven senators voted against sanctions. But the congressional consensus was that America's standing as a Free World leader would be enhanced, not diminished, by the use of sanctions to help bring down apartheid and more toward democracy in South Africa.

The most heavy-handed lobbying came from South Africa's foreign minister, Pik Botha. He phoned farm state senators, in calls relayed through Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), to warn that South Africa would stop buying grain from the United States if the Senate overrode Reagan's veto. He promised stepped-up purchases if the veto were sustained. Most senators were outraged.

Reagan sent a last-minute letter promising still further toughening of his Executive Order. But in the end, a majority of his own party joined all Senate Democrats in overriding the veto.

Transport job rights bills stalled

Continued from Page 1

sought to attach a compromise bill to a fast-track bill needed to fund government agencies. That's a frequent legislative shortcut.

The bill never got to a vote on its merits. Instead it was sidelined on a procedural issue of "germaneness" by a 49-49 tie. **(Rollcall on this page.)** The bill could still come up separately in the Senate—if the Republican leadership is willing.

Labor protection provisions originated in the railroad industry and the House insisted on job safeguards in its version of the bill to sell Conrail. The Administration and Transportation Sec. Dole opposed it, even though rail workers and their unions had given up raises and benefits in order to help Conrail move from money-loser to money-maker.

A conference agreement is still expected, clearing the way for final action, since the projected assets from the sale of Conrail have been factored into the estimates of the budget deficits and the cuts needed to meet Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction targets.

Rollcall on labor protections

A 49-49 tie vote on Oct. 1 prevented the Senate from including labor protections for workers caught in airline mergers as part of a pending funding bill. While the vote was on a parliamentary ruling, senators who voted against allowing the amendment to be considered voted against job rights for workers.

FOR LABOR'S POSITION

Democrats 41

Baucus (Mont.)	Dixon (Ill.)	Kennedy (Mass.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Biden (Del.)	Dodd (Conn.)	Kerry (Mass.)	Pryor (Ark.)
Bingaman (N.M.)	Eagleton (Mo.)	Lautenberg (N.J.)	Riegle (Mich.)
Boren (Okla.)	Exon (Neb.)	Leahy (Vt.)	Rockefeller (W.Va.)
Bradley (N.J.)	Ford (Ky.)	Levin (Mich.)	Sarbanes (Md.)
Bumpers (Ark.)	Gore (Tenn.)	Matsunaga (Hawaii)	Sasser (Tenn.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Harkin (Iowa)	Melcher (Mont.)	Simon (Ill.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Hart (Colo.)	Metzenbaum (Ohio)	Zorinsky (Neb.)
Chiles (Fla.)	Heflin (Ala.)	Mitchell (Me.)	
Cranston (Calif.)	Hollings (S.C.)	Moynihan (N.Y.)	
DeConcinci (Ariz.)	Inouye (Hawaii)	Pell (R.I.)	

Republicans 8

Andrews (N.D.)	D'Amato (N.Y.)	Grassley (Iowa)	Pressler (S.D.)
Cohen (Me.)	Danforth (Mo.)	Kassebaum (Kan.)	Specter (Pa.)

AGAINST LABOR'S POSITION

Democrats 5

Bentsen (Tex.)	Johnston (La.)	Long (La.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Glenn (Ohio)			

Republicans 44

Abdnor (S.D.)	Goldwater (Ariz.)	Laxalt (Nev.)	Rudman (N.H.)
Armstrong (Colo.)	Gorton (Wash.)	Lugar (Ind.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Boschwitz (Minn.)	Gramm (Tex.)	Mathias (Md.)	Stafford (Vt.)
Broyhill (N.C.)	Hatch (Utah)	Mattingly (Ga.)	Stevens (Alaska)
Chafee (R.I.)	Hatfield (Ore.)	McClure (Idaho)	Symms (Idaho)
Cochran (Miss.)	Hawkins (Fla.)	McConnell (Ky.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Denton (Ala.)	Hecht (Nev.)	Murkowski (Alaska)	Trible (Va.)
Dole (Kan.)	Heinz (Pa.)	Nickles (Okla.)	Wallop (Wyo.)
Domenici (N.M.)	Helms (N.C.)	Packwood (Ore.)	Warner (Va.)
Durenberger (Minn.)	Humphrey (N.H.)	Quayle (Ind.)	Weicker (Conn.)
Evans (Wash.)	Kasten (Wis.)	Roth (Del.)	Wilson (Calif.)

Absent: Garn (R-Utah), Nunn (D-Ga.)

Compromise collapses

Immigration reforms sidetracked in House

A delicately balanced compromise that was expected to clear the way for passage of labor-supported immigration reforms fell apart on the House floor.

The House put aside the immigration bill and turned to other items on a crowded agenda after the rule providing for consideration of the legislation was rejected by a 202-180 vote. There were no plans to try to revive the measure in the few days remaining before adjournment of the 99th Congress.

An immigration bill passed the Senate a year ago. But labor considered it fatally flawed by an amendment that would have opened the U.S. border to hundreds of thousands of "temporary" farm workers each year.

The House Judiciary Committee sought to reconcile conflicting interest through a compromise that would have granted permanent resident status to foreign workers—almost all from Mexico—who were employed on U.S. farms for at least 60 days last year. That would be in addition to a broad amnesty program legalizing the status of most undocumented workers who entered the United States before 1982.

The House bill, like the Senate version, would have penalized employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens—a key provision intended to curb the torrent of illegal immigration by a crackdown on employers who profit by it.

To keep the farm labor compromise intact, the House Rules Committee agreed to send the bill to the floor under a procedure barring amendments to that portion of the legislation.

AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten stressed the importance of approving the proposed rule in a letter to House members. But Rep. Dan Lungren (R-Calif.) led a fight to defeat the rule so that he could propose a guest worker program along the lines of the Senate bill.

Two years ago, in the previous Congress, the House adopted a comparable grower-sought, labor-opposed amendment but the immigration bill died in a House-Senate conference.

This time around, a coalition of Republicans and some farm state Democrats kept immigration reform off the House floor by defeating the rule for consideration of the bill. Fifty-seven Democrats joined 145 Republicans in voting down the rule. Only 13 Republicans voted with 167 Democrats to approve the procedure.

There was only the slimmest of possibilities that the measure could be revived if Congress adjourns in early October as anticipated. Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) said the bipartisan supported needed to pass such a controversial measure was clearly lacking.

Pay equity highlights CWA pact at Vassar

Poughkeepsie, N.Y.—Workers at Vassar College will share $155,000 in pay equity raises under the terms of a first contract negotiated by Communications Workers Local 1120.

The union also won promotion rights for the 220 Vassar workers, as well as across-the-board raises and safeguards against the college's contracting out of work. The settlement was approved by a 3-to-1 margin.

Workers will receive a pay equity adjustment of $55,000 for 1986, plus an across-the-board increase of 9.2 percent. The amount of equity payments will be decided by the union's salary committee, with increases spread across the entire pay range, but concentrated at the lower end of the scale. Currently, the CWA members—in secretarial, clerical, library, nursing and scientific and technical classifications—earn between $4.54 and $10.57 an hour.

Revived Solidarnosc resumes struggle

Warsaw—The outlawed Solidarnosc labor movement emerged from the underground status into which it was driven five years ago and called on the Polish government to negotiate immediately for the return of independent trade unions.

Formation of the new Temporary National Council of Solidarity came two weeks after 225 union leaders and members—some of whom were jailed as political prisoners in 1981—were released under a sweeping amnesty decree.

The revival of Solidarnosc was announced simultaneously at the homes of its elected national chairman, Lech Walesa, in Gdansk and veteran dissident Ewa Milewicz in Warsaw.

Calling on Gen. Jaruzelski's regime to sit down with union leaders, Walesa said that "returning union pluralism and the pluralism of social associations, making it possible for Solidarnosc to act in workplaces, is an issue that we cannot disregard."

The communist government's first reaction was negative. Spokesman Jerzy Urban said it had no intention of working with the council and declared that attempts to reactivate Solidarnasc were "illegal."

Giveback issue snarls Brooklyn Gas dispute

Brooklyn, N.Y.—A lockout of some 2,300 Brooklyn Union Gas employees—members of the Transport Workers—is in its eighth week with bargaining stalled over the company's insistence on givebacks.

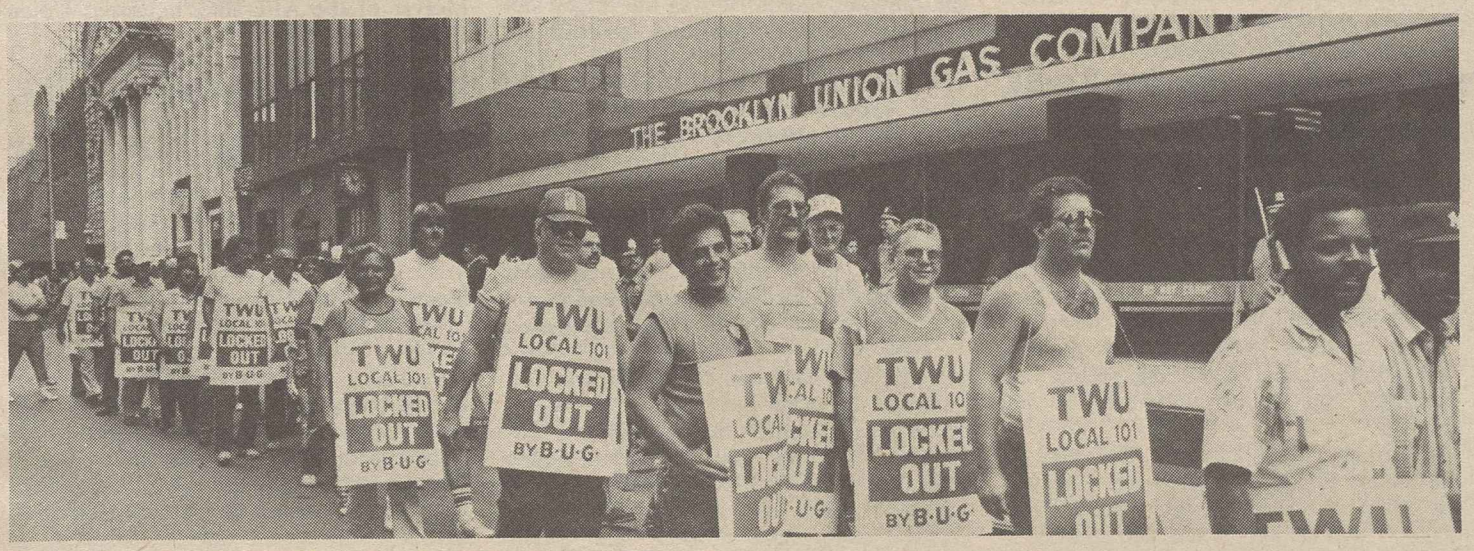
TWU Local 101 members were locked out on Aug. 11 shortly after rejecting the company's final offer by a resounding 1,937-126 margin. The company is demanding work rule changes, a longer work day and copayment of medical insurance premiums.

Since being locked out, the members have picketed the company's headquarters in downtown Brooklyn daily and twice a week hold major rallies and marches, including a march on City Hall in hopes of getting New York Mayor Ed Koch to intercede.

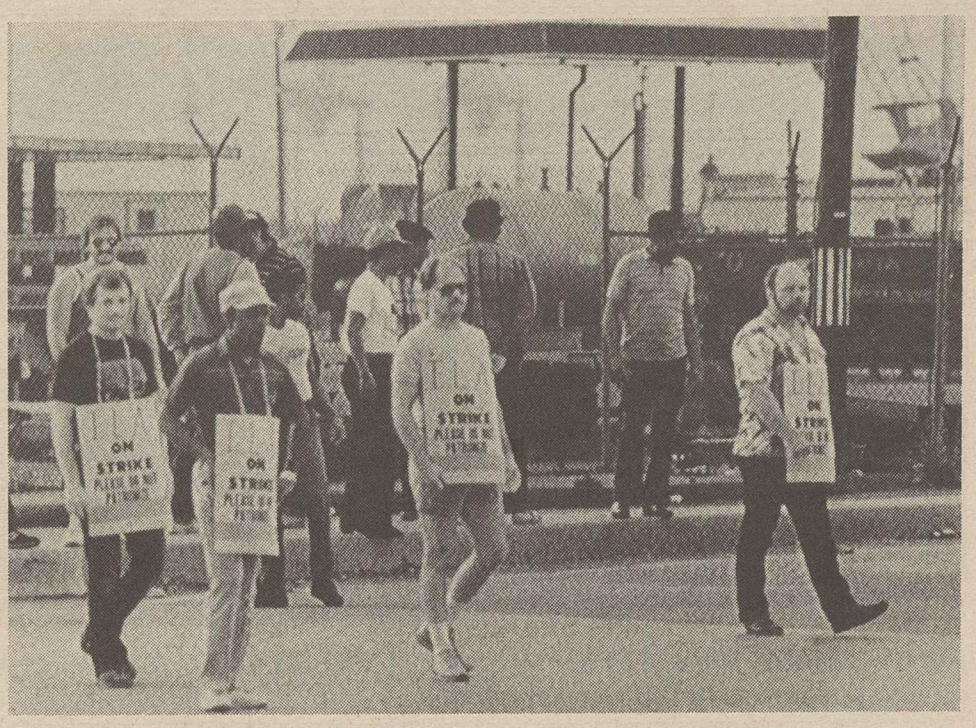
Local 101 President Jim Murray issued warnings to the public that management personnel are not competent to handle some of the problems that arise with the distribution of natural gas to homes and businesses. "We are as concerned with the safety of residents as we are about the lockout issue itself," he said. "Most of us are residents of the affected areas."

Sec.-Treas. John Herrity questioned how the firm could demand givebacks from its employees when it recently granted 30-percent pay increases to some of its 27 top executive officers. He also noted that the company is saving $1.25 million a week in payroll not counting benefits while the lockout continues.

"The money should go back to the consumer, not into the company's pockets," Herrity declared.



Locked-out Transport Workers picket Brooklyn Union Gas headquarters.



ILA pickets on the line in Baltimore.

Longshoremen tie up ports as shippers demand pay cuts

Longshoremen struck East Coast ports from Maine to Virginia after rejecting demands from a major shipping association for a three-tiered wage system.

The walkout by 31,000 ILA members—the first major port tie-up in 15 years—was triggered by the insistence of the Council of North Atlantic Shipping Associations on a scheme to slash the pay of certain cargo handlers by $3 an hour and to set a new-hire rate $5 an hour below the current scale.

Both sides returned to the bargaining table in Arlington, Va., on Oct. 2—36 hours after the ILA threw up picket lines in Searsport, Me., Providence, R.I., Philadelphia, Camden, N.J., Wilmington, Del., Baltimore, Norfolk, Va., and Hampton Roads, Va.

Meanwhile, ILA members in New York and Boston—who earlier negotiated a master agreement with the New York Shipping Association—also walked off the job after failing to come to terms on local issues.

The ILA went in to negotiations this year offering to accept reductions in the size of work crews and to hold the line on wages to help management contain costs and avert a work stoppage.

The union reached a tentative three-year accord with the NYSA that retains the existing $17-an-hour wage for all longshoremen in the first two years, with an increase to $18 in the final year. However, it encountered a major stumbling block in its effort to resolve local issues.

CONASA, on the other hand, would not agree to similar terms in its master agreement. It insisted that the $17 hourly scale apply only for those dockworkers handling containerized cargo.

The management group demanded a $3-an-hour pay slash for members handling such heavy cargo as steel with only a 50-cents-an-hour increase in the third year. CONASA insisted on a $12-an-hour scale for newly hired dock workers throughout the life of the contract.

Longshoremen overwhelming rejected CONASA's "final offer" two weeks ago, ILA President Thomas P. Gleason said, and the management group broke off negotiations.

The union offered to extend the existing contract for 45 days in an effort to reach a new agreement without a strike. But CONASA insisted that any extension include its demand for the immediate implementation of its three-tier wage scale.

Administration lacks zeal to end job health risks

A new report on five leading occupational diseases proposes a variety of strategies to reduce or end worker exposures, but the commitment to fund and implement these recommendations is lacking under the Reagan Administration, the AFL-CIO said.

The report is based on a May 1985 national symposium on the prevention of work-related diseases and injuries. The sessions involved several hundred health professionals from state and federal government agencies, employers, labor unions and academia who examined prevention of occupational cancers, crippling diseases and injuries.

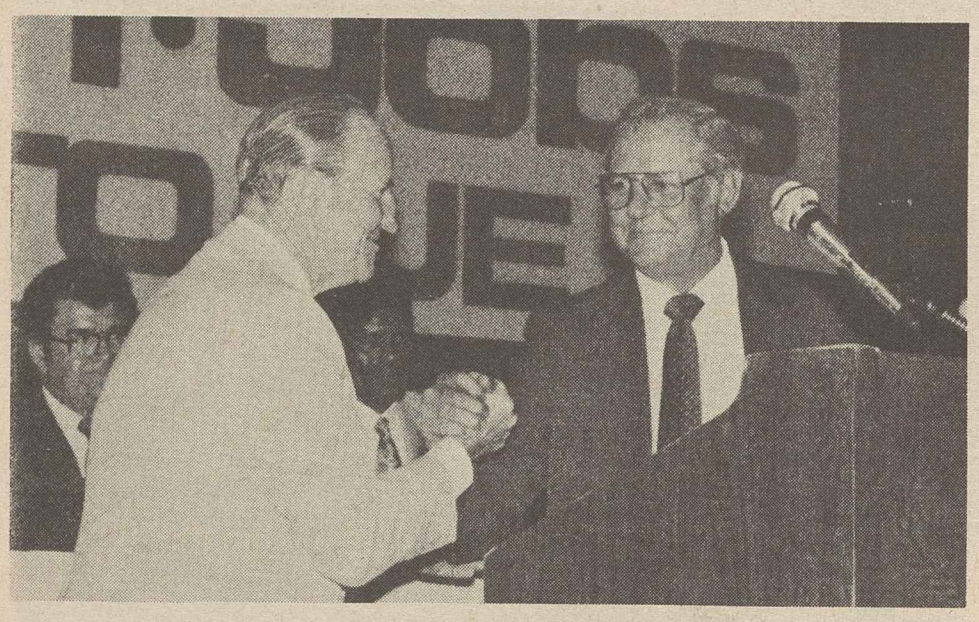
AFL-CIO job safety specialist Margaret Seminario said the report "is a useful document in outlining diseases workers face and it makes good recommendations on prevention of these problems." She stressed that implementation of these or similar strategies requires a strong government commitment to occupational safety and health, as well as the resources to address these problems.

Five additional subjects will be examined at a second symposium in late October in Cincinnati when draft strategies for the prevention of reproductive, neurological and psychological disorders, as well as occupational skin conditions and hearing loss will be discussed.

Lack of commitment

Seminario charged that the Reagan Administration has not chosen to commit sufficient resources to occupational safety and health because it lacks the desire to aid workers. She added that while the report represents some agreement among the various groups participating in the symposium, it remains to be seen if a consensus exists on acting on the recommendations.

While the symposium represented a significant effort in identifying methods of reducing work-related diseases and injuries, "the same kind of effort is needed to begin preventing these types of illnesses in the workplace," Seminario said.



IUE President William Bywater and UFWA President Carl Scarbrough celebrate merger approval by convention delegates in Miami Beach.

With Furniture Workers

Delegates roar approval of IUE's merger plan

Miami Beach, Fla.—The Electronic Workers convention voted unanimously for merger with the Furniture Workers and elected the IUE Women's Council chairperson to the executive board.

The 334 delegates, representing IUE's 175,000 members, roared approval of the merger which would become effective next Jan. 1 following a membership referendum that must be held within 60 days after the convention, according to the IUE constitution. The UFWA convention earlier gave unanimous approval to the merger and no referendum of its membership is required under its bylaws.

The UFWA will become a special division of IUE and the merged union will be the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine & Furniture Workers with a membership of 200,000. Under the merger agreement, the UFWA president, secretary-treasurer and four vice presidents will join the IUE's executive board.

"This is truly a historic occasion," President William H. Bywater declared in his keynote address. He attributed the merger to the need to strengthen the memberships of both unions which have been severely impacted by plant closings, runaway shops and imported goods.

Multinationals scored

"The ones to blame for the situation we're in today are the multinational corporations who started stealing our jobs away some 20 years ago," Bywater said. "They didn't give a damn about American workers or our economy. They prayed before the altar of profit and went overseas to maximize those profits."

In expressing "total support" for the merger, Bywater and IUE Sec.-Treas. Ed Fire cited the "strong democratic traditions" of both unions, plus the "strength and added clout both will gain at the bargaining table." UFWA President Carl Scarbrough and Sec.-Treas. Lowell Daily spoke after the merger vote with Scarbrough calling the merger "a mighty step forward for both unions and a real plus for the UFWA."

After adopting a constitutional amendment creating an added executive board seat, the delegates voted Social Action Director Gloria Johnson as the first Women's Council chairperson to the board. The amendment also requires referendum approval.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue congratulated delegates for the two historic actions and urged them to demand responsibility and reciprocity from employers and a get-tough trade bill from Congress and the White House.

Fighting for unions

"We're fighting for our unions," he said, "but we're also fighting to maintain and raise the standard of living of all our fellow citizens, those present and those to come." He stressed that other nations protect their interests with protectionist trade policies, while President Reagan's "free trade policy" allows others to freely tap American markets. "Nowhere in this world is there anything resembling free trade in spite of what the Reagan Administration thinks that means."

The convention pledged full support to 22,000 Steelworkers locked out by USX Corp. and authorized a $10,000 contribution to their struggle for a fair contract settlement.

Another key resolution opposed the permanent replacement of strikers. Bywater told the delegates, "Since Ronald Reagan has been in office, strikebreaking has become an epidemic. In a free society, the litmus test of freedom is the right-to-strike, and we're moving away from our concept of a free society."

Other resolutions included support for improvements in education to fight illiteracy, improved occupational safety and health, merging of small local unions and tax justice. The delegates also opposed terrorist acts and the displacement of workers' jobs through the increased use of robotics.

Senate candidates

Florida's Gov. Robert Graham, a labor-backed Democratic candidate for the Senate, said it was vital for the Democrats to regain control of the Senate, and promised a personal three-point program to bring the budget deficit under control, to invest more in education and research, and to wage an "all-out war on foreign protectionism."

Rep. Bob Edgar (D-Pa.), also a labor-backed Senate candidate, counseled delegates to "recognize your unique place in history" and to "urge government to form a partnership to rebuild basic American industries."

Sec.-Treas. William Lucy of the State, County & Municipal Employees and president of the National Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, denounced the Reagan Administration and U.S. corporations that support South Africa's apartheid system. He called that cooperation "a threat to our national security" because "ultimately South Africa will be ruled by a coalition government" that will dismantle racist laws and do business with nations that supported the anti-apartheid struggle.

Other speakers included Monsignor George Higgins, National Urban League President John Jacob, IUE Organizing Director Archer Cole, AFL-CIO Organizing Director Charles McDonald, President Alexis Herman of the National Commission on Working Women, and Harold McIver of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.

Nevada Fed presses state to outlaw polygraph tests

Las Vegas, Nev.—Delegates to the Nevada AFL-CIO convention looking to the 1987 legislative session called for a ban on polygraph testing and endorsed post-card registration for voters.

The 150 delegates also raised per capita payments from 35 cents to 40 cents, effective Nov. 1.

Although so-called lie detector tests have been found "ineffective and unreliable," the convention noted, workers are routinely "denied employment because of the results of this unreliable test." They urged passage of state legislation to outlaw the use of polygraph tests "for the purpose of gaining or retaining employment."

Citing the growing number of retired union members in the Southwest, the convention also encouraged local unions to sponsor union retiree and senior member groups. Those organizations will be admitted as affiliates of the State AFL-CIO, paying reduced per capita taxes and entitled to one delegate and one vote at the state federation meetings.

Frank Caine of the Iron Workers was elected vice president, succeeding Fred Toomey, also of the Iron Workers, who retired. The terms of President Jeff McColl, Executive Sec.-Treas. Claude Evans and 10 vice presidents expire next year.

Delegates expressed their support for Steelworkers locked out by USX Corp. in their battle for a fair contract and endorsed the federation's Steelworkers Support Committee to mobilize the labor movement against the tactics of USX.

They condemned the Shell Oil Co. for its tacit support of South African apartheid, vowing to boycott Shell products until the company "ends its repressive treatment of black South African workers and takes action to end apartheid" and pressed for state regulation of the use and removal of asbestos.

The convention heard from COPE Director John Perkins, who called the Nevada Senate race "a decisive political showdown" that will have wide-ranging consequences.

Democratic Rep. Harry Reid, who addressed the delegates, is facing GOP Rep. Jim Santini in the contest for the seat being vacated by Sen. Paul Laxalt (R). Reid won the State AFL-CIO's endorsement earlier this year.

Other speakers included Gov. Richard Bryan (D); State Atty. Gen. Brian McKay; AFL-CIO Regional Directors Lamar Gulbransen and David Sickler, and Executive Director Chuck Senci of the AFL-CIO Concerned Seniors program.

Trade deficit depresses U.S. economy

Continued from Page 1

were a crushing 45.6 percent above the level of the same month last year.

For the first eight months of 1986, the joint labor-management Fiber, Fabric, Apparel Coalition for Trade declared, these imports grabbed $18.6 billion in U.S. sales, "taking with them American jobs, American dollars, and another chunk of the American dream of employment and prosperity."

Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige, sounding the Administration's customary optimistic note, said August's decline "may be the turning point in our trade deficit."

But he found few takers in the business community. Jerry Jasinowski, chief economist for the National Association of Manufacturers, said, "I don't think you can call it a turnaround." And Martin Mauro, senior economist at Merrill Lynch Economics Inc. declared that "I don't think there's any real turnaround at hand."

Oswald emphasized that neither Administration reliance on a declining dollar nor a new round of trade negotiations is alleviating the disastrous imbalance. The record deficit, he said, "prevents the economy from growing and holds unemployment at recession levels."

Evidence of the nation's increasing economic woes were reflected in these other developments:

- The index of leading economic indicators—the broadest measure of how the economy is likely to perform in the coming months—fell two-tenths of 1 percent in August, its third drop in the past four months.

The decline was caused by an increase in initial claims for unemployment insurance and drops in net business formations, building permits and orders for new plant and equipment. They more than offset advances in three banking-related categories—the money supply, stock prices and consumer borrowing—as well as a slight improvement in the average workweek and a barely noticeable upturn in new orders for consumer goods.

- Another measure of future business plans, new orders for American machine tools that are vital in the automobile, aerospace and other manufacturing industries, plummeted 9.3 percent in August to a level 16 percent below the same month in 1985.

Industry skittish

The Machine Tool Builders' Association blamed skidding orders on a skittishness about the economy's health and the tax overhaul measure, which he labeled a "disincentive" to investment in modernizing America's aging industrial base.

- New orders for manufactured goods dropped 1.1 percent in August, all but wiping out the 1.4-percent gain recorded in the previous month. It was the largest decline since March, when they fell back 2.8 percent.
- New orders for durable goods—the most expensive manufactured products—were off 3.1 percent in August. They had advanced 3.4 percent in July.
- Sales of new homes fell in August for the fifth consecutive month. The 13.4-percent plunge was the largest in more than four years. Even with this weakness, sales of new homes for the first eight months are still 10.6 percent ahead of the same period in 1985.
- New construction put in place in August rose 1 percent over July to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of $382.2 billion—a spending level 8 percent higher than for August 1985. Gains were recorded in the construction of single-family residences, commercial property and public facilities. But building of multi-family units declined 1 percent.

Imported fasteners flunk safety test

Foreign-made fasteners, used in products ranging from cars to military helicopters to children's roller skates, have caused serious accidents because they can't meet the engineering requirements of American manufacturers, the Industrial Fastener Institute reported.

The institute linked defective imported bolts to two fatal crashes of Marine Corps helicopters and the collapse of a television tower in Houston that killed five ironworkers.

The Cleveland-based institute compared bolts and screws imported from Japan and other Asian countries with similar fasteners made in the United States. It found that the imported fasteners were not able to resist stress and high temperatures as well as the American-made goods. But millions of the imported bolts and screws have been mismarked to show they meet U.S. standards, the institute observed.

"The danger of failure at elevated temperatures of these bolts is real and may contribute to equipment failure or possibly even loss of life or limb," the group stressed.

The Japanese Screw Industry Association admitted that some mislabeling has occurred, but claims the practice has stopped.

Chairman John Dingell (D-Mich.) of the House Energy & Commerce Committee called on Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige to take action to stop the counterfeit and mismarked fasteners from entering the country.

Donald MacDonald dies, headed Canadian labor

Ottawa—Donald MacDonald, a former president of the Canadian Labor Congress and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, died Sept. 25 after a lengthy illness. He was 77.

MacDonald, who came out of the Mine Workers, had been an organizer with the Canadian Congress of Labor before he was elected secretary-treasurer in 1951.

A major architect of the merger of the CCL and the Trades & Labor Congress of Canada to form the CLC in 1956, MacDonald served as its first secretary-treasurer and was elected president in 1968. He served as president of the ICFTU from 1972-74.

House okays bill on retiree health benefits

Continued from Page 1

was a rising expectation that a long deadlock would be broken and the Superfund for the cleanup of toxic wastes replenished and expanded. House and Senate conferees were reported near agreement on the financing formula, the chief stumbling block up to now.

A House-Senate conference announced accord on a labor-sought bill to compel EPA to set standards for safe removal of asbestos hazards from the nation's schools. House-passed bills strengthening pesticide curbs and eliminating mandatory retirement in most jobs were awaiting Senate action.

An election-year drug bill will certainly become law, either through House acceptance of the Senate version or after a House-Senate conference. But a House-passed bill to curb polygraph tests in employment has not been scheduled for Senate action.

Both the House and Senate tacked various pieces of legislation onto a resolution funding all the government programs not covered by the few appropriations bills that have become law. The new fiscal year began Oct. 1.

Conference showdown

The House included in its continuing funding resolution several bills it previously passed but the Senate ignored. That at least will make them subjects for the House-Senate conference.

One such measure is the curb on double-breasted contractors who set up non-union subsidiaries to evade their union contracts. In another area, the House bill would fund a 3-percent pay raise for federal workers instead of the 2 percent projected in the budget figures.

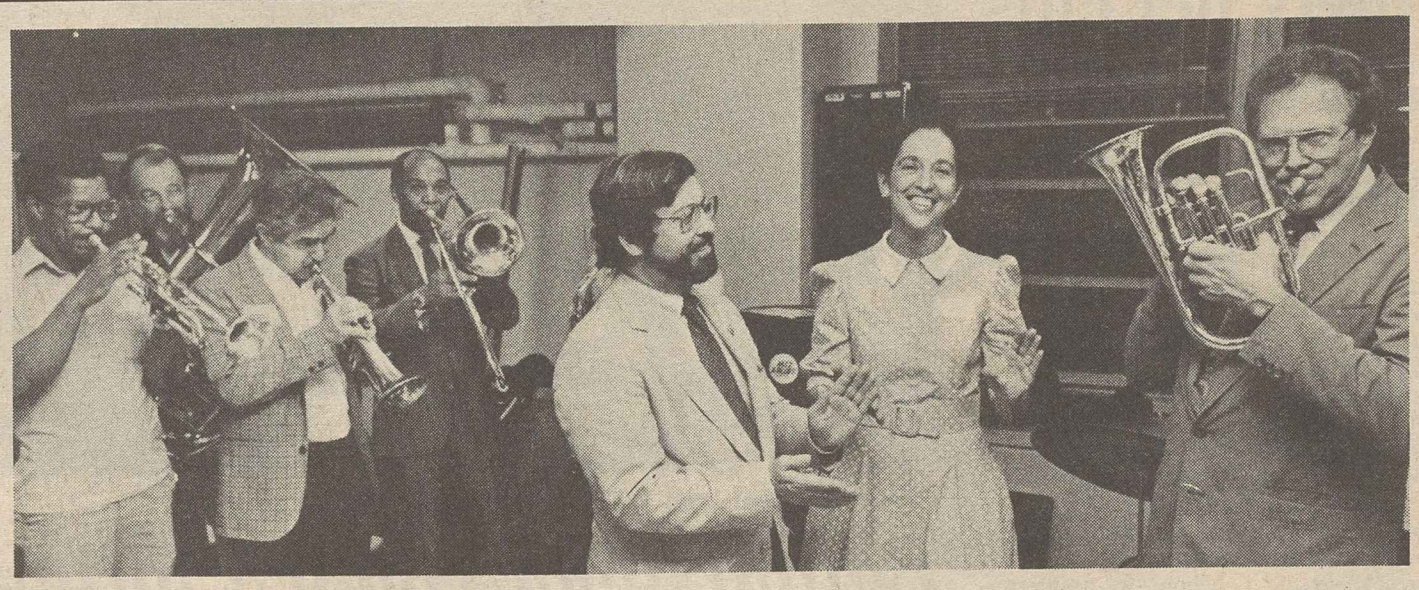
A labor-opposed product liability bill was taken off the Senate floor and scrapped for this Congress.

Helms all 'wrong'

Sen. Jesse A. Helms (R-N.C.) voted against labor's position on every one of the 15 key votes tabulated by the AFL-CIO for this year's congressional session.

His name and voting record was inadvertently omitted from the Report on Congress in the Sept. 27 issue of the AFL-CIO News. A corrected version will show Helms voting for an array of anti-worker programs, against funds for education and against strong sanctions on South Africa.

During his tenure in Congress, Helms cast 17 "right" and 228 "wrong" votes by the AFL-CIO's scorecard.



Law changes make sweet music

New York—Sounds were swinging at a victory party thrown by Musicians Local 802, celebrating reforms won in the city's cabaret licensing law and the state's unemployment and workers' compensation coverage for musicians.

Under the old cabaret law, wind and percussion artists were prohibited from playing in small, nonlicensed clubs and establishments. A full symphony of AFL-CIO unions—including Actors' Equity, Television & Radio Artists, Musical Artists, Variety Artists, Theatrical & Stage Employees and State, County & Municipal Employees—joined the Musicians in their two-year fight to modify the municipal code.

The changes have already resulted in more jobs for musicians playing drums, vibraphone, brass and woodwind instruments.

Under the state's unemployment and workers' compensation laws, musicians and other performing artists will be considered employees, and thus eligible for benefits. Previously, the performers had been classified as independent contractors and were forced to undergo lengthy appeals to qualify for benefits.

Filling the air with the sweet sound of success are, from left, Frank Gordon on trumpet; Bill Crow on tuba; John Carisi on trumpet; Benny Powell on trombone; City Council members Stanley Michaels and Ruth Messinger on percussion, and Local 802 President John Glasel on soprano tuba.

Toxic hazard laws

Court rulings back right-to-know

Appellate court decisions upholding key segments of community and worker right-to-know laws in Pennsylvania and Akron, Ohio, were welcomed by labor unions who fought to keep the measures, both of which have stronger provisions that the federal standard on hazardous substances.

Pennsylvania AFL-CIO President Julius Uehlein called on those business groups that have worked "tirelessly" to "delay and undermine this law," to accept the decision and comply with the law's requirements.

The measure, passed in October 1984, was challenged by employer groups as being unconstitutional and preempted by the federal hazard communication rule.

A federal district court rejected the constitutional challenge, but ruled that many of the law's provisions were preempted by federal law. Both sides appealed, with the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO and various unions taking part in the case as interveners in support of the state.

The 3rd Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia upheld the law's provisions requiring hazard surveys, labeling and material safety data sheets, while refusing to narrow the scope of the law's protections. It ruled that the state law was preempted by the federal rule in the area of education and training requirements.

Uehlein called the decision "the most important victory to date in our efforts to control chemical poisons. Finding out what we are exposed to is the first vital step to a safer workplace. The Third Circuit opinion upholds the Pennsylvania law in every vital respect."

Survey upheld

The appellate court overturned a lower court ruling that the federal hazard communication rule preempted the state law requirements for manufacturing employers. It upheld the provision for hazardous substance surveys, finding that the "statutory purpose" of compiling the lists is broader than workplace safety, and thus is not limited by the federal Occupational Safety & Health Act.

The court upheld the labeling requirements covering all employers and chemical suppliers. Further, suppliers will be required to furnish employers, even those in the manufacturing sector, with material safety data sheets.

The 6th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in Cincinnati ruled that an Akron statute adopted in December 1984 was preempted by the federal hazard communication standard only in the manufacturing sector, reversing a lower court ruling that the OSHA Act does not expressly preempt local laws.

The case was remanded to the lower court to determine whether other portions of the Akron ordinance are preempted and whether they can be severed from the measure. The Rubber Workers, URW Local 2 retirees and the Akron-Medina County AFL-CIO filed legal briefs to intervene in the case in support of the city.

Gap widens in health care system

More than 34 million lack medical insurance coverage

The inability of America's patchwork health insurance system to assure all citizens access to medical care was underscored by a report showing a sharp increase in the number of persons without health care coverage.

The Employee Benefit Research Institute reported that in 1984, the latest year for which data are available, 34.7 million persons lacked health insurance—a jump of 4.4. million from 1982, the depth of the Reagan Recession.

Of that number, EBRI stressed, nearly two-thirds of the uninsured were in families in which the primary family worker was steadily employed throughout the year. The report noted that one-third of those uninsured are children. Only 12.1 percent of the uninsured were in families of non-workers.

The statistics affirm the AFL-CIO's concern that the decline in access to medical care has reached "critical proportions." The Executive Council noted at its summer meeting that the "best medicine for the overall problem would be enactment of a national health care system." The council stressed that besides the 35 million citizens without health insurance, another 50 million lack adequate insurance coverage.

EBRI, a Washington-based nonprofit public policy research group, reported that 83 percent of all Americans under age 65 were publicly or privately insured in 1984, with four-fifths of those covered by employer-sponsored health plans.

Its report attributed the decline in health care coverage primarily to the shift in the economy from industries traditionally offering coverage—manufacturing, mining and wholesale trade—to industries less likely to provide coverage—repair, construction and some service industries.

Cost was cited as another signficant factor as employer spending for health insurance climbed steadily from 1.2 percent of total wages in 1960 to 5.3 percent in 1984. EBRI's report noted smaller firms would be more reluctant to establish health plans for their employees because of the cost.

Pooling programs

The Executive Council has urged states to develop pooling programs for small employers so that the premiums and administrative costs could be reduced.

The profile of a worker most likely to have health care coverage, according to EBRI, would be one employed full time by a large firm, earning more than $20,000 a year and over age 25.

The EBRI report noted that Congress adopted legislation requiring employers to provide continued access to group health coverage for dislocated workers. Other legislative action is being considered on health insurance risk pools, employer-provided coverage for terminated employees and financing mechanisms for uncompensated health care, the report said.

'Union-made' catalog hot off the press

A million Union Label Shopper catalogs will be mailed to union members in October, kicking off the initial issuance of new publishing venture.

Sec.-Treas. John E. Mara of the AFL-CIO Union Label & Service Trades Dept. said the catalog features advertising and discount coupons for union-made products and services.

If the catalog is successful, "it will be issued four times a year and should prove to be beneficial to union members and the organized manufacturers who have already committed to having their products advertised in the catalog," Mara said.

The catalog is 100 percent union made—the paper, printing, art work and mailing, Mara noted. It is being produced as a private commercial venture by the American Union Shopper Corp. of Fairfield, Iowa.

Mara reported that catalog coupons sent out via union label councils, state and local central bodies and the labor press are being returned at the rate of 1,000 a day.

Oregon ties denial of jobless benefits to drug test refusal

Portland, Ore.—Refusal to a take a pre-employment drug test can result in a loss of jobless benefits, according to new guidelines issued by Oregon's state employment division.

"It's crazy. We didn't have any input into it," said Oregon AFL-CIO President Irving Fletcher. "I doubt they even consulted their own advisory committee." Fletcher said the state federation's attorney is looking at what can be done to "protect our members." He noted, however, that most of the drug testing is being done by nonunion employers.

The policy guidelines suggest denying jobless benefits to workers who are fired for refusing to take a drug test if the employer had "reasonable cause" to order the test. But a worker fired for refusing to take part in either a blanket or a random drug test program will not be denied jobless benefits, the state said.

Employment Division Deputy Administrator Libby Leonard noted that 70 companies in the state require drug testing of their workers. She said that in August, 50 jobless cases related to drug testing were processed by the state agency.

While the state agency noted "some legal and scientific issues are still unresolved," it said that it felt compelled to produce guidelines based on existing statutes, administrative rules and case law.

Safety net cuts leave neediest out on a limb

Continued from Page 1

class of recently middle-class families" into poverty, the report stated.

The survey found that by 1986, eight programs had been slashed 50 percent or more, including the milk distribution for needy school age children, down 87 percent, and health and education services to Appalachian residents, cut 63 percent.

Close behind was a one-third reduction—or $1.7 billion—in alcohol, drug abuse and mental health programs, a 19-percent cut—$1.1 billion—in health services funds, and a 40-percent slash, or $2.1 billion, in subsidized housing programs.

Services often identified as benefiting the middle class did not escape the Reagan budget ax, the report noted, as nine programs ranging from student higher education aid to handicapped education to community development block grants lost over $82 billion in the Reagan years.

'Tremendous' tax breaks

The report found that 39 of the 50 programs surveyed experienced "increasingly large reductions in service capacity" over the five-year period, "while tremendous tax breaks for big business fed the federal deficit."

Of the 50 programs surveyed, gainers under the Reagan budgets included highway aid, which rose $12.3 billion, or 25 percent above the 1981 level, and airport funding, which experienced a 45-percent gain, or nearly $1.2 billion, the report said.

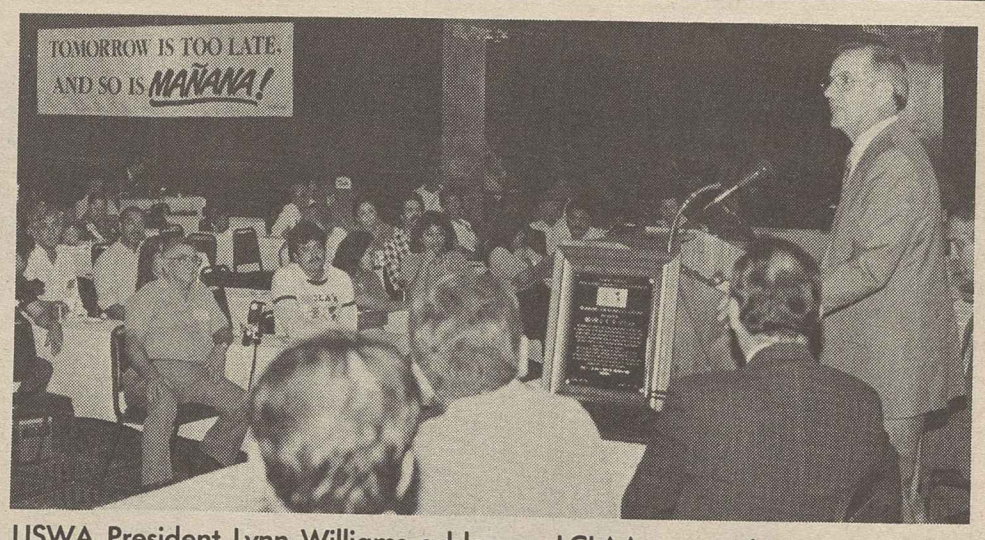
The report also found that city and county governments "have borne the brunt of the Reagan Revolution," hit hard by reductions in community services, child welfare services, juvenile justice and general revenue sharing, which has been reduced from 6 to 21 percent in each of the last five years.

Among the report's findings:

- Although all state suffered cutbacks in most programs, some were harder hit in particular areas. For example, Mississippi experienced the largest per-capita reduction in federal funds for educationally deprived children and child nutrition and South Dakota was first in losses for higher education.
- While the average reduction in federal grants to states and communities was 14.9 percent, West Virginia experienced a cut of 18.5 percent; Oregon, 16 percent; Pennsylvania, 15.9 percent; New Jersey, 15.8 percent; Alabama 16.2 percent; Michigan, 16.8 percent, and the District of Columbia, 17.7 percent.
- Direct payment to individuals fell 2.9 percent nationwide since 1981, with eight states exceeding cuts of 3 percent.

McEntee said the survey clearly demonstrated that Republican funding policies "actually worked against American goals of aiding the needy, supporting the middle class and encouraging economic growth."

The report was prepared by Fiscal Planning Services Inc.



USWA President Lynn Williams addresses LCLAA convention.

Latino labor council forum elects Jack Otero president

St. Louis—The Labor Council for Latin American Advancement elected top officers and explored legislative, political and women's issues during its national meeting. More than 300 delegates attended the four-day national conference.

Jack F. Otero, a vice president of the Railway & Airline Clerks, was elected president. He succeeds Henry L. Lacayo, former political director of the Auto Workers, who did not seek re-election. Lacayo had served as president since 1980. Alfredo C. Montoya of the Steelworkers continues as LCLAA's executive director.

Also elected were Executive Vice President Ralph Jiminez, UAW; Sec.-Treas. Oscar Sanchez, USWA; and Vice Presidents Maria Portalatin, Teachers; Rudy Mendoza, Communications Workers; S.Q. Merino, Committee on Political Education; Ricardo F. Icaza, Food & Commercial Workers; Damaso Seda, Transport Workers, and Linda Chavez-Thompson of the State, County & Municipal Employees.

In a keynote address, USWA President Lynn Williams charged that the Reagan Administration's bias against labor has encouraged employers to flout labor laws, including USX Corp., which locked out more than 22,000 Steelworkers.

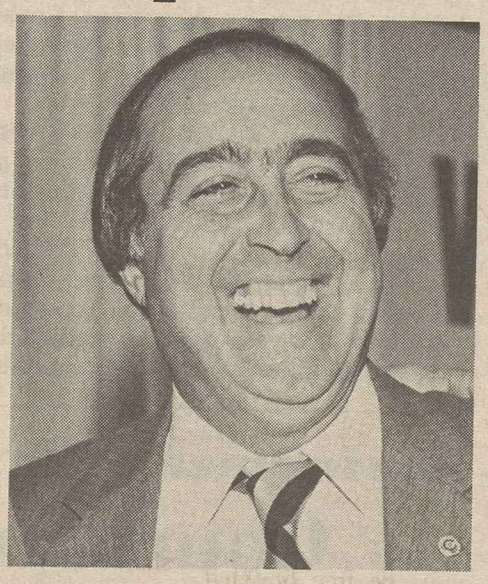
"If USX prevails, there are other companies waiting eagerly to take advantage of the lockout strategy as a bargaining technique," he warned.

Worker exploitation

Service Employees President John Sweeney told the delegates of SEIU's campaign to win "Justice for Janitors," aimed at ending the exploitation of many Hispanic and women workers by building maintenance contractors who scheme to avoid paying minimum wages and benefits to building service workers.

In a workshop session on women's issues, delegates discussed pay equity and the problem of unemployment among Hispanic women. Other sessions reviewed grassroots lobbying techniques and ways to increase legislative activities in nine states with large Hispanic populations. Political education discussions focused on ways to recruit volunteers and expand political programs.

The convention also established a "committee of the future" to map strategies and propose initiatives "that will enable LCLAA to function effectively" well into the future. The committee will make its report at LCLAA's next national meeting in 1988.



Jack Otero

Other speakers included Presidents Daniel McVey of the Missouri AFL-CIO, Robert Keeley of the St. Louis AFL-CIO, and Robert Harbrant of the AFL-CIO Food & Allied Serves Trades Dept.; USWA Sec. Edgar Ball; AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director Richard Womack and Assistant COPE Director Joseph Velasquez; Clara Padilla Jones, New Mexico's Sec. of State, and Juan Andrade, executive director, Midwest Voter Registration Education Project.

Nakasone knocked

LCLAA delegates demanded an apology from Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone for his inflammatory remarks about ethnic minorities in the United States.

Delegates blasted Nakasone for his "insensitive and fallacious" comments and charged that the Reagan Administration's anti-Hispanic, anti-black policies "created an atmosphere . . . which was read by Nakasone as permitting such outrageous comments."

JLC session links imports to wage gap

Unity House, Pa.—Until trade union prospects improve in the developing countries, the flood of imports from low-wage nations will continue, the 15th biennial conference of the Jewish Labor Committee's National Trade Union Council was told.

Delegates heard reports on the conditions of workers in European and Asian countries from Donald Slaiman, deputy director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization & Field Services and a former president of the JLC; Murray Weisz, international labor consultant, and Joel Freedman, assistant to the president of the Bricklayers.

Freedman, a labor adviser to the International Labor Organization's recent conference, said reports presented at the Geneva session revealed that slavery is still rampant in many countries, and that where it has been abolished it has been succeeded by severe exploitation of workers.

Changing outlook

Reporting on a recent visit to nations in the Pacific Basin, Slaiman said it is becoming difficult to consider countries like South Korea and Taiwan "developing nations," because they are agriculturally self-sufficient and have developed their industrial base to make themselves major exporters.

In a discussion on the problems of the aging, Bert Seidman, director of the federation's Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, noted the Reagan Administration's attempts to slash social security.

The Administration tried to drive a wedge between the generations, Seidman said, but ran into determined opposition from both the young and the old, who agreed that social security should not only be retained but must be improved.

In reports to the conference, NTUC President Sol Hoffman, a vice president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, and JLC Executive Director Martin Lapan discussed the role of the Jewish community in American politics.

Anti-labor lobby rebuffed on UAW auto plant accord

The National Labor Relations Board rejected charges by the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation that the Auto Workers had entered into an illegal "prior-recognition" agreement for a new automobile manufacturing plant.

The RTW group accused the UAW of entering into a secret pact with Diamond-Star Motors Inc.—a joint venture between Chrysler Corp. and Mitsubishi Motors Corp. that will begin producing small cars in Bloomington-Normal, Ill., in late 1988.

NLRB General Counsel Rosemary Collyer said there was no evidence to sustain the allegation. Her ruling forced the foundation to withdraw its unfair labor practice charges.

The anti-labor group based its case on a news story that appeared in the Detroit Free Press in June. But Collyer said the reporter was "misinformed" as to UAW President Owen Bieber's remarks to the union's convention concerning negotiating agreements with joint ventures involving U.S. and foreign carmakers.

The UAW said Bieber's convention speech expressed the union's "expectation and hope that these companies would want to involve the UAW" in their operations "for all sorts of positive reasons."

Union-bashing BASF dealt dual defeats

Geismar, La.—The BASF Corp. was dealt twin setbacks by a federal court and the National Labor Relations Board in its on-going war with the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers since the company locked out 370 OCAW members in June 1984.

The labor board rejected the West German-based multinational's claim that a corporate campaign being waged by the union with the backing of the AFL-CIO, its Industrial Union Dept. and other unions, violates federal law.

Upholding an earlier decision by the NLRB's regional director in New Orleans, the board said the OCAW's use of a corporate campaign "to assist it in meeting its goals at the bargaining table" is a legitimate trade union weapon.

The campaign includes a Union Label & Service Trades Dept. boycott of BASF video, audio and computer tapes and discs, Lurotin brand vitamins and Aulgard 340-2 protectant found in some brands of antifreeze.

The OCAW has given wide publicity to chemical spills at the plant here during the period in which BASF has been operating with temporary workers. It has also brought the situation to the attention of the West German government and the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development and enlisted the support of German unions at the firm's home-based plants to counter BASF's union-bashing campaign at Geismar.

In rejecting BASF's complaints against this broad-based campaign, the NLRB said it was perfectly legal for the OCAW to "utilize its rights to report its side in state, federal and international forums."

Unfair practice

Meanwhile, the 5th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans ruled that BASF committed an unfair labor practice by unilaterally rescinding privileges extended to OCAW officers under a collective bargaining agreement.

The 1981 OCAW-BASF contract guaranteed the union chairman a "reasonable amount of time during working hours, without loss of pay" to confer with employees or company representatives regarding grievances.

Two years later, however, the company arbitrarily cancelled these provisions, notifying the union chairman he would be paid for only 15-minute meetings with OCAW members just prior to a grievance hearing.

The court upheld an NLRB administrative law judge's finding that the action constituted an unfair labor practice. The matter was a "mandatory subject of bargaining," the court said, and the employer was "forbidden from changing that condition unilaterally."

BASF had argued that granting such privileges violated Taft-Hartley Act provisions making it unlawful for an employer "to pay, lend, or deliver . . . any money or other thing of value" to a union officer or employee.

Rejecting this contention, the court stressed that the provision prohibited bribery and company-dominated unions, but did not extend to "the kind of labor-management cooperation necessary to collective bargaining."

OCAW Vice President Bob Wages hailed the twin rulings. "Instead of concocting unsupportable legal theories and wild accusations against this union," Wages said, "BASF would be better served by ending the lockout."

Letter Carriers elect Conners to key post

Francis J. Conners was elected to a four-year term as executive vice president of the Letter Carriers in a mail ballot. Conners, who has been the NALC's vice president, defeated incumbent Tony R. Huerta by a vote of 58,044 to 52,437.

NALC President Vincent R. Sombrotto, Vice President Lawrence Hutchins and Sec.-Treas. Richard P. O'Connell were among the officers elected without opposition at the union's convention in July.

EDITORIALS

How to Succeed in Business

PRESIDENT REAGAN looked upon the economic changes his Administration had wrought and declared it almost perfect. Go and do likewise, he told the finance ministers and other participants in a joint meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

His message would have gladdened the hearts of the robber barons of yesteryear as it did their less colorful counterparts today.

Reagan called for a risk-taking economy, unfettered by government regulations, fueled by low taxes and the opportunity for high rewards.

Its workers would have the "incentives" of a sink-or-swim society without the safety nets that, as the President phrased it, "rob those on the receiving end of a reason to labor."

A loss of 2 million industrial jobs during his stewardship did not bother the President. Even more jobs were created by new businesses with fewer than 20 employees, he said. So thank goodness for fast-food outlets.

Of course, this country's economic growth has been nothing to brag about lately. But the President nevertheless prodded other industrial nations to shed their outmoded social legislation.

In some countries, he complained, "labor regulations made it more difficult to lose a job than to get divorced." But fortunately, he noted, "this is changing."

THE DAY after his speech, Reagan sent a somewhat contradictory signal suggesting that government regulation may not be all bad—so long as it is workers and their unions that are being regulated, not management.

In "reluctantly" signing the bill that imposed an equitable arbitration settlement in the Maine Central Railroad dispute—where management had sought to slash wages and health benefits—Reagan expressed concern that so-called secondary boycott restrictions in the Taft-Hartley Act didn't apply to railroads. The President said he will ask Congress to amend the Railway Labor Act to impose the same "limitations" on the freedom of action of railroad workers.

It's only management, obviously, that must be free of what Reagan calls "government intervention and regulation."

Helms on the Line

THE MORAL BLINDNESS of North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms fortunately was not shared by the majority of his colleagues, as the Senate's vote to override President Reagan's veto of South African sanctions demonstrated.

Helms, who heads the Senate Agriculture Committee and is far to the right of the political mainstream, saw nothing wrong in the phone call that he received in the Senate cloakroom from the foreign minister of South Africa.

"I think it's quite all right for a friend to call a friend," Helms explained.

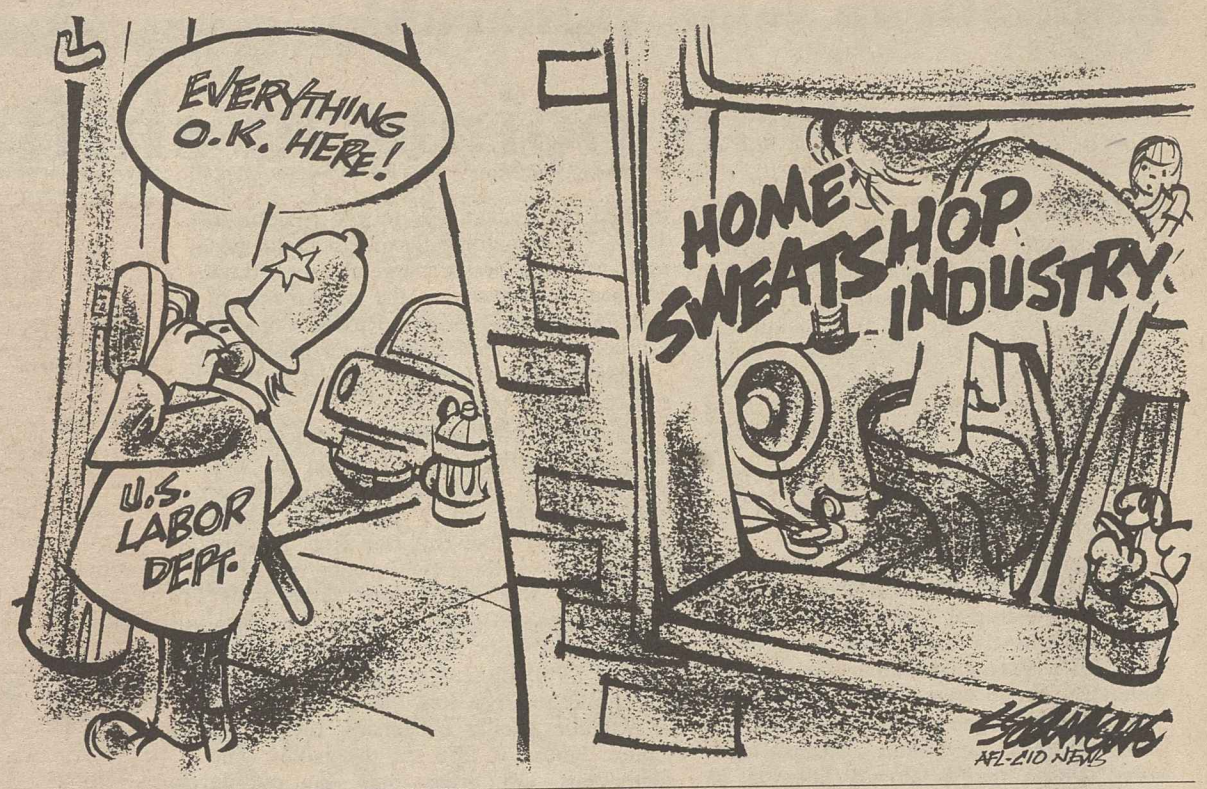
His "friend" wanted farm state senators to know that South Africa would stop buying American grain if Congress overrode the Reagan veto and imposed sanctions. But if the veto was sustained, South Africa planned to substantially increase its grain purchases from the United States.

Helms helpfully called several of his farm state colleagues to the phone to hear the carrot-and-stick message direct from the South African government's mouth.

HELMS EXPRESSED surprise at all the fuss. After all, hadn't President Reagan just wooed the farm vote by offering subsidized, cut-rate grain to the Soviet Union and promising that he would never impose a grain embargo.

The discovery that the Congress of the United States wasn't for sale might have been disillusioning to the rulers of South Africa. It was reassuring to the black workers of South Africa who have been waiting for the outside world to open a second front in the battle against apartheid.

Congress sent them the right message.



Washington Window

Economic divisions widen as growth rate declines

By Press Associates Inc.

The performance of the nation's economy under the Reagan Administration had diverted from the general post-World War II trend in ways that should cause deep concern.

Compared with the 1945-1980 period, average economic growth in the Reagan years has sagged badly and the wealth it produces is being shared far less equally among the population and among regions and states.

From 1981 through June 1986, the nation's gross national product grew at an average 2.3-percent annual rate, compared to a 3.4-percent average during the previous 35 years.

Years of strong growth since 1945 were interrupted by eight recessions, the deepest of which was the 1981-82 Reagan Recession. In recent months the import-battered economy has slowed to a crawl and fears of another Reagan Recession abound.

The fruits of economic expansion have been shared much less equally during this Administration than in any other during the postwar period. As the Wall Street Journal noted recently, "For about 25 years after World War II, income in the United States was divided a bit more evenly every year. The rich got richer, but the middle class got richer, too, and it grew. Poverty didn't disappear, but it dwindled."

Widening gap

The trend toward fairer distribution of the nation's wealth came to a standstill during the 1970s. Under Reagan, the money gap between the rich and the poor widened and the ranks of the middle class shrank significantly.

Regional disparities during the Reagan years are extreme as boom and bust exist side by side, depending on where one lives.

That was shown in "The Bi-Coastal Economy," a study by the Democratic staff of the congressional Joint Economic Committee. The JEC study found that since 1981, economic growth has been heavily concentrated in 15 states along the East Coast and in California.

Of these 16 high growth states, only Rhode Island and South Carolina fall slightly outside the nation's top 16, ranking 19th and 21st, respectively. The other states are Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

These 16 coastal states, containing 42 percent of the population, accounted for nearly 70 percent of the growth in wage and proprietorship income. On a per capita basis, income growth was only a third as much in the 34 other states as a whole as it was in the 16 coastal states.

Employment disparity

Some of the regional disparity shown in the income figures was also reflected in employment. From 1981 through 1985, about 58 percent of the 8 million newly created jobs were in the coastal states. This computes to about 90 percent more job growth per capita in the coastal states than in the 34 other states.

Income trend comparisons between the two groups of states show an even sharper divergence. While the 34-state heartland group received 42 percent of the new jobs, they got less than 31 percent of the income growth per capita.

Median household income was higher in the heartland group in 1981, but by 1984 the situation reversed with the coastal states holding a 10-percent higher median income level.

"If this trend of regional disparity in family income growth continues, by the middle of the next decade there will be a more than 40-percent difference between the average income of families living in the coastal group of states and families living in the rest of the country," the study said. "That would roughly equal the and families living in the rest of the country," the study said.

The JEC is probing the causes of the regional growth disparity, but its study pointed out that "a central cause" is the massive trade deficits which began under the Reagan Administration.

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Republican seats vulnerable

Election points to shift in Senate control

By Gene Zack

The specter of an American economy driven to the brink of another Reagan Recession by flawed Administration trade and domestic policies and the sheer mathematics of the 1986 Senate campaign strongly suggest the end of six years of a tenuous GOP grip on that body. Republicans must defend 22 seats they now hold, the Democrats only 12.

The GOP holds a 53-47 majority so a turnover of only four seats would put that chamber back in Democratic hands.

The question of which party controls the Senate when the 100th Congress convenes in January is crucial. Committee chairmanships, now mostly occupied by members of the GOP's ultra-conservative wing, would generally pass to liberal Democrats.

Working in concert with moderate Republicans, they could blunt a Reagan legislative agenda that is already faltering, as GOP senators break ranks with the White House on, among other things, taxes, defense spending, social security and sanctions against South Africa.

Many imponderables

But there are a number of imponderables as the nation heads into the last month of this off-year election campaign, not the least of which is the extent to which local, rather than national, issues will dominate the agenda in the 34 states where the voters will decide who will control the Senate in the remaining years of Ronald Reagan's lame-duck presidency.

Of the 22 incumbent Republicans seeking re-election, 14 are first-termers who came into office in 1980 when the voters swept Ronald Reagan into the White House. Whether or not they rode to victory on his coattails is uncertain, but it's a question whether they can stand on their own feet this time around without Reagan.

Apparently the Republican party has some doubts on that subject, too. In the past three elections—including the 1982 mid-term balloting—there was a unifying theme that ran through most, if not all, the GOP races: first launching the Reagan "revolution" and then keeping it going. It was keyed to the Administration's supply-side tax overhaul plan that removed profitable corporations and wealthy individuals from the tax rolls while throwing a tax-cut bone to working Americans.

But five years into the Reagan revolution, Congress has had to revisit this issue, passing a sweeping tax reform bill—introduced originally by Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), and only belatedly embraced by a President who now seeks credit for it.

Nagging questions

It's easy to see why Republican candidates are seeking to distance themselves from national GOP policy when they try to explain these nagging questions:

The congressional action to undo the mischief of Reagan's 1981 tax measure, Reagan's doubling of the national debt in just five years after promising a balanced budget by 1984, allowing imports to ravage the economy, and presiding over the decline of the country's industrial base.

So, while the Republican National Committee and business-oriented PACs pour millions of dollars into the Senate campaigns, the GOP is devoid of any national strategy and most of the Republican candidates are concentrating on local or regional issues, personality, the value of incumbency and constituent service.

Another part of the uncertain electoral equation centers on three open GOP seats with the retirements of Republican stalwarts Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland and Paul Laxalt of Nevada. The Republicans lost another veteran earlier this year with the death of North Carolina's John East.

All four races are on COPE's marginal list—contests in which there is a chance that the Democrats can regain ground lost in the GOP 1980 sweep. Nine of the Reagan-era Republican freshmen also are regarded as marginal, in two other races the Democrats are given only an outside chance for victory while four more members of the Republican class of 1980 are counted among seven "safe" GOP seats.

Among the dozen Democratic seats up this year, seven are considered safe—including those of two freshmen who bucked the Reagan tide to win election in 1980. The remaining five Democratic-held seats are considered marginal races, three of them left open by the retirements of Gary Hart of Colorado, Russell Long of Louisiana and Tom Eagleton of Missouri.

Here's a state-by-state rundown on how the campaigns shape up:

ALABAMA—First-term Republican Sen. Jeremiah Denton, who squeaked his way to victory six years ago by a margin of only four-tenths of 1 percent, is being challenged by labor-endorsed Rep. Richard Shelby (D), whose COPE voting record in the House was nearly four times better than Denton's 10-percent rating. Marginal.

ALASKA—Sen. Frank Murkowski (R), another 1980 Reagan coattail rider, is being challenged by Glen Olds (D), president of Atlantic Pacific University. Libertarian Chuck House is also on the ballot. The Democrats are given only an outside chance of unseating Murkowski, whose COPE voting record is 20 percent.

ARIZONA—In the race for Goldwater's seat, the Democrats have fielded COPE-endorsed Richard Kimball, former state corporation commissioner. He is opposed by Rep. John McCain (R) who voted right only 17 percent of the time while in the House. A marginal contest.

ARKANSAS—The State AFL-CIO has endorsed Sen. Dale Bumpers (D) for re-election. He has a 65-percent COPE record. His challenger is Asa Hutchinson, a Justice Dept. attorney. Safely Democratic.

CALIFORNIA—COPE-endorsed incumbent Alan Cranston (D), with a 92-percent favorable record on vital issues, faces a challenge from Rep. Edwin Zschau, who voted right only 11 percent of the time. Cranston won easily last time. Marginal.

COLORADO—Rep. Tim Wirth (D), with a 76-percent COPE voting record, seeks to succeed Hart. The GOP nominee, Ken Kramer, scored near the bottom of labor's list in the House—a mere 14 percent. A marginal race.

CONNECTICUT—Sen. Christopher Dodd (D), who compiled an impressive 98-percent COPE voting record and who's running with labor's backing, is being challenged, but not seriously, by a 65-year-old former Republican state legislator, Roger Eddy. A safe Democratic seat.

FLORIDA—Freshman GOP Sen. Paula Hawkins, who voted right only 32 percent of the time, is being pressed hard by popular Gov. Robert Graham who has COPE endorsement. Graham has a slight lead. Call it marginal.

GEORGIA—Sen. Mack Mattingly, another Republican first-termer who voted for labor's position only 8 percent of the time, is being challenged by Rep. Wyche Fowler, who compiled a 66-percent COPE voting record in the House. Marginal.

HAWAII—COPE-endorsed Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D), who voted for workers and their unions 89 percent of the time, has no announced opposition. Safely Democratic.

IDAHO—Freshman Republican Steve Symms, who won six years ago with a plurality, not a majority, in a three-way race, faces a proven statewide vote-getter, COPE-endorsed Gov. John Evans (D). Another marginal race.

ILLINOIS—Labor-endorsed Sen. Alan Dixon, one of the Democrats who won six years ago at a time when Jimmy Carter was losing the White House, compiled a 77-percent COPE voting record. The Republican nominee is State Rep. Judy Koehler. A safe Democratic seat.

INDIANA—First-term Republican Sen. Dan Quayle, who voted right only 10 percent of the time, is expected to beat back the challenge of Valparaiso City Councilwoman Jill Long (D).

IOWA—Republican Sen. Chuck Grassley, who voted with labor only 16 percent of the time in his first term, faces COPE-endorsed John Roehrick, former president of the Iowa Trial Lawyers' Association. A safe seat for the GOP.

KANSAS—Veteran Sen. Robert Dole (R), the current majority leader, should have no difficulty in overcoming his Democratic opponent, Guy McDonald.

KENTUCKY—Democratic incumbent Wendell Ford, with a 74-percent COPE voting record, holds another of the safe Democratic seats. His GOP opponent is Jackson Andrews, counsel to the state legislature.

Lineup of candidates

STATES	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
Alabama	Richard Shelby	Jeremiah Denton *
Alaska	Glen Olds	Frank Murkowski *
Arizona	Richard Kimball	John McCain
Arkansas	Dale Bumpers *	Asa Hutchinson
California	Alan Cranston *	Ed Zschau
Colorado	Tim Wirth	Ken Kramer
Connecticut	Christopher Dodd *	Roger Eddy
Florida	Robert Graham	Paula Hawkins *
Georgia	Wyche Fowler	Mack Mattingly *
Hawaii	Daniel Inouye *	no candidate
Idaho	John Evans	Steve Symms *
Illinois	Alan Dixon *	Judy Koehler
Indiana	Jill Long	Dan Quayle *
Iowa	John Roehrick	Chuck Grassley *
Kansas	Guy McDonald	Robert Dole *
Kentucky	Wendell Ford *	Jackson Andrews
Louisiana	John Breaux	Henson Moore
Maryland	Barbara Mikulski	Linda Chavez
Missouri	Harriett Woods	Christopher Bond
Nevada	Harry Reid	Jim Santini
New Hampshire	Endicott Peabody	Warren Rudman *
New York	Mark Green	Alfonse D'Amato *
North Carolina	Terry Sanford	James Broyhill *
North Dakota	Kent Conrad	Mark Andrews *
Ohio	John Glenn *	Tom Kindness
Oklahoma	Jim Jones	Don Nickles *
Oregon	Rick Bauman	Bob Packwood *
Pennsylvania	Bob Edgar	Arlen Specter *
South Carolina	Fritz Hollings *	Henry McMaster
South Dakota	Tom Daschle	James Abdnor *
Utah	Craig Oliver	Jake Garn *
Vermont	Patrick Leahy *	Richard Snelling
Washington	Brock Adams	Slade Gorton *
Wisconsin	Ed Garvey	Robert Kasten *

* incumbent

LOUISIANA—Two incumbent House members, COPE-endorsed Rep. John Breaux (D) and Rep. Henson Moore (R), who voted right only 9 percent of the time, are vying for the seat from which Long is retiring. A marginal contest.

MARYLAND—COPE has endorsed Rep. Barbara Mikulski (D), who had a 91-percent favorable labor record in the House, for the seat being vacated by Mathias. Her opponent, former White House aide Linda Chavez, is a recent convert to the Republican party and a Maryland resident for only three years. Marginal.

MISSOURI—The State AFL-CIO has endorsed Lt. Gov. Harriett Woods (D) to succeed Eagleton, a long-time friend of labor. She faces former Republican Gov. Christopher "Kit" Bond. Marginal.

NEVADA—With Laxalt retiring, labor is supporting Rep. Harry Reid (D), who has an 87-percent COPE voting record. Former Democratic Rep. Jim Santini, who switched parties, is the Republican contender. A marginal race.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Freshman Sen. Warren Rudman (R), who helped craft the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings plan that's supposed to cut the federal deficit, is considered certain to be re-elected. His voting record was only 20 percent right. Labor has endorsed the Democratic nominee, Endicott (Chubb) Peabody, a former governor of neighboring Massachusetts.

NEW YORK—Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R) is expected to win a second term in a three-way race that pits him against Democrat Mark Green and Liberal party nominee John Dyson, former New York Power Authority chairman, who lost to Green in the Democratic primary.

NORTH CAROLINA—Republican Rep. James T. Broyhill, appointed during the summer to fill East's unexpired term, faces former Democratic Gov. Terry Sanford, the COPE-backed candidate. There will be simultaneous elections—one to fill the remainder of East's term which runs to next January, the other for the full six-year term. A marginal race.

NORTH DAKOTA—Campaigning for a second term, Sen. Mark Andrews (R), faces State Tax Commissioner Kent Conrad (D) who is running with COPE backing. Conrad has an outside chance.

OHIO—Sen. John Glenn (D), whose COPE record is 79 percent and who has labor's backing, is being challenged in his re-election bid by Rep. Tom Kindness (R), who voted right only 13 percent of the time. Safely Democratic.

OKLAHOMA—GOP freshman Sen. Don Nickles, who got only 2 percent on labor's scorecard, faces COPE-supported Rep. Jim Jones (D), former Budget Committee chairman who voted right 46 percent of the time. A marginal race.

OREGON—Senate Finance Committee Chairman Bob Packwood (R), with a 44-percent COPE voting record, is being challenged by State Rep. Rick Bauman (D). Considered a safe Republican seat.

PENNSYLVANIA—First-term Sen. Arlen Specter (R), whose record of 63 percent right votes includes support of labor's position on the critical trade issue, faces Democratic Rep. Bob Edgar with an 89-percent voting record. COPE has endorsed Edgar. Marginal.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Democratic Sen. Fritz Hollings, another co-author of the deficit-reduction measure, seems certain to hold his seat in the 100th Congress. His Republican opponent is former U.S. Atty. Henry McMaster.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Sen. James Abdnor, another member of the GOP class of 1980 voted right only 24 percent of the time. COPE has endorsed his Democratic opponent, Rep. Tom Daschle, who had a 73-percent record in the House. Marginal.

UTAH—Republican Sen. Jake Garn, who cast his votes for labor's position only 10 percent of the time, is being challenged by Craig Oliver (D), a real estate agent. Safely Republican.

VERMONT—COPE has endorsed incumbent Sen. Patrick Leahy (D), who voted right 83 percent of the time. He faces a stiff challenge from former Gov. Richard Snelling (R). Marginal.

WASHINGTON—First-term Sen. Slade Gorton (R) may be in deep trouble because of his cynical vote switch to support the controversial nomination of Daniel Manion to the federal bench. He compiled only a 20-percent favorable record in six years. COPE has endorsed former Transportation Sec. Brock Adams (D), who had a 100-percent pro-labor record when he was in the House. The ultra-rightwing Lyndon LaRouche party also has a candidate on the ballot. He's Mark Calney. A marginal election.

WISCONSIN—Sen. Robert Kasten (R), with only a 20-percent favorable rating, is seeking a second term. COPE has endorsed State Deputy Atty. Gen. Ed Garvey (D), former executive director of the National Football League Players Association. Marginal.

Administration prods export of American jobs

By Gene Zack

At a time when foreign competition is systematically destroying U.S. jobs, the Reagan Administration is spending taxpayers' dollars on a major effort to lure domestic assembly plants across the border into Mexico.

The AFL-CIO charged that the concerted plant relocation scheme will "further erode jobs and the economy," and the Clothing & Textile Workers called for a full-scale congressional investigation of the Commerce Dept.'s role in sponsoring the runaway program.

Federation Economist Mark Anderson accused the Administration of "encouraging and supporting the export of jobs" even though American joblessness is stuck at recession levels, with 15 million workers either unemployed or underemployed because of unrestrained imports.

Government economists estimate that for each $1 billion in foreign trade deficits more than 22,000 U.S. jobs are wiped out.

"It's outrageous for the Administration to aid and abet manufacturers in closing down domestic assembly lines so they can exploit 50-cents-an-hour Mexican workers," Anderson declared. "This is a blatant contradiction of the pious White House claims that it is trying to promote added investment in plant and machinery in this country."

Elizabeth M. Smith, ACTWU's legislative director, branded it "an abuse of taxpayers' money" for the Administration to openly involve itself with the Mexican government in the intense effort to entice industry and sorely needed jobs away from America.

She warned that it would lead to further job erosion in this country, pointing out that ACTWU has already lost 10,000 jobs in El Paso, Tex., alone as textile plants moved their operations across the border to neighboring Ciudad Juarez.

Labor's criticism is aimed at a multi-million-dollar "exposition" to be held next month in the posh surroundings of Acapulco—the jet-setters' paradise—where several hundred U.S. companies are expected to send representatives for briefings on how to maximize profits by using under-paid non-union Mexican labor.

The show is being sponsored by the U.S. Trade Center in Mexico City, an arm of the Commerce Dept. During the past 14 years, the center's role has been to promote the sale of American products in Mexico. For the first time, the federal agency is concentrating its efforts on promoting U.S. investment in assembly plants—known as "maquiladoras"—south of the border.

Under Mexican law, no import duty is

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AFL-CIO news

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Veto-proof margin sends toxic cleanup bill to White House

By David L. Perlman

Congress defied a White House veto warning by voting to expand the Superfund program and accelerate the cleanup of the nation's hazardous waste dumps.

Other labor-supported bills on the congressional agenda in the final days of the 99th Congress are also threatened by a presidential veto. But the bipartisan majority for the Superfund bill was so large that the two-thirds needed to override a veto appeared assured.

White House advisers want President Reagan to veto the Superfund bill because it imposes taxes on businesses and oil imports to pay the cost.

Most Republicans in Congress want him to sign the bill. A veto, especially a pocket veto when Congress can't vote to override, would be a "disaster" for Republican candidates in the November election, Senate Environment & Public Works Committee Chairman Robert T. Stafford (R-Vt.) warned. Even Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole, who stuck with the President on his veto of the South African sanctions bill, appealed to him to sign the Superfund measure.

The vote for the legislation was an overwhelming 88-8 in the Senate, 386-27 in the House.

So strong was the support that Congress is expected to put off a formal adjournment until after the President signs or vetoes the Superfund bill. Otherwise, he could pocket veto it after Congress adjourns by merely withholding his signature.

The repeated postponement of congressional adjournment deadlines gave a new lease on life to some bills that had been left for dead.

Immigration reform had seemingly been scuttled on Sept. 26, when the House refused to take it up under a rule intended to prevent tampering with a compromise over resident status for farm workers who entered the United States illegally.

Second chance

A revised version of the compromise provided a second chance for the House, and the labor-supported bill was brought back to the House floor on Oct. 9, six days after Congress was to have adjourned.

The new version included labor-urged penalties against employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens and the opportunity for citizenship for persons who have established permanent roots in this country.

Immigration reform has been among the most difficult issues Congress has tried to deal with and any bill passed by the House would still have to be reconciled with the Senate version.

But Senate Republican leaders gave no hope for action on a top-priority labor issue—trade legislation to bring U.S. imports and exports in closer balance and stop the wipeout of American industry.

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Let the people go

On the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev Iceland summit, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland warned against any "euphoria" over any supposed resumption of cordial relations between the two countries. This can only come about, Kirkland told a Capitol Hill forum sponsored by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, when the USSR ends its war against human rights, free trade union movements and its Jewish citizens. "There can be no trust between our nation and a nation which keeps 400,000 Jews locked in," he declared in a message to the Soviet leader. (Related story on Page 4.)

Jobless crisis deepens as imports flood nation

By Candice Johnson

The loss of another 38,000 manufacturing jobs last month—the result of the government's refusal to adopt an effective trade policy—fueled a two-tenths of 1 percent jump in the nation's unemployment rate to 7 percent.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the increase in unemployment added 302,000 persons to the jobless rolls, bringing the government's official count of joblessness to 8.3 million.

The September jobs report demonstrates that "things are not getting better for American workers" in an economy plagued by 29 months of recession-level unemployment, AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald said.

Oswald expressed concern over the continued erosion of good-paying jobs—washed away by high levels of imports—and stressed that the loss of 200,000 manufacturing jobs since the beginning of the year "spotlights the continuing damage from the nation's refusal to adopt a trade reform policy." He called on the Senate to adopt a trade reform measure similar to the one passed by the House last May.

In addition to the 8.3 million "officially" unemployed, Oswald noted, BLS calculations as of the end of the third quarter indicate that there are 1.2 million discouraged workers and 5.5 million workers forced to work part time while seeking full-time work. "A comprehensive trade and employment program is the only hope" for the more than 15 million Americans trapped in joblessness, he declared.

Adding to the bleak picture, Oswald noted, is the unfairness that only 2.3 million workers—just 29 percent of the jobless—are receiving unemployment compensation, while another 5.7 million Americans officially listed as unemployed receive no benefits.

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MEMO FROM COPE
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IAM ratifies sweetened pact for 48,000 Boeing workers

Seattle—Machinists at three Boeing Co. plants overwhelmingly approved a new three-year contract that includes annual bonuses and a sweetened cost-of-living increase of 40 cents an hour.

More than 20,000 IAM members gathered here at the King Dome to cast their ballots. The new agreement—which covers 48,000 IAM members at plants in Seattle, Portland, Ore., and Wichita, Kan.—was ratified in balloting by 88 percent of the voting members.

IAM members will receive a 12-percent productivity bonus in the first contract year, followed by 5-percent payments in the second and third years. The union estimates that the average worker's first-year bonus will exceed $3,800. Future COLAs will be folded into the base wage rate at the end of each contract year.

IAM District 751 President Tom Baker said Boeing put "a lot of money" in its second contract offer, with the immediate COLA payment "worth more in dollar value . . . than under the old formula."

COLAs awarded under the previous agreement totalling $1.14 an hour have

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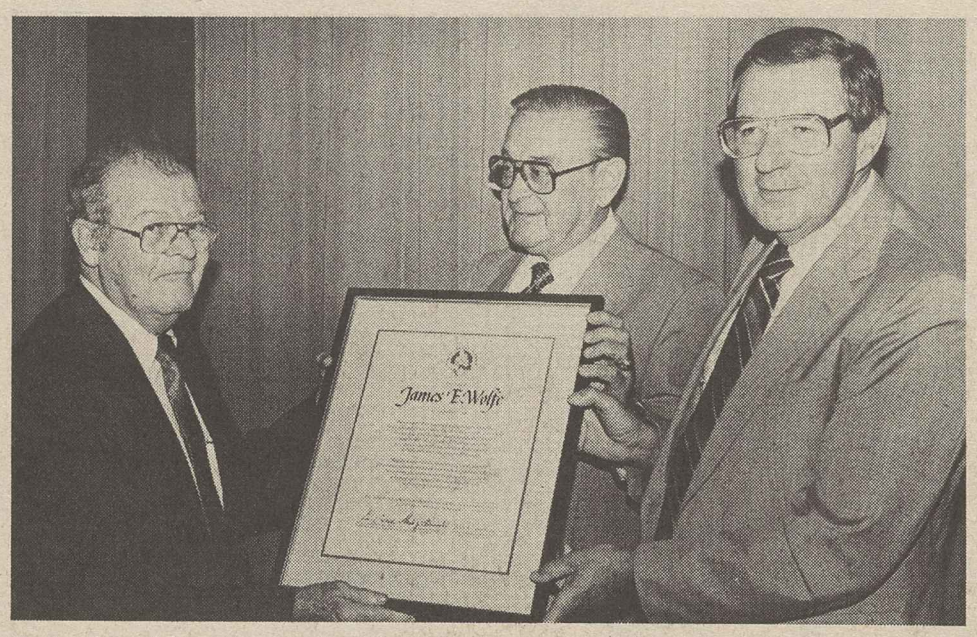


Retired Molders Research Director James E. Wolfe, left, is honored for his years of service to the labor movement by Metal Trades President Paul Burnsky and IUD Sec.-Treas. Elmer Chatak at nuclear workers conference.

Coalition urges new agency to monitor radiation hazards

Cincinnati—The federal limit on worker exposure to radiation should be lowered and responsibility for worker safety and health at U.S. Dept. of Energy uranium production plants should be switched from DOE to another agency, an atomic workers forum declared.

The first Nuclear Workers' Conference, jointly sponsored by the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept. and Industrial Union Dept., was a major step toward developing an effective network to aid industry workers.

The conference drew more than 100 labor, medical and political representatives who unanimously voted to oppose a proposed change in the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's worker exposure standard.

Federation safety specialist Margaret Seminario told the forum the planned changes would average internal and external exposure limits—a method that could raise radiation exposures for certain internal organs "to anywhere from 15 to 42 rem." The NRC proposal would also allow employers "planned special exposures" for workers of up to 25 rem, five times a year. One rem is equal to the radiation dosage of about 20 chest X-rays.

Seminario said the AFL-CIO believes the exposure limits for internal organs and for whole-body counts should be lowered.

Metal Trades President Paul Burnsky said nuclear industry workers "have been living in the shadow of catastrophe, calamity shrouded in the secrecy and power of their own federal government." He charged that production has taken precedence over safety in at least seven DOE-run plants which produce nuclear products for national defense.

Fox in hen house

Burnsky warned that the nuclear workers and their communities "could reap an ugly, painful harvest sometime in the future" if those plants continue to run under the monitoring of DOE. Likening DOE oversight of safety in its plants to the "fox guarding the hen house," Burnsky urged that worker health and safety be monitored by an independent agency.

Dr. Eula Bingham, vice president of the University of Cincinnati and director of the Occupational Safety & Health Administration under President Carter, declared that DOE's dismissal of the dangers of nuclear production is an extension of the Reagan Administration's disregard for workers.

"I'm sure nobody in the White House gives a damn about worker safety and health," she said, stressing that organized labor must lead the battle. "We're in the trenches caring for the injured and dying, so it's up to us to find solutions."

Dr. Arthur Upton, professor of environmental medicine at New York University and a former worker at DOE's Oak Ridge, Tenn., facility, backed the idea of an independent agency monitoring worker safety at DOE plants, noting that "there is no safe dose of radiation."

He pointed out that for a worker who receives the current limit of 5 rem a year for several years and contracts leukemia between age 40-45, the chances are better than 50-50 "that the cancer is a result of the worker exposure." He suggested workers rely on their own resources to augment DOE's monitoring program.

Kilroy elected to head rail labor executives

The Railway Labor Executives' Association elected Richard I. Kilroy chairman to succeed Ole M. Berge.

Kilroy, president of the Railway & Airline Clerks, has served as the RLEA's executive secretary-treasurer since 1982. Berge relinquished the top RLEA post after he retired as president of the Maintenance of Way Employees.

Geoffrey M. Zeh, the newly elected BMWE president, was named vice chairman. Andrew M. Ripp, vice president of the Electrical Workers, was elected executive secretary-treasurer.

Trade secret barricade

OSHA toxic standard ducks court mandate

By Arlee C. Green

Revised trade secret provisions in the federal hazard communication standard on toxic substances fall short of needed improvements, the AFL-CIO and the Steelworkers declared. They also warned that the Occupational Safety & Health Administration may face further court action if it doesn't act soon to extend coverage to all workers.

Margaret Seminario, the federation's associate director for job safety and health, said the final rule "is not really going to change things very much" from the interim rule that has been in effect since last November.

While OSHA did make several changes sought by organized labor, it put the new language in the preamble to the standard rather than in the rule itself, Seminario noted.

"We have yet to see what OSHA will do to enforce illegal claims of trade secrets" as a device for refusing to disclose toxic dangers, she added. Even though the interim rule has been in effect for nearly a year, safety data sheets continue to be put out by manufacturers wrongly claiming trade secret protections, she said.

Seminario noted growing concern that OSHA has even made a proposal to expand the rule's coverage of workers outside the manufacturing sector. She warned that "we may have to return to court" in order to get the agency moving.

"We're disappointed that OSHA didn't make the rule stronger with regard to the burden of proof" required of manufacturers that claim trade secret protections, said USWA attorney Mary-Win O'Brien. It addressed most of the issues raised in court, she said, but declined to put the changes in the standard itself.

O'Brien said the union is concerned that it took more than a year to get these unsatisfactory revisions that cover only workers in the manufacturing sector. "We're concerned that OSHA hasn't met the scope of the changes ordered by the court."

The OSHA hazard communication standard, issued in November 1983, was challenged by both industry and labor in the 3rd Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia, which upheld its preemption of state laws only regarding the manufacturing sector.

Court orders

The court ordered OSHA in May 1985 to extend coverage to all other business sectors unless it can find "reasons why such application would not be feasible." It also ordered the agency to "reconsider a trade secret definition which will not include chemical identity information that is readily discoverable by reverse engineering."

Expansion of access to trade secrets by employees and their collective bargaining representatives was also ordered by the court. OSHA's revision of the trade secret provisions did expand access to all workers in the manufacturing sector and to "downstream" employees of manufacturing firms that handle or use the chemicals as long as confidentiality requirements of the rule are met.

Quality-conscious employers oppose gutting Davis-Bacon

Employers who take pride in the quality of their firms' workmanship don't want the Davis-Bacon Act weakened, two contractors testified at House hearings.

Ending the prevailing wage requirement on government construction contracts will lead to inferior work that will offset much of the "savings" claimed by foes of the Davis-Bacon Act, they told the House Subcommittee on Labor Standards.

Paul Thomarios, a specialty painting contractor based in Akron, Ohio, spoke with pride of the skill and training of his employees and the diversity of the work the firm has done for both private firms and government agencies.

In the "high-tech" work his firm does, Thomarios testified, "we're no longer talking about a guy slapping paint on a wall with a brush or a roller. It's not an easy business to learn if you wish to do the job right."

Thomarios said he couldn't keep his employees or maintain the quality of workmanship if he had to pay substandard wages to get government contracts.

Donald Mariutto, head of a Coral Gables, Fla., tile and marble contracting firm and a past president of the Tile Contractors Association of America, expressed similar concern.

If out-of-area firms come in to take contracts with low-wage bids, the people who will be hurt most are minority workers "who have little alternative" and have to work at whatever wage scale an employer chooses to set, he warned.

"We've got a lot of problems that need to be addressed in the construction industry, but paying a skilled craftsman for a day's work is not one of them," Mariutto testified. One problem, he said, is that enforcement of the Davis-Bacon Act is not high on the current Dept. of Labor's agenda.

Workers shortchanged

A six-union coalition whose members work on highway and heavy construction projects said large numbers of workers are being shortchanged because of lax Labor Dept. enforcement of Davis-Bacon requirements.

Terry Bumpers, director of the inter-union committee, urged Congress to reject Labor Dept. proposals to allow contractors to "certify" that they have complied with prevailing wage standards instead of submitting payroll records to prove they have done so.

As to charges that Davis-Bacon wages are excessive, Bumpers noted that 43.6 percent of the Labor Dept. prevailing wage determinations during the January-May period this year included hourly rates of $5.30 or less. The Heavy & Highway Construction Committee consists of the Laborers, Operating Engineers, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Plasterers and the unaffiliated Teamsters.

The Associated General Contractors, a group supporting Administration proposals to raise the threshold of Davis-Bacon Act coverage to $1 million, told the House committee that the law should be repealed entirely.

But, its spokesman testified, the employer group supports "reforms" in the law until "Congress acquires a majority that will enact repeal."

With adjournment near, the House hearings were seen as laying the groundwork for an anticipated major battle over Davis-Bacon Act coverage when the new Congress convenes in January.

U.S. lures firms to relocate to Mexico

Continued from Page 1

charged if American firms bring components into that country for assembly, and the tariff the United States charges when the finished product returns to this country is limited to the value added in Mexico—which usually consists only of the meager labor costs.

Mexico's share of such exports to the United States has increased from 2 percent in 1969 to 45 percent in 1985, making that country the largest single supplier of such goods to the American market. Less than a decade ago, there were only 300 plants in Mexico, employing 80,000 workers. By last year, there were 760 such assembly plants, with a workforce close to 300,000, located within easy commuting distance of the border.

The U.S. Trade Center concedes that it has mailed some 120,000 leaflets to American firms promoting the show. It has targeted a vast array of industries—manufacturers of textile and clothing products, radio and television components, electrical and electronic subcomponents, leather goods, wood products, medical supplies, printing machinery, audio and audio-visual equipment, telephone and telegraph apparatus, computers and other communications equipment, automobile parts and components, household appliances, transformers, office typewriters and toys.

Cut-rate pay pushed

The brochures paid for by the American taxpayers boast openly that the maquiladoras provide this country's manufacturers with "a way of utilizing the low-cost foreign labor in assembly of products for re-export" to the United States.

The schedule of events for the three-day exposition in December includes seminars and workshops on Mexico's labor policies which openly discourage unionism and provide a workforce of women and young girls who typically make between 30 and 75 cents an hour laboring under sweatshop conditions.

Rafael Fermoselle, director of the trade center, conceded that this marks the first time the U.S. government has ever promoted the maquiladoras. "We've never done this before," he admitted. He defended the move, claiming it would "keep companies in the United States competitive" and would "retain and create jobs" in this country that otherwise would be swept away by the rising import tide.

"The argument that this is going to create more jobs in the United States is totally fallacious," Anderson said. "The rise of nearly a quarter million jobs in the maquiladora complex in the past several years has been matched by the loss of at least that many American jobs."

Smith agreed. "American firms provide about 96 percent of the $2 billion foreign investment that's been made in Mexican plants just across the border in the past decade," she said.

That money could have been better used to modernize America's industrial plant to keep America working, instead of exporting investment and jobs."

Carpenters fight to retain job standards

Toronto—Workers in the United States and Canada will become an endangered species if unions don't keep up the fight to preserve working conditions and standards, Carpenters President Patrick Campbell warned in opening the union's 35th convention.

"When somebody comes along and tells you your wages are too high," or insists that "you've got to change your working conditions to compete, I think they're on the wrong end of the hammer," Campbell stressed.

He scored the Toyota Corp. and public officials in Kentucky who produced a "windfall" for the Japanese automaker at the expense of state and federal taxpayers, while the carmaker builds its auto assembly plant with a Japanese contractor and nonunion labor.

Campbell told delegates that "a lot of multinational corporations and nonunion construction companies" would like to push its workers into molds, turning out employees who are "all alike, all low paid and none with benefits."

Critical look

He also criticized the practices of some corporations who hire outside firms at exorbitant rates to increase productivity, when better cooperation and communication with the workers on the job would produce results and solve the problem "in a couple of hours."

The 2,000 delegates reviewed the Carpenters' cooperative labor-management programs, under which more than 30 local union and management committees work together to bid against open-shop contractors.

They also examined the bargaining activities and efforts pursued by lumber and sawmill workers—members of the Carpenters and the Woodworkers—coordinated through the Forest Products Joint Conference Board.

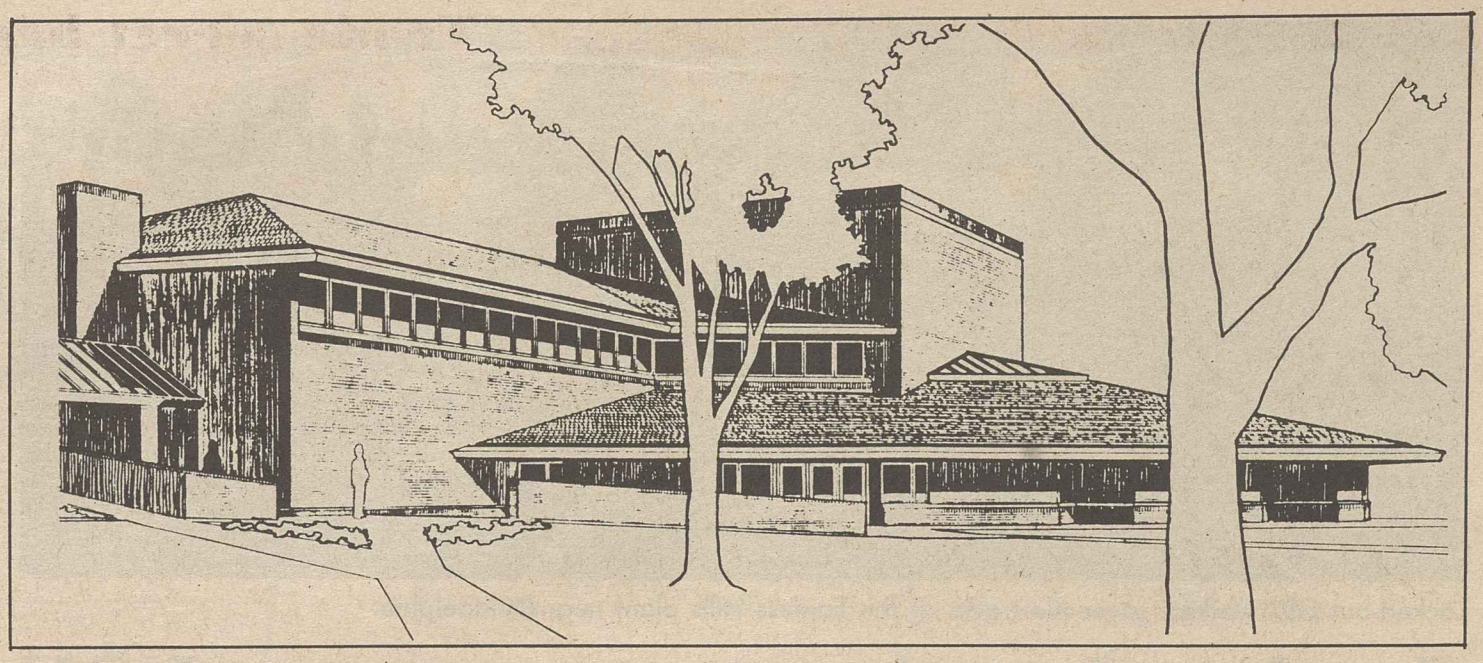
In another report, the delegates discussed increased work opportunities for union millwrights and carpenters, particularly in maintaining pollution abatement equipment.

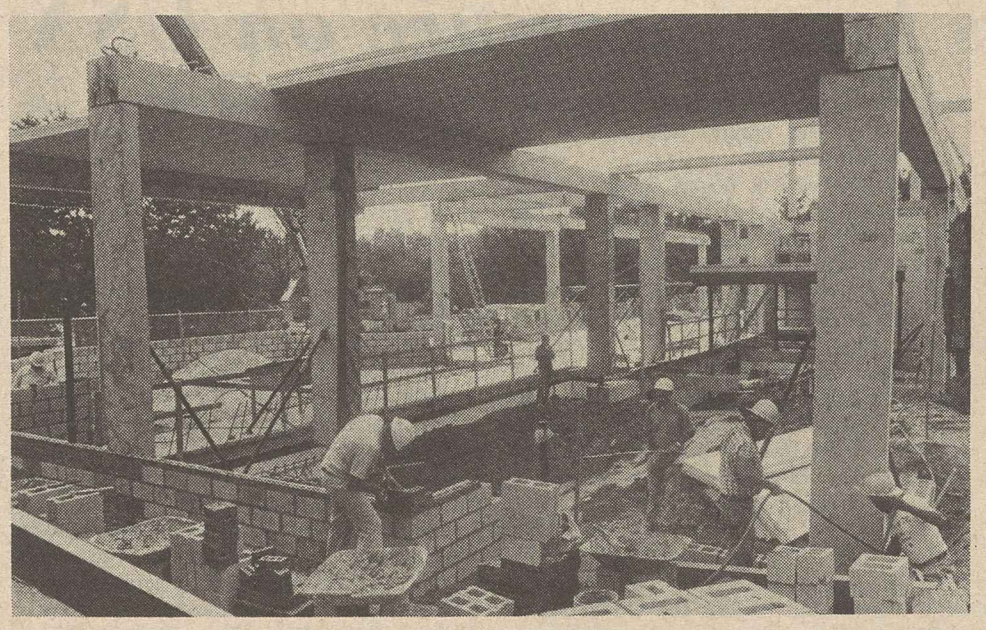
Keeping watch

In a convention address, AFL-CIO Vice President Robert A. Georgine warned that the average worker's wages will fall unless unions are more diligent. "In the construction industry, real wages have fallen a shocking 15 percent over the past eight years," he pointed out.

Georgine, who heads the Building & Construction Trades Dept., declared that the nation had turned "back to a time when the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer," while the middle class "that unions have created over the years is in jeopardy."

Carpenters Treasurer Wayne Pierce urged the delegates to become actively involved in the political process, in order to meet labor's goals of "maintaining decent wages and working conditions, organizing the unorganized, achieving full employment and seeing that workers' rights are protected on the job."





Meany Archives

Construction on the George Meany Memorial Archives, a $4-million, three-story building located on the campus of the Meany Labor Studies Center in Silver Spring, Md., is well under way. The archives will have a library, classrooms, reading rooms, meeting space and two exhibit areas—one a permanent memorial to the late AFL-CIO leader. It will house records of federation activities including newspapers, pamphlets, photographs, audio and video tapes, memorabilia, and a small reference library. Dedication of the building is slated for next Aug. 16—Meany's birth date.

Congress orders probe

Postal official tied to union-buster

Congress is going ahead with its own investigation into the links between Chairman John R. McKean of the U.S. Postal Service Board of Governors and a notorious union-busting law firm, in the wake of a Justice Dept. decision not to seek a criminal indictment of McKean for violating conflict-of-interest laws.

At issue is a secret half-million-dollar contract with the San Francisco law firm of Littler, Mendelson, Fastiff & Tichy to orchestrate the Postal Service's 1984 contract negotiations with the Letter Carriers and the Postal Workers.

McKean did not disclose his business ties with the union-busting law firm, which has harassed unions for years and has been fined repeatedly and reprimanded in court for its tactics.

At the time the labor relations contract was awarded, the law firm was a client of McKean's own accounting firm. And McKean has admitted the relationship still exists.

Federal law prohibits government officials from using their office for personal gain or for the enrichment of people with whom they have business or financial ties.

Last year, the House Post Office & Civil Service Committee directed the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, to examine the incident. That probe was suspended when the Justice Dept. agreed to conduct its own investigation into the contract award and convened a special grand jury for that purpose.

But the Justice Dept., headed by McKean's long-time friend, Atty. Gen. Edwin Meese, has now concluded that there was an "absence of any evidence of venality" on McKean's part and declined to prosecute under the Ethics in Government Act.

Disappointing decision

Rep. William D. Ford (D-Mich.), the committee chairman, indicated dissatisfaction with that decision. He demanded that the Justice Dept. elaborate on its reasons for dropping the case against McKean and directed the GAO to resume its investigation into the incident.

McKean's links with Meese surfaced in 1983 when the latter was still a senior member of the Reagan White House staff. It was disclosed that he arranged a $40,000 loan for Meese, who later supported him for the Postal Service appointment.

McKean also played a role in setting up a $60,000 loan to the wife of former White House aide Michael Deaver. Currently a multi-million-dollar Washington consultant, Deaver is the target of a probe centering on possible conflicts of interest since he left the White House staff.

The GAO and the Office of Government Ethics investigated the loans to Reagan's two advisers, but the Justice Dept. allowed Meese to correct what it termed "technical" flaws in his financial disclosure statement without bringing any criminal charges against him.

Armed with the $550,000 Postal Service contract in 1983, Littler, Mendelson, Fastiff & Tichy worked behind the scenes in negotiations with the postal unions. It concocted a scheme to wrest major givebacks from present employees and inaugurate a two-tier system that would pay future workers a cut-rate scale.

The law firm emerged into the open only when the deadlocked contract talks resulted in arbitration. At that time, the firm presented the Postal Service's case to the arbitrator. The result was a victory for the unions—a wage increase instead of the proposed cuts and rejection of the two-tier pay plan.

Toxic cleanup bill passes by veto-proof margin

Continued from Page 1

The House passed such a bill. But the Senate Finance Committee abandoned the effort in the face of Administration hostility and a crowded Senate calendar.

The Superfund bill was a rare example of a yearlong House-Senate deadlock that was broken with a compromise that pleased nearly everyone but the President and his aides.

The original Superfund program was launched in 1980 after the Love Canal contamination in New York state had dramatized the environmental threats of abandoned toxic dump sites. The Superfund, which picks up the cost when the illegal dumpers can't be found, was financed for five years with a $1.2-billion allocation, primarily from a petrochemical tax.

Hazardous waste dumps were found to be more widespread than had been anticipated and the cleanup effort began at a snail's pace in the scandal-ridden Environmental Protection Agency.

By the time EPA had been given new leadership, authority for the program had about run out. It has been continued the past year on a stopgap basis while Congress wrestled with permanent legislation.

Conferees agrees on a $9-billion program over five years, including $500 million to fix leaking underground tanks.

Industry tax

The funds will come chiefly from taxes on both domestic and imported oil, on chemical feedstuffs and on corporation profits over $2 million, plus a fraction-of-a-cent rise in the federal gasoline tax and $1.25 billion from general revenues.

In another environmental area, a House-Senate conference was working towards a final version of a broadly supported pesticide bill. It includes provisions for standards to protect farmworkers and other persons whose work brings them in contact with pesticides.

A House-passed bill was marred by an amendment added on the floor barring states from imposing stricter pesticide standards than the Environmental Protection Agency required. A similar amendment was in the bill the Senate took up. But the Senate voted to strip that restriction from the bill and the issue is before the conferees.

In another development, Reagan Administration opposition to labor protection provisions for railroad workers who might lose their jobs deadlocked a House-Senate conference on a bill directing the public sale of Conrail. The House conferees, who had sought to retain the worker protection provision, finally backed down to keep the bill alive.

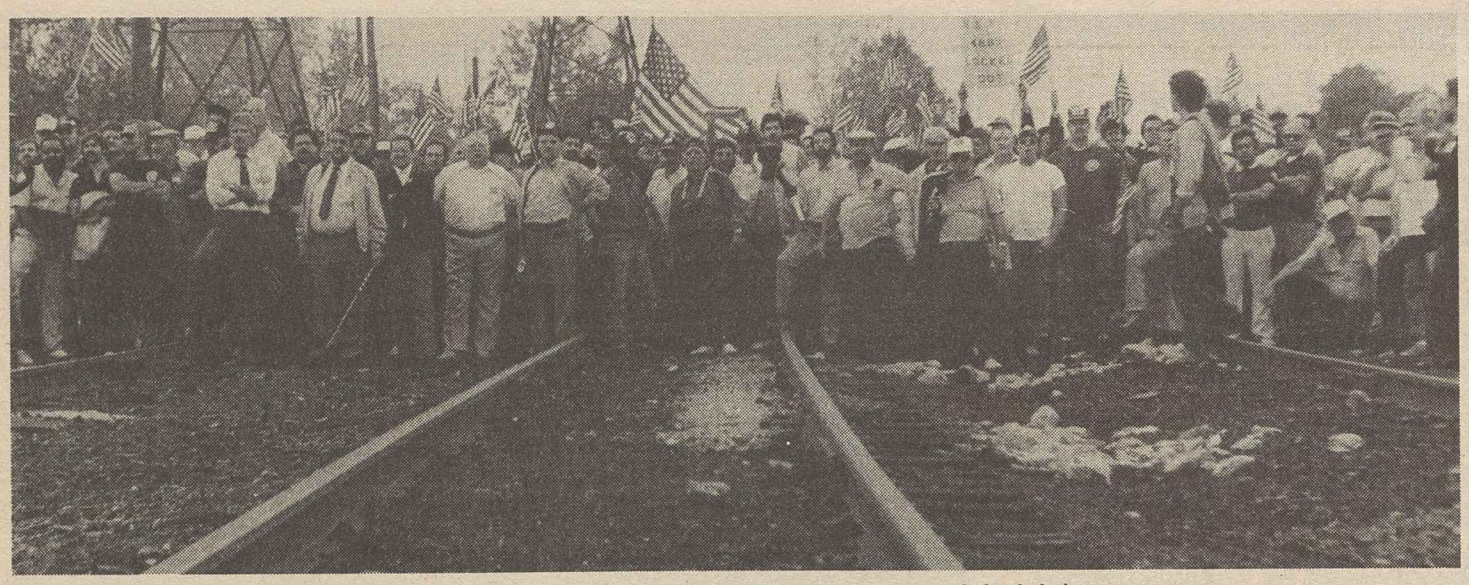
Even an emergency bill to fund government agencies for two days while Congress struggled to reach agreement on long-term legislation was not immune from a veto threat.

The short-term funding bills originally passed by the House and Senate included a provision allowing the rehiring of the air traffic controllers Reagan fired after their 1981 strike.

Reagan vendetta

It merely lifted the blacklist at a time when the shortage of experienced controllers has approached a crisis stage and did not require their rehiring. But the White House sent word that the President would veto the entire bill if the provision stayed in, even if it meant the shutdown of most government functions. Under that threat, the provision was dropped before the measure was sent to the President.

Congress had originally set an Oct. 3 adjournment goal, so as to allow a full month of uninterrupted political campaigning. Adjournment date is now uncertain.



Locked-out USX workers cover the tracks at the Fairless Hills plant near Philadelphia.

Steelworkers keep pressure on USX

Steelworkers locked out by USX Corp. are keeping the pressure on the giant steelmaker with picket line demonstrations and community endorsements, while AFL-CIO affiliates, central bodies and individual union members rally behind the USWA with contributions to the Steelworkers Support Committee Defense Fund.

More than 600 locked-out USWA members near Philadelphia held a mass rally outside the USX Fairless Hills plant, protesting the steelmaker's attempt to ship 30,000 tons of unfinished steel to a plant in California, jointly owned by USX and a Korean firm.

Similar protests have been held by workers at USX mills in Fairfield, Ala., and Lorain, Ohio.

The AFL-CIO established the defense fund with a $50,000 start-up contribution in August. The fund has collected nearly $160,000 in donations to aid USWA members and their families who are in their third month of joblessness.

Federation Vice President Murray Finley, chairman of the Steelworkers Support Committee, said the funds are needed "to help get the message to the public" and turn the spotlight on the steelmaker's abuses of its workers and their union."

The defense fund has been boosted by $50,000 from the Auto Workers, donations ranging from $100 to $10,000 from at least 17 affiliates and central bodies, and individual contributions.

The USX lockout began Aug. 1, when the steelmaker rejected the USWA's offer to continue working under the expired contract while negotiations continued.

USX is demanding wage and benefit cuts totaling $3.30 an hour and wants to expand the contracting-out of work, a move that would eliminate at least 6,000 union jobs. The company has refused to open its financial records to the USWA and rejects the union's offer of wage and benefit relief in exchange for company stock and a profit-sharing plan.

USX refusal

Of the six major steel producers, only USX has refused to join the USWA in a campaign to save America's manufacturing jobs and industries.

Contributions from members and unions should be mailed to the AFL-CIO Steelworkers Support Committee Defense Fund, 815 16th St., N.W., Room 807, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Meanwhile, labor supporters nationwide are calling on USX to respect its workers and the collective bargaining process and are signing onto the AFL-CIO's National Citizens Committee.

Committee members endorsed a statement recognizing the efforts of labor and other steel producers in reaching agreements "that will help labor and management move forward in these difficult times. They called on USX to "follow the same course."

The statement will appear as an advertisement in newspapers nationwide and will be distributed in steel communities.

The newest members of the committee include: Rev. Arie Brouwer, National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA; Rev. Dr. Charles Rooks, United Church Board for Homeland Ministeries; Rev. Philip Newell, Corporate Social Justice, Presbyterian Church; Rev. Benjamin Hooks, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Rev. Joseph Lowrey, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Coretta Scott King; Rep. Robert Garcia (D-N.Y.); Eleanor Smeal, National Organization for Women; former Labor Secretaries Ray Marshall and W. Willard Wirtz; Miami Dolphins quarterback Dan Marino; Washington Redskins linebacker Neal Olkewicz; Chicago Bears strong safety Dave Duerson; New England Patriots tackle Brian Holloway, and National Football League Players Association President Marvin Powell, tackle for the Tampa Bay Buccaneers.

Kirkland presses for Soviet release of jailed unionist

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland called on the Reagan Administration to demand freedom for union leader Anatoly Marchenko, imprisoned by Soviet authorities for his role as a human rights activist and for writing critically about the Soviet prison camp system.

Marchenko's fate has long been of concern to the American labor movement, Kirkland declared, and the federation "stands in solidarity" with him and with "other courageous defenders of human and trade union rights in the USSR." He noted that in 1977, Marchenko was one of six human rights leaders "prevented by Soviet authorities from attending the AFL-CIO's national convention" in Los Angeles.

Kirkland pointed out that Marchenko is now in the third month of a hunger strike "protesting the harsh conditions of his confinement." The building tradesman is demanding that "criminal charges be brought against prison officials who beat him unconscious," Kirkland said, and is "asking that his wife, whom he has not seen since 1984, be allowed to visit him."

Marchenko's hunger strike is being conducted in Chistopol Prison, where dissident trade unionist Mark Morozov died last August at the age of 54 "as a result of the brutal conditions" of his nearly seven years' imprisonment, the AFL-CIO president stressed.

As the Vienna Review Conference on Security & Cooperation in Europe prepares for its November meeting, Kirkland said, Marchenko's "mistreatment by Soviet authorities is a stark reminder of the USSR's continuing violation of fundamental human rights guaranteed by the Helsinki Accords."

Marchenko is serving a ten-year prison sentence to be followed by five years in exile for his civil rights activities that resulted in the Soviets branding him a "dissident."

Key LaRouche cult figures indicted in credit card scam

A federal grand jury indictment in Boston and police raids on the Lyndon LaRouche headquarters in Leesburg, Va., linked the mystery-shrouded political cult to credit-card frauds.

The indictment charged ten LaRouche lieutenants and five of his front organizations with altering credit card amounts, defrauding contributors and obstructing justice.

Individuals who were indicted included a LaRouche "security consultant" with Ku Klux Klan and Nazi movement links.

Organizations charged included the National Caucus of Labor Committees, one of the earlier LaRouche fronts, several campaign committees and a group of publications his followers peddled at airports or sold to gullible business executives.

LaRouche, who has veered erratically from the far left to the far right of the political spectrum, regularly denounces his foes as dope-pushers and homosexuals. In his world of conspiracies, the Queen of England runs a dope ring, Henry Kissinger is a British agent and Walter Mondale is a Soviet KGB agent.

Claims Soviet 'pressure'

In similar vein, a LaRouche spokesman denounced the indictment and police raid as a result of "pressure" from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Early this year, the victory of two LaRouche followers in the Illinois Democratic state primary caused some political tremors—forcing Adlai Stevenson III to drop off the Democratic ticket to avoid running for governor paired with a LaRouche candidate for lieutenant governor.

The plus side of the episode was a national spotlight on the attempt of the LaRouche cult to infiltrate the Democratic party organization and run for a variety of offices.

The LaRouche movement has its international branches, principally in Germany, and LaRouche front groups have wooed prominent Latin American political figures.

The Supreme Court recently let stand a jury's $250,000 libel award to the NBC network. LaRouche has avoided paying the money, claiming that he is just a guest in the $1.3-million mansion in which he lives. His friends take care of his needs, LaRouche told reporters.

According to the indictment, his "friends" raised more than $1 million in fraudulent credit card billings, in many cases using card numbers obtained from subscription sales of LaRouche publications. Other charges included persuading contributors to make loans to LaRouche organizations which were not repaid.

Jobless surge reflects failed trade policies

Continued from Page 1

Workers who are unemployed for more than 27 weeks fare even worse, with just 2.1 percent of the 1.8 million longterm jobless Americans receiving benefits.

BLS noted that only 44 percent of the goods-producing jobs lost during the 1981-82 Reagan recession have been restored. Earlier, the bureau had estimated that manufacturing employment actually increased by 19,000 jobs in August, but revised that figure to show a gain of just 1,000.

The bureau's business payroll survey showed that service sector employment—predominantly low-paying jobs—grew by only 150,000 in September, after registering gains of 247,000 in July and 139,000 in August. It also concluded that the overall labor force grew by just 57,000 jobs.

Only the Reagan Administration could see a bright future in the nation's economic outlook, with spokesman Larry Speakes boasting of an America "in its 47th consecutive month of economic expansion." Instead, most economists found the continuing decline in manufacturing jobs and the two consecutive months of sluggish growth in service industries to be further evidence of "an economy in the doldrums," as the Joint Economic Committee concluded.

Negative report

Robert Wescott, senior economist at Wharton Econometric Forecasting called the unemployment figures "a pretty negative report," while Robert Dedrick, chief economist at Northern Trust Co. stressed that an economy with a "split personality" between goods and services "can't muster more than sluggish growth."

And Allen Sinai, chief economist for Shearson Lehman Bros., declared that the September unemployment figures clearly show that "the goods side of the U.S. economy remains, for manufacturing, in a recession and for mining, a depression.

The greatest increase in joblessness was experienced by young men ages 20 to 24 whose unemployment rate jumped from 10.3 to 12 percent. That increase was partly attributed to the growing number of students who leave college for financial reasons but cannot find work.

For adult men, the unemployment rate rose from 5.9 to 6.2 percent, while women experienced an increase in joblessness of one-tenth of 1 percent, to 6.2 percent. Black unemployment was up two-tenths of 1 percent, to 14.8 percent, with joblessness among Hispanics increasing from 11 to 11.1 percent. The unemployment rate for teenagers jumped a full percentage point to 18.7 percent.

Unemployment rose sharply in a number of states, led by a seven-tenths of 1 percent jump in Michigan to 8.9 percent. In Ohio, the unemployment rate rose to 8.5 percent, a three-tenths of 1 percent increase over last month, while Pennsylvania's jobless rate grew to 6.9 percent from 6.6 percent in August. In California, the rate fell from 6.6 percent to 6.4 percent, and in Texas, from 9.2 to 9 percent.

Congress orders EPA action on school asbestos removal

Congress gave final approval to union-backed legislation that requires schools to get rid of hazardous asbestos and directs the Environmental Protection Agency to set standards for safe removal by certified contractors.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney praised the bipartisan effort that steered the bill to passage through a crowded end-of-the-session congressional agenda. Rep. James J. Florio (D-N.J.) and Sen. Robert T. Stafford (R-Vt.) were principal sponsors.

The legislation was also welcomed by the Teachers, whose members share with the nation's school children the cancer risk from asbestos fibers that enter the atmosphere from deteriorating building materials. School custodians and other maintenance workers have been at special risk from unsafe asbestos removal methods that sometimes turned boiler rooms into death traps.

Until now, schools were required to inspect for asbestos hazards but not compelled to do anything about it. And despite repeated prodding, including a still-pending SEIU lawsuit, EPA balked at issuing regulations to ensure effective clean-up operations.

The new law requires EPA to issue regulations within one year for mandatory school inspections and reinspections, and to set standards for the safe removal of asbestos.

EPA is required to develop a model program for states to certify contractors whose employees are trained to identify and safely remove asbestos hazards.

If EPA fails to meet the one-year deadline, standards written into the legislation will be put into effect.

The legislation also requires EPA to study asbestos problems in other buildings, public and private, and to recommend whether they should also be subject to asbestos removal requirements.

The AFL-CIO American

Federationist

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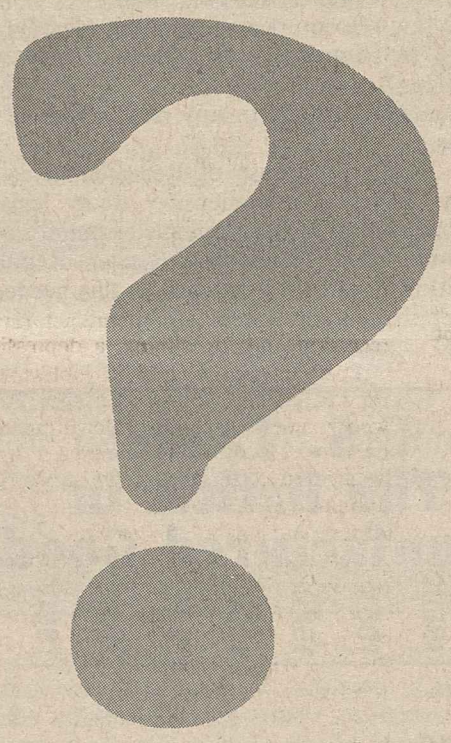
Where Have All the Good Jobs Gone



FOR THE first time in their history, Americans see a generation of children who cannot reasonably expect to do as well as their parents. Even worse, too many opinion makers accept this as if it were our natural destiny. The 1980s are "different" from previous decades, they claim, and nothing can be done about America's declining standard of living, its shrinking share of the world's economy, and its recession levels of unemployment.

The 1980s are different—but the members of the 92 unions that make up the AFL-CIO refuse to accept the inevitability of these downward trends. Working people in America form and join unions because they want to raise their standard of living, to broaden their nation's prosperity, to obtain a measure of security in their jobs for themselves and their families, and to take a greater role in the political process. The relative affluence enjoyed by the vast majority of Americans today is testimony to the success of the American labor movement in creating broad avenues of opportunity to reach the middle class.

Today, a number of forces—new technologies and materials, hasty deregulation, the shift to a service economy, and unfair foreign competition—have reshaped the world of work. All are factors that could be harnessed for our benefit. That they have not been is a failure of national policy.

In a democracy, our government fails us only if we allow it. And fortunately, in a democracy there is always another chance.

THE LONG ROAD back begins with the elections on November 4, 1986—our next chance to put our stamp on our own future. I hope that you will do all you can in the weeks ahead to transmit the economic facts on the following pages to your union members and to the American voters, in whatever way you feel is most appropriate.

On election day, the American public can give us what we seek—a new mandate for a just society.

Lane Kirkland

SLOGANS CAN'T REPLACE ECONOMIC POLICY

The Reagan Republican Administration has failed to give America the economic prosperity it promised. Long on rhetoric and short on performance, this Administration has substituted slogans for substance and ignored important and far-reaching national problems. The mishandling of the nation's economy has led to deep recession, stagnation, continued high unemployment, increased poverty and reduced standards of living for many people.

- Unemployment is higher. The average national jobless rate was 8.3 percent in 1981-1985; up from 6.2 percent in the 1970s and 4.8 percent in the 1960s.
- Between 1980 and 1985, 7.8 million jobs were created, 5.7 million fewer than the 13.5 million created during the five years from 1975 to 1980.
- The average worker's weekly paycheck buys less than it did in 1980.
- There is a worsening maldistribution of wealth in the U.S. The incidence of poverty is higher and middle-income families have been badly squeezed.
- The Reagan-supported high interest rate policy which was supposed to curb inflation without causing a business slowdown didn't work. It created a deep and prolonged recession, throwing millions out of work, many permanently.
- The supply-side tax cuts of 1981 were touted as a means to large increases in private investment and economic growth. But they failed: Investment accounts for a smaller share of the economy in the 1980s than in the 1970s or 1960s.
- The nation's trade deficit, based on figures for the first 8 months of the year, will be at a record $175 billion in 1986.
- Yearly real growth of the Gross National Product since 1981 was only 2.3 percent, compared with 2.8 percent in the 1970s and 3.8 percent in the 1960s.
- Inflation has abated, but primarily because of the severe recession and the consequent excess capacity, including high levels of joblessness. It is currently kept in check by a high jobless rate, the glut of oil, a huge trade imbalance and low plant utilization. The nation's factories are operating at 79.6 percent of capacity, which is below the annual rates for 1984 and 1985.

"Today, the purchase of a home is often possible only with a second income in the household."

- Productivity is weak. Productivity growth since the deep Reagan recession has been the lowest of any postwar recovery period. Productivity growth is essential to lasting improvements in wages and living standards. Over the past several years, the private economy has been weak, and productivity-raising public investments in research and development, infrastructure, and in education and training have been cut back sharply.

The economy is weak, growth is far too slow and uneven, with whole sectors and regions of the economy on the ropes. Many service industries are prospering, and many states along the East and West coasts are doing well. Regions and communities dependent on manufacturing, however, have been depressed by plant shutdowns and slowdowns.

Manufacturing has been hurt by the overvalued dollar, low-wage foreign competition and the lack of a national trade policy. The United States has 2 million fewer manufacturing jobs now than in 1979, with the hardest hit sectors in primary and fabricated metals, machinery, electrical and transportation manufacturing, textiles, apparel, food and the petroleum industry.

Areas dependent on timber, mining, agriculture and petroleum are currently in the doldrums, hurt by, among other things, the still-high value of the dollar and the recent fall in world oil prices. Farmers are facing the highest levels of bankruptcies since the 1930s.

The current level of unemployment in the U.S. is high by historical standards and is worse than it appears on the surface. Official counts omit discouraged workers who have stopped the futile search for jobs and part-time workers unable to secure full-time employment. While 8.3 million are officially jobless,

another 6.7 million workers are discouraged or underemployed in part-time jobs.

Black and Hispanic workers have been hit particularly hard by the unemployment of the 1980s. Recent statistics show one in seven blacks and one in nine Hispanics are unemployed, compared with one in 17 whites. Almost 40 percent of America's black teenagers are unemployed.

The social and economic costs of all this unemployment have been staggering. The U.S. economy loses nearly $150 billion in unproduced goods and services each year for every percentage point of unemployment, while the federal treasury loses revenue and must spend billions for income assistance. Sustained unemployment increases suicide, murder, crime, stress-related disease and mental disorders.

As the number of Americans struggling with unemployment has risen, the support available to them has dropped. Only about one-third of the unemployed received unemployment compensation benefits in 1984 and 1985, compared to the one-half in 1980, and the two-thirds in 1976. Of the more than 1 million workers jobless for 27 weeks or more, only about 1 percent received benefits in 1986.

Many of today's unemployed are workers who have lost their jobs because of shutdowns, relocations, slack work or the elimination of jobs or shifts. Despite the economic recovery experienced in 1983 and 1984, about 1.4 million workers lost their jobs during that time because of plant closings or permanent layoffs, according to the General Accounting Office. The GAO found that 16,000 establishments with more than 50 employees were forced to close or lay off employees during 1983 and 1984. GAO estimates that an average of 2.3 million workers were dislocated annually between 1979 and 1984.

"Two out of three Americans out of work today get no unemployment benefits of any kind. America has 35 million citizens without health insurance."

Displacement will continue to idle productive workers and rob once-healthy communities of their economic base as long as the economy remains sluggish, the towering trade deficit continues and corporations emphasize short-term profits through financial manipulations rather than long-term economic growth. Many displaced workers face long stretches of unemployment, and even those who find new work often experience a sharp decline in wages. Displacement has disproportionately affected manufacturing workers, forcing many who once earned solid industrial wages to take much lower paying jobs in service and retail trade sectors.

The economy is stagnant and threatens to fall back into recession. The current economic slowdown is characterized by continued high unemployment, declining worker buying power, burgeoning deficits, deepening under-utilization of plants and decreasing investment in new plant and equipment.

The severe problems of the mushrooming trade deficit and massive budget deficits pose a severe threat to the long-term health of the economy.

The dramatic rise in imports during the Reagan Administration has been fueled by low wages in foreign countries and the high U.S. dollar, which has been supported by the government's high interest rate policy. The artificially high value of the dollar has encouraged a flood of imports and made American-made goods more expensive to overseas customers. Action taken to lower the dollar's value has been too little and too late.

The Administration has been unwilling to adopt positive government policies to deal with the economic dislocation and the loss of jobs caused by the trade deficit, simplistically labeling all such proposals "protectionist." Under the Administration's "free trade" policies, however, the $40 billion trade deficit of 1980 tripled to a record $149 billion in 1985, and a projected $175 billion in 1986, and the U.S. has shifted from a creditor to a debtor nation.

The federal debt has doubled from $1 trillion in 1981 to $2 trillion in 1986. The deficit, which will amount to a record $230 billion in 1986 alone, means that funds must be diverted from needed domestic programs in order to service the debt and pay for the ongoing defense buildup which is a priority of the Administration. The deficit also requires borrowing on a massive scale, which keeps upward pressure on interest rates. Tax reform passed by Congress in 1986 is beneficial in many respects but does nothing to address the deficit problem.

TRADE

The Reagan Republican Administration has left U.S. industries and American workers defenseless against an onslaught of imports spurred by foreign government practices and the U.S. economic policies. The consequences of the failure to adopt a strong and predictable trade policy are being felt in all sectors of the economy through plant closings, bankruptcies, farm foreclosures and recessionary unemployment levels.

In early 1986, as America was recording trade deficits that would have been unthinkable a few years ago, President Reagan said in his annual Economic Report of the President: "Our international trade policy rests firmly on the foundation of free and open markets. The benefits of free trade are well known: it generates more jobs, a more productive use of a nation's resources, more rapid innovation, and high standards of living both for this nation and its trading partners." The Council of Economic Advisers elaborated, saying that job losses in the industrial sector were simply the result of improved efficiency and high wages, and that anyone who suggested otherwise has "an inadequate understanding of the benefits of trade."

For the millions of workers whose jobs were lost to imports or declining exports, this explanation provides little comfort. The shoeworker knows she is not overpaid at $6 an hour. The semiconductor worker knows he was efficient, but was still replaced by foreign production.

Where are the jobs this policy claims to generate? Since World War II, America has had only 8 years with an unemployment rate above 7 percent, and six of those years were the years 1981 through 1986. The ninth will be 1986, as the Administration ignores trade policy in the name of "free and open" markets.

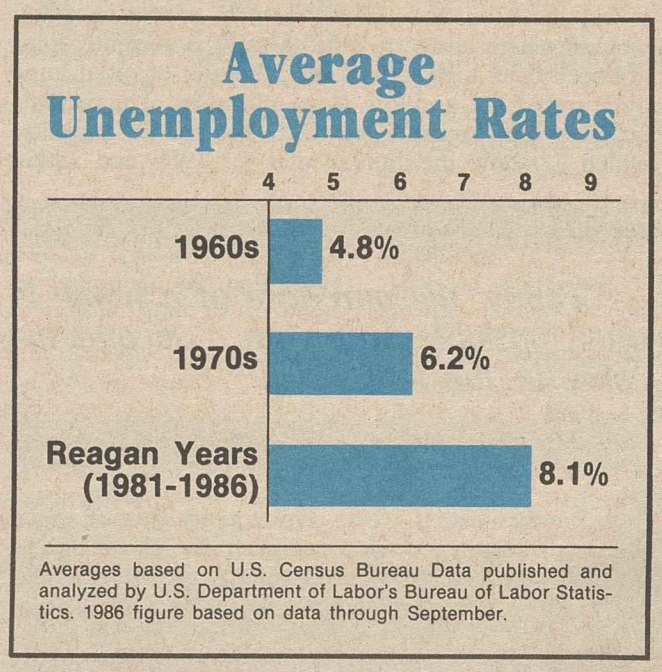
The Department of Commerce estimated in January 1986 that in 1984 alone, 2.3 million jobs in manufacturing were displaced by trade, with a net loss of 1.1 million for the economy as a whole. A Labor Department study of displaced workers showed that between 1979 and 1984, 11.5 million workers lost their jobs to plant closure, slack work or layoffs—years when our trade deficit was growing dramatically.

Similarly, the benefits derived by other countries from U.S. reliance on free trade bear careful scrutiny. Who, for example, gains from the assembly of electronic components in less developed countries? Not the worker who is frequently prohibited from organizing and bargaining collectively and is paid subsistence wages or less in an unhealthy or dangerous work environment.

The mystical dream world of "free trade" with which this Administration stands enchanted is a world that never was and never will be.

Where are the free and open markets on which President Reagan bases his trade policy? Do they exist in Japan, the European Community, Brazil, Taiwan or Mexico? Are free and open markets defined by quotas, stringent inspection requirements, discriminatory standards, export subsidies and incentives, industrial targeting programs, buy-national policies, export performance requirements, barter agreements and co-production requirements?

The dimensions of the problem are startling. The U.S. merchandise trade deficit in 1985 was 3½ times higher than in 1980. For manufactured goods alone, America has gone from a surplus of $12 billion in 1980 to a deficit last year that reached $113 billion. During this period, exports fell 2.5 percent, while imports of manufactured products shot up an astonishing 96 percent. In 1985, the import share of the U.S. market reached 50 percent for apparel, 23 percent for autos, 36 percent for machine tools, 25 percent for steel and more than 75 percent for shoes.



Averages based on U.S. Census Bureau Data published and analyzed by U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. 1986 figure based on data through September.

Trade deficits were experienced even in advanced products like semiconductors and telecommunications equipment. Through the first eight months of 1986, the deficit was running higher than in 1985 and had already reached $115 billion at a pace that will reach $175 billion by the end of the year, with manufactured goods accounting for $146 billion.

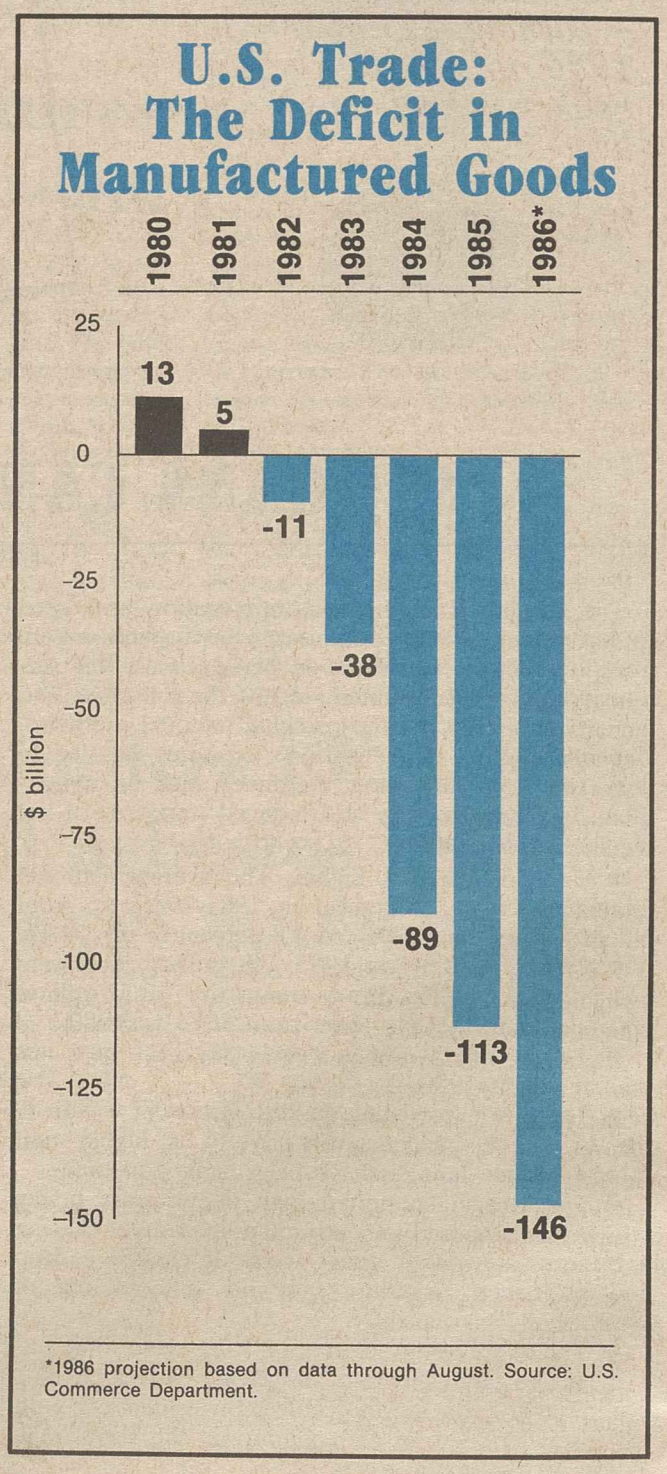
The Reagan Administration has steadfastly refused to act on this problem and is relying solely on the falling dollar exchange rates and multilateral trade negotiations to provide a solution. While the dollar has fallen significantly from its peak of February 1985, there has been little impact on trade flows. Further, much of America's problems are unrelated to exchange rate issues. For example, U.S. bilateral trade deficits grew substantially with countries like Taiwan and South Korea, which essentially tie their currencies to the United States. The U.S. bilateral trade deficit with Japan grew dramatically even though the dollar had appreciated only marginally against the yen. Trade negotiations will take five years at minimum and cannot be expected to provide immediate solutions to the trade crisis.

Changes in exchange rates or multilateral trade negotiations will not by themselves provide the solution to America's trade crisis. Changes in trade law and policy are urgently needed to provide predictable relief to industries and workers injured by imports; to mandate governmental action when U.S. commerce is negatively affected by unreasonable or discriminatory practices of foreign governments; and to require countries that enjoy unwarranted trade surpluses with the United States and maintain barriers to U.S. goods to begin to reduce those excessive surpluses.

Trade legislation should include:

- Provisions to reduce unwarranted trade surpluses with the United States;
- Effective worker rights provisions;
- Trade law reform, providing more effective relief from injury by imports and protection from unfair trade practices;
- Adequate safeguards in any new round of trade negotiations.

In May 1986, the House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed comprehensive trade legislation that contained many of the elements essential to begin addressing the trade crisis. The Reagan Republican Administration is violently opposed to this needed bill, and the Republican-controlled Senate has so far been unwilling to consider similar legislation.



*1986 projection based on data through August. Source: U.S. Commerce Department.

AMERICAN WORKERS AND THEIR JOBS

The Reagan Republican policies of the 1980s have contributed to a continued shortage of jobs, a shift away from basic industries and a rise in unemployment. They have resulted in income loss among those thrown out of work and a reduction in the living standards of those lucky enough still to have jobs. The terms and conditions of work have also been eroded. For many there is lower pay, less safety and health protection on the job and fewer worker rights.

America has undergone a dramatic shift in recent years. Since 1979, the United States has lost almost 2 million manufacturing jobs. They have been replaced by low-wage, low-skill jobs in "services"—wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance, fast food franchises and the like.

Slow economic growth and the lack of a responsible trade policy have added to the problem of finding jobs for dislocated people and newcomers to the workforce, resulting in an increase in joblessness. Unemployment declined from the peaks of the deep Reagan Republican recession, but the jobless rate is still very high by historical standards and has not declined significantly in the last two years. It has hovered around 7 percent. In other words, after four years of economic expansion, working people are still experiencing recession levels of unemployment.

Some groups fare much worse than average. The national rate of unemployment masks the higher rates for the groups hardest hit by today's bad economic climate. In August, about one in six teenagers, one in seven blacks and one in ten women who maintain families was jobless. There were more than 3 1/2 million jobless adult men, almost 3 million jobless adult women seeking work and 1.5 million jobless teens.

Joblessness has resulted in great human suffering. Millions of American workers have lost their jobs because of plant closings and job shifts, spending long periods of time searching for work. In addition to the loss of self-esteem and feelings of self-worth, jobless workers have lost needed income and, in many cases, health insurance vital to meeting family needs. Two

"Union workers have fared better than nonunion in the past six years—earning $11.85 an hour in mid-1986 to $9.60 for nonunion. But neither is keeping up with the cost of living."

out of three Americans out of work today get no unemployment benefits of any kind. America has 35 million citizens without health insurance.

Even those still working have had a year-by-year decline in average real wages. Real spendable weekly earnings—earnings in dollars adjusted for inflation—fell from an average of $162 per week in 1979 to $148 in July of 1986. This kind of decline in income sharply erodes living standards and makes it necessary for families to tighten their belts and send more family members into the workforce.

Although most all categories of workers have been squeezed during the Reagan Administration, blue-collar production workers have had a particularly difficult time. The Employment Cost Index shows wage changes not adjusted for the effects of inflation and it shows that executives got substantially more than workers over the past six years. The wages and salaries for executive, administrative and managerial occupations have increased 28 percent since Reagan's election. Wages and salaries of clerical and administrative-support workers have increased 26 percent, and the wages of blue-collar workers have increased only 19 percent.

The impact of the Administration's trade, employment, fiscal, monetary and regulatory policies are nowhere more evident than at the collective bargaining table. Union workers have had to develop re-employment programs and shift to stock ownership, lump-sum payments and profit-sharing to deal with employment insecurity, foreign trade imbalances, the inflated value of the dollar and government-approved employer opposition to free collective bargaining. All of these factors have helped undermine collective bargaining settlements.

Although the Employment Cost Index fails to reflect all benefits being negotiated, like lump-sum payments, profit sharing, stock ownership, lifetime job guarantees and retraining plans, the index does point out that even represented workers are suffering under the Reagan Administration, although less than those without unions.

In mid-1981, union workers averaged $14.04 per hour in wages and benefits, and were at $9.56 per hour in wages alone. Nonunion workers were at $10.38 in wages and benefits and $7.66 in wages. Thus, in 1981, the typical union worker was earning 35 percent more than the average nonunion worker.

The union worker's position improved slightly in the next five years. In June 1986, union workers' wages and benefits averaged $17.79 per hour and $11.85 in wages—38 percent higher than the nonunion worker's average of $12.87 in wages and benefits and $9.60 in wages.

Although union workers fared better than nonunion, the fact remains that neither is keeping up with the cost of living and that working people are not getting a fair share of the nation's wealth.

Workers' needs for training and re-training are not being met. The Reagan budgets put employment and training very low on the list of national priorities. Federal funding of employment and training assistance has dropped from $9.5 billion in fiscal 1981 to $5.6 billion in fiscal 1986. The public service employment program, which provided needed work experience to those unable to enter the world of work, has been eliminated. Under the Job Training Partnership Act, emphasis is on helping the most job-ready, rather than on those most in need of training.

There has been a continuing attack by Reagan Republicans on the whole web of protections and regulations which foster worker rights and help assure decent wages.

The minimum wage has not been raised in more than five years. After adjusting for inflation, the minimum wage has fallen by 23 percent since January 1981 and is now at its lowest real level since 1955. The Reagan Republican Administration has attempted to further undercut the wage structure by advocating a sub-minimum wage for youth.

In the America of the fall of 1986, it took $5.39 an hour to get a family out of poverty, and about $13.50 an hour to reach what the government calls its "intermediate" standard of living for a family of four. Yet the minimum wage stood at $3.35 an hour, with no improvements voted since 1978, and the average U.S. wage earner earns $8.77 an hour.

The enforcement of health and safety regulations has gone down. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration's budget has declined since fiscal 1981 and personnel have been cut by 25 percent.

Many of the economic gains made by minorities and women over the last few decades have been curtailed or eliminated by the Reagan Republican Administration as a result of budget slashes, the destruction of social programs, crippling of employment and training programs, attacks on affirmative action and the weakening of equal employment opportunity law enforcement.

The National Labor Relations Board has modified the direction of key policies, undermining union organizing efforts and basic worker rights. The NLRB's case backlog has doubled from 1980 to 1986, effectively denying collective bargaining rights to increasing numbers of workers.

FEDERAL BUDGETS

Over the course of the last few years, there has been a big shift in federal budget priorities. The Administration's massive, unfair 1981 tax cuts undercut the federal Treasury, leading to unprecedented annual deficits and a doubling of the national debt. If taxes had remained at their pre-1981 levels, the nation would have no budget deficit in 1986. The amount spent each year to pay interest on the debt has nearly tripled and military spending has doubled. If the 1980 share of the budget devoted to the military and interest on the debt prevailed in 1986, about $94 billion would be available for deficit reduction or other national needs.

These factors plus the economy's slow growth—with consequent losses in tax revenue—have increased pressure to slash domestic programs. Many effective and badly needed domestic programs have been ended or cut back sharply as a result.

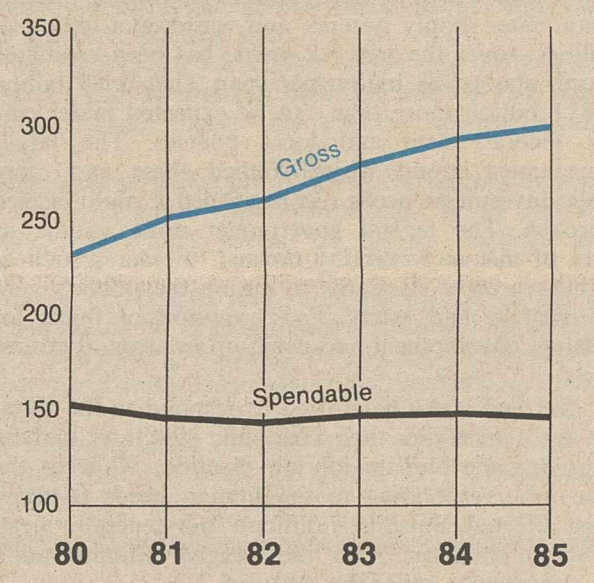
The deficit problem is not going to go away. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in August reckoned the deficit for this year at more than $28 billion worse than had been thought in February. OMB figures the deficit to be $230 billion instead of the $202 billion previously thought, and worse than the fiscal 1985 record of $212 billion. The widening gap was due to an almost $12 billion shortfall in receipts because of the weak economy and an almost $16 billion jump in outlays, in part because of higher-than-expected payments for defense and farm price supports.

The fiscal 1987 budget resolution passed late in June by the Congress blunted the military buildup and rejected the Reagan request to further slash or end domestic programs. The resolution falls $15 billion to $20 billion short of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit law targets for 1987. Defense budget authority is $28 billion less than the Administration requested for 1987. Domestic programs are frozen or cut generally, except for selected priority programs like health and education, which would receive increases. The resolution also contains a contingency fund for unmet needs, if requested.

"By focusing solely on the spending side of the budget, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings ignores the sensible and fair solutions—loophole closing, better enforcement and fairer income taxes."

Congressional frustration with the mushrooming Reagan Republican deficits led to a senseless and unfair action: the automatic Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction process. If enforced, it would arbitrarily and automatically cut programs across the board without regard to needs. By focusing solely on the spending side of the budget, it ignores the role of loophole closing, better enforcement and fairer income taxes in the deficit reduction process.

Stagnant Buying Power



	Gross	Spendable
1980	$235.10	$151.65
1981	$255.20	$147.05
1982	$267.26	$145.77
1983	$280.70	$148.60
1984	$292.86	$149.96
1985	$299.09	$147.56

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Spendable earnings for 1982 forward calculated by AFL-CIO using BLS methods.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE

During the Reagan Republican years, programs to help local and regional economies grow and prosper have been constantly undercut. Federal aid for state and local governments, including assistance for job development, new business creation and infrastructure development, has gone down from almost 16 percent of the total federal budget to about 11 percent.

National job loss has been caused primarily by the high value of the dollar, low-wage foreign competition and the absence of a national trade policy. But economic dislocation in many areas has also been due to

the problems of the domestic oil industry and agriculture. These developments have further weakened local economies by pulling down the businesses that depend on the affected industries, including banks and other firms.

The deregulation of the transportation industries has contributed to the erosion of many regions. Concentrating on more heavily traveled routes, deregulated transportation companies have cut back and even ended service for less populated areas. Businesses cannot survive in an area without reliable, frequent and affordable transportation. Bankruptcies ensue, new

"Roads, bridges, airports, railbeds, ports, waterways, water supply and wastewater treatment systems have deteriorated—and an important source of jobs has been overlooked."

business cannot be attracted, population declines, and transportation-deprived regions deteriorate and often die. Because transportation affects not only direct users but the community and the nation as a whole, a strong government role is needed to ensure continued widespread access to service at affordable rates.

The nation's investment of jobs and capital in public facilities has failed to keep pace with needs. Roads, bridges, airports, railbeds, ports, waterways, water supply and wastewater treatment systems have deteriorated, and an important source of jobs has been overlooked.

To rebuild in four major areas—highways, bridges, urban water supply systems, and wastewater treatment facilities—over the next 12 years, has been estimated to cost about $28 billion per year. That is $9 billion to $11 billion more than can be expected under current federal, state and local policies. The labor-management group which studied these and other public investment needs recommended a multi-faceted approach. The federal government must assume its share of this responsibility through measures such as establishment of standards to ensure the public's general welfare and safety, and provision of funds for research, development and catch-up in areas of critical need.

Cities and states have tried to respond to the situation by diversifying their economic structures and by improving the climate for job creation, while at the same time responding to the human needs of those worst affected. But this is difficult in a generally weak economic situation. Also, the Reagan Administration has consistently called for less aid.

THE FARM ECONOMY

When the Reagan Administration took office in 1981, the continued tight money policy by the Federal Reserve Board was a central plank of the Administration's economic program. This policy ushered in a deep recession in the U.S., quickly followed by a worldwide recession.

Foreign food demands declined at the same time that Third World countries were forced to take over more of the international markets for food products in order to repay their debts. American farmers and their local bank creditors became the losers.

In addition to the pressures upon developing countries to export, from mid-1980 to early 1985, the value of the dollar in international exchange increased about 80 percent. Consequently, the international

"The farmers forced out are not the inefficient and unskilled who dropped out earlier. These are middle-rank operators with well-equipped farming units."

market prices of American farm products rose relative to those of foreign countries; and the U.S. share of world markets for farm products declined. Thus, the U.S. share of the world wheat market between 1978-79 and 1983-84 declined from 45 to 38 percent. The decline in both volume and value of total U.S. farm exports has continued. Between 1980 and 1986, the average price per bushel declined from about $3.90 to $2.40 for wheat, $3.10 to $1.90 for corn, and $7.50 to $4.50 for soybeans. Total assets of U.S. farmers have dropped by $205 billion since 1981 and will drop again in 1986.

Total real estate assets have fallen $180 billion in the same period.

Equity of farm operators has dropped $216 billion since 1981 to a total of $600 billion.

U.S. net farm income, after having dropped by $7 billion in 1985, is expected to decline another $3 billion in 1986.

The farm rate of return on assets has been negative for five straight years. The same is true of the return on equity.

As a result, farmers are being forced out. These are not the inefficient and unskilled farm operators who dropped out earlier. They are middle-rank operators with well-equipped farming units. The liquidity ratio of farm operators generally has dropped below 10 percent and some 38,000 are technically insolvent. The poverty rate on farms rose from 17.7 percent in 1980 to 25 percent in 1985.

The decline of the farm economy spills over into the industrial sector as the demand for tractors, combines, balers and other equipment declines. A study by Iowa State University has indicated that the financial stress in agriculture caused the loss of 327,000 jobs in farm construction and machinery firms from 1977 through 1984. There was a loss of $26.2 billion in total output and a loss of $6.2 billion in wages.

"Iowa State estimated 327,000 jobs were lost in farm construction and equipment from 1977 through 1984, with America losing $26,200,000,000 in output and $6,200,000,000 in wages."

In 1981, agricultural bank failures were only 14 percent of the total number of bank failures for the year. In 1984, the agricultural banks were 41 percent of the total which failed; and late in 1985, they were running more than half the total. Likewise, agricultural banks were more than half the banks on FDIC's list of "troubled banks."

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY

The 1980s have been difficult for America's sick and older citizens. Republicans at the White House and in Congress have repeatedly attacked programs designed to protect these vulnerable groups, advocating cuts in Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, medical research, occupational health and safety efforts, and childhood immunization and nutrition projects.

Over the last five years, Reagan Republicans have worked to lower the Social Security benefits that go

"Public outrage at the proposed Reagan Republican cuts saved Social Security, but health care programs have taken a beating."

to 37 million retired or disabled Americans, their families and survivors of deceased workers. A quarter of our retired elderly depend on Social Security for 90 percent or more of their annual incomes. Yet in 1981, President Reagan tried to cut Social Security by $200 billion through the 1980s. Last year, the Republican-controlled Senate tried to put a one-year freeze on Social Security cost-of-living adjustments.

Public outrage saved Social Security, but health care programs have taken a beating. Medicare was cut more than $21 billion during Reagan's first term of office, and White House budget proposals for fiscal year 1987 called for a cut in funding of another $50 billion over the next five years. Older citizens now face a $492 deductible when entering the hospital, up almost 25 percent from 1985 levels and projected to climb to $732 by 1991. Medicaid now reaches only half of the nation's poor children. Health research efforts have suffered, too, at a time when expenditures for military R&D have soared. And all of this is coming as the mortality rate for infants one-month to one-year old rose for the first time in 18 years.

POVERTY AND HUNGER

During the Reagan Republican years, the incidence of poverty hit an 18-year high. Gains made since this nation declared war on poverty in the mid-1960s were erased.

In 1985, according to the Census Bureau, 33.1 million Americans—14 percent of the population—had incomes below the poverty level. This was an increase of 3.8 million over the number in 1980. The rate of poverty, which was 13 percent in 1980, has never fallen below 14 percent in any year since after the peak of 15.2 percent in 1983.

Among the nation's children, the incidence is even higher: one in five is living in poverty.

Poverty is extremely high for minorities. Among blacks, the poverty rate was 31.3 percent in 1985, and for Hispanics it was 29 percent—up from 25.7 percent in 1980.

In 1980, according to the Census figures, 40 percent of families with the lowest incomes received 16.7 percent of all family income, while the top 20 percent of families accounted for 41.6 percent of the total. By 1985, the bottom 40 percent were down to a 15.5 percent share and the share of the top 20 percent had risen to 43.5 percent.

This meant, in terms of average incomes, that the lowest 40 percent moved from $10,000 per family in 1980 to $12,765 in 1985. After allowing for inflation, this group of families suffered an average 1985 real income loss of $300. Average income for the top 20 percent, on the other hand, moved from $49,865 in 1980 to $71,650 in 1985. Their real incomes, after allowing for inflation, had risen by over $6,500—10 percent.

If the distribution of income had not worsened between 1980 and 1985, the poorest fifth of families would have received $10 billion more in 1985 than they actually did and the wealthiest fifth would have received nearly $40 billion less.

Several studies show that hunger is a serious and growing problem in the United States. Yet in the spring of 1986, President Reagan all but denied its existence, declaring that any hunger is merely the result of poor people's ignorance of where to seek help.

HOUSING

The Reagan Republican Administration has reneged on the long-standing federal commitment to decent and ample housing for all Americans. The result is much hardship and declining housing conditions nationwide for many lower-income persons. Middle-income families have suffered as well.

High interest rates have made it difficult to buy a home. Even with mortgage interest rates currently declining because of the weakness of the national economy, housing is still unaffordable for many. Others have become home owners, but only at great cost.

Today, even with home mortgage costs "down" to 10 percent, the median cost of a home is $80,000, so a family with 10 percent down needs $632 a month just to pay principal and interest. Over the life of a 30-year loan, the interest payment will be $155,000, or about twice the cost of the home.

The purchase of a home is thus made possible in many cases only by a second income in the household, or payment of an extremely high percent of income for home ownership costs, or purchase of a smaller condominium or cooperative unit rather than a traditional house.

A recently-released MIT-Harvard study of housing showed that high housing costs pose serious problems for renters and for first-time home buyers. For rental housing, the study found that the median rent-to-income ratio rose from 20 percent in 1974 to 29 percent in 1983. The number of physically inadequate rental units has increased in recent years, particularly

"If taxes had remained at their pre-1981 levels, the nation would have no budget deficit in 1986."

for single-parent families and for lower-income renters.

Renters were not the only ones to suffer. Home ownership has become more difficult to achieve as well. The study notes that home ownership rates fell between 1980 and 1985, with the greatest decline occurring among households under the age of 35. The study found that the after-tax cash cost for the typical home buyer was about 31 percent of income in 1985, down from 35 percent in the early 1980s but well above the average of about 26 percent in the early 1970s.

Corporate raider sued for draining pension fund

The Clothing & Textile Workers accused corporate takeover artist David Murdock of raiding the pension funds of workers and retirees at Cannon Mills of Kannapolis, N.C., to finance efforts to gobble up other companies and then lining his own pockets to the tune of $25 million.

In a suit filed in U.S. District Court for the Central District of California in Los Angeles, ACTWU charged that the multimillionaire financier and four associates directed plan investments into companies in which Murdock had substantial holdings or firms where he was mounting a takeover campaign.

After Murdock manipulated the pension fund to make substantial investments in Occidental Petroleum and Kaiser Cement Corp., ACTWU declared, he and the other defendants terminated the retirement plan, siphoning off $25 million in "excess" assets in the process.

The ACTWU suit marks the first time that two prominent pension-related issues—breaches of fiduciary duties and plan terminations—have been linked together in a single court challenge.

Healthy pension funds are becoming a favorite target in the escalating war for control of some of the country's giant corporations.

In the case of USX Corp., where 22,000 Steelworkers have been locked out since Aug. 1 and where 23,000 more were laid off immediately prior to the collapse of contract negotiations, industry analysts believe current maneuvers to acquire the giant steelmaker are aimed at milking the pension fund of "surplus assets."

Corporate raiders active

The USX takeover efforts are being mounted by four prominent corporate raiders—T. Boone Pickens, Carl Icahn, Irwin Jacobs and Robert Holmes a Court. The USWA insists that any "surplus" in the pension plan belongs to workers and beneficiaries.

In the ACTWU suit, the union seeks a return to the pension funds of the profits Murdock earned by using plan assets for his takeover activities. ACTWU charged that Murdock invested more than $10 million from the pension fund in Occidental at a time when he had substantial holdings in the oil firm. He was ultimately paid $60 million above the market price for his Occidental shares to fend off the takeover attempt.

A similar technique is being employed in Murdock's on-going efforts to acquire control of Kaiser Cement, the union charged, with a substantial portion of the shares purchased in that takeover effort financed from the pension fund.

ACTWU is also asking for a return of the $25-million "surplus" that Murdock skimmed from the fund, charging that the termination violated the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 which provides that plans be administered for the "exclusive benefit" of plan participants.

Restoration of the money used for Murdock's investments and the profit reaped from the fund termination, the union declared, would increase retirement benefits for each current participant by one-third.

After raiding the pension plan, Murdock sold off most of Cannon's operations to Fieldcrest Mills Inc.

ACTWU filed the suit on behalf of thousands of employees who signed cards authorizing the union to represent them during a recent organizing campaign.

Comeback victories

It lost an initial vote at Cannon Mills in October 1985, but remains a potent organizing force in that region, recently winning three union elections involving some 1,600 workers in the Kannapolis area.

The union "defends the elemental pension rights" of textile workers "who have given their working lives to Cannon Mills," said Bruce Raynor, ACTWU's southern regional director. "We will not allow a wheeler-dealer like Murdock to make a personal fortune using workers' pension savings, then sell the company and walk away with the $25 million he skimmed off."

Longshoremen recess strike as shippers extend contract

Some 31,000 Longshoremen ended a three-day strike that tied up shipping at ports from Searsport, Me., to Hampton Roads, Va., after two management groups agreed to 45-day extensions of contracts that expired at midnight Sept. 30.

The Council of North Atlantic Shipping Associations, which originally insisted on immediate implementation of wage cuts as a condition for extension, backed off from that demand and agreed to continue the previous terms while negotiations on a new master contract continue.

And the New York Shipping Association, which had earlier reached tentative settlement of a master contract covering the ports of New York and Boston, agreed to the extension so that both sides could hammer out unresolved local issues.

At the urging of ILA President Thomas W. Gleason, both sides went back to the bargaining table as the union pressed for a full settlement before the Nov. 17 contract deadline contained in the back-to-work agreement.

CONASA's pre-strike demands called for freezing the wages of longshoremen handling containerized cargo at the present $17-an-hour level. Dockworkers handling heavy cargo such as steel would have their pay slashed to $14 an hour with a 50-cent hourly increase in the third year, and new hires would receive $12 an hour for the life of the contract.

The overwhelming rejection of that offer by ILA members was met by management's refusal to grant an extension, triggering the first major East Coast port tie-up in 15 years.

After the walkout began, CONASA abandoned its demands for a three-tier pay system and proposed an across-the-board cutback to $15 an hour for all dockworkers, with a $1-an-hour increase in the third year. The ILA rejected the proposal and negotiated the back-to-work move under which the previous contract remains in force.

Master accord

CONASA's demands stand in sharp contrast to the earlier master agreement worked out between the union and the New York Shipping Association. It calls for freezing the present $17 hourly rate for all types of dock work for the first two years and raising it to $18 an hour in the third year.

Among the local issues still to be resolved in negotiations at Boston and New York are the number of hours' pay to be guaranteed annually. Longshoremen currently are assured of 2,080 hours of work a year—52 40-hour weeks.

Management is seeking a cut of between 5 and 10 percent in that guarantee. Also under discussion at the two ports are the size of gangs handling such specialized cargo as lumber and steel.

The ILA went into its 1986 contract negotiations offering to accept reductions in the size of work crews, provided management agreed not to demand pay slashes in their efforts to remain competitive with other ports in the country where dock workers have agreed to a package of dual pay scales.

Guy Dickinson named to RWDSU vacancy

New York—Guy Dickinson has been elected secretary-treasurer of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union by the executive board. He succeeds Lenore Miller, who became president on the death of Alvin Heaps last month.

Dickinson, 58, is a 40-year member of RWDSU. He began his union career as a shop steward in Birmingham, Ala., serving as a local officer until his appointment as an international representative in 1957.

In 1970, Dickinson was named southeastern regional director and has been a RWDSU vice president since 1974.

Miller and Dickinson will serve until elections are held at the union's 1990 convention.

California winery accord ratified

San Francisco—Faced with a threat of being permanently replaced by scabs, 2,500 members of Distillery Workers Locals 186 and 45 voted to end their seven-week strike against the 12 largest wineries in the state.

After winning a concession from management not to slash pension contributions as much as the employers originally demanded, the union members voted by a 2-to-1 margin to accept most of the terms proposed by the California Winery Employers Association.

DWU President George J. Orlando said the settlement, which came only five days after 80 percent of the members voted to reject management's "final offer," was triggered by "the understandable fear that remaining on the picketline would result in the loss of their jobs."

He noted that 1,000 members of other DWU locals had ratified agreements with a half-dozen non-association vinters without taking strike action, winning contracts with "less onerous wage and fringe givebacks." Orlando charged that the association took "unfair advantage" by using the challenge from wine imports to pressure DWU members to accept pay and benefit cuts.

The DWU locals struck five of the wineries on Aug. 18 and extended the walkout to the remaining association members a month later, at the height of the harvest and grape crushing season.

The package includes a 50-cents-an-hour wage cut, an increase in health insurance deductibles to $100 per covered person, and a 25-cents-an-hour cut in employer contributions to the pension plan—half of what management originally wanted. There are also minor changes in vacation pay eligibility for seasonal workers, and overtime pay for weekend work.

The new agreement will run for 32 months, expiring on March 31, 1989, to avoid another negotiation deadlock at the beginning of the industry's busiest season.

Badge of dishonor

Three companies made the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.'s "dishonor roll" for 1986.

The IUD has recognized and publicized the nation's leading anti-union employers since 1983, when the dishonor roll was created "to highlight the growing pattern of union-busting activity by corporations of all sizes."

This year's entrants are USX Corp., the Chicago Tribune and Neoplan USA Corp., a subsidiary of the German conglomerate Gottlob Auwarter.

Each has "demonstrated a clear determination to deny its workers the right to union representation guaranteed them under American law," IUD President Howard Samuel said.

USX was named for its lockout of 45,000 active and furloughed Steelworkers on Aug. 1. The steelmaker had spurned the USWA's offer to keep the mills running under the expired contract while negotiations continued.

The Chicago Tribune took its place for refusing to bargain in good faith with members of the Graphic Communications Union and the Typographical Union, who have been on strike against the newspaper since July 1985.

Neoplan, after winning tax breaks and financial incentives for its bus manufacturing operation in Pennsylvania, slashed operations after its 110 workers voted by a 2-1 margin to join the Amalgamated Transit Union. The company's nonunion plant in Colorado, however, is running at full steam.

"Corporate leaders today talk about the need for labor-management cooperation, but Neoplan, USX and the Tribune evidently don't share that belief," Samuel said.

Organizing campaign targets Iowa Beef plants in 6 states

An all-out campaign aimed at organizing 10,000 nonunion workers at the giant Iowa Beef Processors Inc., has been launched by the Food & Commercial Workers.

The union—which has represented 2,500 workers at Iowa Beef's flagship plant in Dakota City, Neb., for nearly 20 years—targeted the company's nine plants in six states for the major organizing effort after a handbilling blitz produced favorable responses "that exceeded our most optimistic expectations," UFCW President William H. Wynn said.

Iowa Beef has a history of opposing unions, Wynn pointed out, forcing the UFCW to strike every time before winning new contracts at Dakota City.

He charged management with wanting to precipitate another walkout when the present contract expires in December. "But the workers at the other plants are telling us that they want the company to know that the Dakota City workers aren't alone," the UFCW president declared.

On-the-job safety is "far and away the main concern" of the unorganized workers at the Iowa Beef plants, Vice President Douglas H. Dority, the union's organizing director, declared. One major thrust will be providing union assistance for workers who want to report safety violations or file for workers' compensation.

Dority pledged that the UFCW will "take every step possible to protect the workers against company reprisals for reporting unsafe working conditions."

The union scored its first victory in this area when the company rescinded a new policy of firing workers who suffer four on-the-job injuries. The scheme was withdrawn after vigorous union objections at the Dakota City plant accompanied by a union-instigated investigation of possible violations of federal or state plant safety laws.

In pressing the recruitment drive, the UFCW is utilizing rank-and-file members from plants that already have union contracts, including a corps of volunteer organizers from the Dakota City operation.

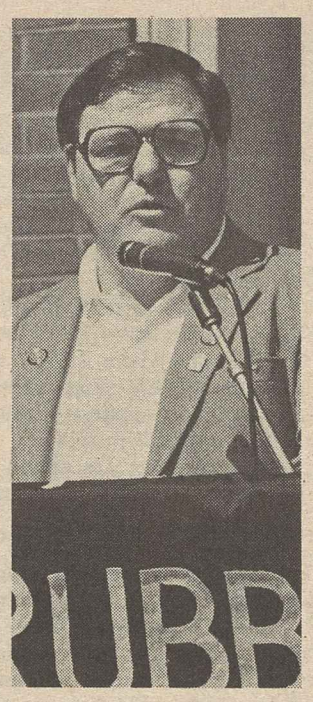
Union volunteers

More than 100 union volunteers leafletted the plant gates at all nine locations in the first phase of the campaign and responded to telephone calls from hundreds of Iowa Beef employees seeking more information on the benefits of union representation.

The organizing drive is being conducted at the company's facilities in Luverne, Minn.; Storm Lake and Denison, Iowa; Madison and West Point, Neb.; Finney County and Emporia, Kan.; Amarillo, Tex., and Joslin, Ill.

The UFCW represents more than 100,000 packinghouse workers in the United States. But the percentage of union members in the industry has declined from 90 percent in the 1950s to approximately 70 percent today as new companies, such as Iowa Beef, enter the market.

Wynn said the union made Iowa Beef the target of its first organizing drive among the newcomers to the industry because "we're putting the toughest first." And Dority anticipated a long, drawn-out battle because of Iowa Beef's "belligerent, anti-union attitude."



Unlock those gates

Wives of 200 locked-out Rubber Workers at McCreary Tire & Rubber Co. in Indiana. Pa., participate in a massive demonstration outside the county courthouse to protest management's intransigence that has idled their husbands for seven months. More than 500 union members and their families from the surrounding area showed their solidarity with members of URW Local 947, locked out since Mar. 3 after they rejected management's giveback-laced "final offer." At right is Local 947 President Bill McCurdy, who charged that McCreary's union-busting tactics are the outgrowth of a "nationwide epidemic" triggered by President Reagan's heartless firing of striking air traffic controllers five years ago.

Illinois Fed steps up role in elections

Chicago—Delegates to the Illinois AFL-CIO convention outlined priorities for the next state legislative session and called for a stepped-up political education program for the November elections.

The 1,500 delegates also urged the general assembly to adopt a "buy American" policy for state agencies and urged the state to establish an assigned fee program, under which doctors would accept standard Medicare rates as full payment for their elderly patients.

State AFL-CIO President Robert Gibson underscored the need for political education and get-out-the-vote activity

Gibson said labor's main objective was to maintain and expand Democratic majorities in Congress and the legislature because "those are the arenas in which the future of labor legislation is fought out." He reviewed some of labor's successes in the state, including a "right-to-know" law protecting workers and communities from the hazards of toxic chemicals and winning collective bargaining rights for public employees.

Endorsed candidates

The delegates heard from Democratic Sen. Alan J. Dixon and Gov. James R. Thompson (R), both of whom won the state body's endorsement for re-election, and Democratic Sen. Paul Simon, whose term has not expired.

AFL-CIO Political Education Director John Perkins termed the November elections a referendum on Reagan Administration policies that gives voters the opportunity to elect a Senate that considers the needs of working Americans.

Other speakers included AFL-CIO Vice President Joyce Miller, who heads the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Labor Sec. William E. Brock.

Delegates opposed the lifting of restrictions on industrial homework, calling the Labor Dept.'s action a move to "reintroduce the sweatshop to society." They expressed their support for Steelworkers locked out by USX Corp. and for labor's boycott of the Chicago Tribune.

Machinists ratify Boeing settlement covering 48,000

Continued from Page 1

been folded into the base pay rate for all workers.

Under the new agreement, 1,300 IAM members in lower-paid jobs who had reached the top of their wage scale will be eligible for company-paid training and promotion into higher-paid job categories. Another 3,000 workers—"red circled" by Boeing as ineligible for additional cost-of-living increases—have been removed from this category.

A new seniority provision will credit workers who were laid off prior to 1976 and then rehired for their earlier service in determining vacations, pensions and other benefits.

The IAM also won contract language that prohibits Boeing from requiring workers to operate more than one machine. Earlier, Boeing had insisted that workers should operate two machines but lost in an arbitration case brought by the union.

Monthly pension benefits will increase from $16 to $20 for each year worked through 1987, with a second increase raising the payment to $26 for years worked through 1989.

In addition to improvements in the health, dental, vision and pension plans, the IAM won a union-shop agreement at the Seattle and Portland plants. Because workers in Wichita are subject to the state's right-to-work law the contract provisions will not apply in Kansas.

The new agreement is retroactive to Oct. 4 when the previous contract expired, but IAM members agreed to stay on the job while negotiations continued. The workers rejected an earlier proposal on Oct. 3.

The IAM and the Auto Workers are continuing negotiations in the aerospace industry with McDonnell Douglas Corp. and Lockheed Corp. covering thousands of workers in other states.

Connecticut puts priority on raising minimum wage

Hartford, Conn.—In a busy three-day session, delegates to the Connecticut AFL-CIO convention set key legislative goals—a higher minimum wage and restrictions on drug testing—endorsed candidates in 140 election contests and raised per capita payments.

The per capita was raised three cents a month, from 35 cents to 38 cents effective Nov. 1. The increase is expected to fund two additional staff members.

The convention's nearly 600 delegates adopted a series of resolutions that plotted the state federation's legislative agenda for the coming year. At the top of the legislative package is strong support for raising the state's hourly minimum wage from $3.37 to $4.46.

Drug testing

Sec.-Treas. Barry R. Williams, chief lobbyist for the state federation, said the convention voted to "oppose any unilaterally imposed drug and alcohol screening program." While the state has not proposed such testing, Williams said the unions want to be prepared and that any testing in unionized companies or public agencies should be collective bargaining items first.

The delegates also called for an increase in state workers' compensation benefits from the current limit of 100 percent of the average weekly wage to 150 percent, with a minimum of 20 percent. They also asked a less stringent proof of the job relationship to occupational disease claims.

The convention supported pay equity, mortgage and rental aid for the unemployed, plant closing legislation and affirmative action programs, labor education in public schools and a ban on the use of personality tests in employment.

State AFL-CIO President Betty Tianti urged unions to organize "pink collar" jobs in the banking and insurance industries—"low-paying, no-benefit, dead-end, boring jobs" dominated by women. She noted only 2 percent of 110,000 clerical workers in Hartford are organized.

The convention heard from a number of candidates and backed Democrats for state offices. Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D) was supported for re-election and Democratic candidates for the House were backed in all but the 4th congressional district.

Tianti told the delegates, "Many of us never dreamed we'd see politicians openly recommend cutting funds to the bone for social security, student aid and education, or scrapping laws that protect health and safety. But this is the political reality today."

President Gerald W. McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees, told the delegates that the next two years could very well determine "the quality of the American dream itself" for the nation's workers for at least a generation.

The delegates showed their support for 900 Auto Workers who have been on strike since Jan. 24 at Colt Firearms Division by marching in a rally that circled the plant.

The rally followed closely the release of a 10-page complaint by the National Labor Relations Board charging Colt with a variety of unfair labor practices, including interrogating employees, failure to bargain in good faith, and discrimination against union members through frings, suspensions and pay reductions.

Gene Klare calls it '30' as Labor Press editor

Portland, Ore.—Gene Klare, editor and manager of the Oregon/Washington Labor Press since 1965, will retire Oct. 17. He will be succeeded by Michael Gutwig.

Klare, 60, joined the staff of the Oregon Labor Press in 1962. A former president and executive board member of the International Labor Communications Association, Klare is currently vice president of the Western Labor Press Association.

Gutwig, 29, was formerly with the Central Oregonian newspaper.

Union volunteers aid flood victims

As torrential rains flooded the Midwest, union community services teams from Michigan to Oklahoma came to the rescue, providing emergency shelter, food, supplies and medical aid for thousands of residents caught by rising flood waters.

In Michigan, organized labor's efforts were coordinated by Dwight Patrick, labor representative with the Red Cross disaster aid program. Union volunteers surveyed damaged homes and helped staff the 12 Red Cross centers where food, clothing, household items and tools were distributed. More than 30,000 meals were served to families in the central Michigan area.

In Oklahoma, union members volunteered for duty as drivers, damage surveyors, on clean-up crews and "whatever else is needed," said Jack Lewis, community services representative and vice president of the Northeastern Oklahoma AFL-CIO.

La Verne Hawes, community services director for the Chicago AFL-CIO, reported that union volunteers were aiding the United Way and Red Cross efforts in five northern Illinois counties.

Mobile vans and six service centers supplied 11,000 meals as well as food, clothing, rent assistance and household furnishings to Illinois residents over a ten-day period, Hawes said. And as the flood waters receded, more than 725 clean-up kits were distributed, to help residents clear the debris from their homes.

The Chicago AFL-CIO is seeking the help of local building trade unions in setting up volunteer work teams of carpenters, electricians, plumbers and other crafts to help those flood victims who cannot afford necessary home repairs.

Florida labor drafts agenda on organizing, political action

Lake Buena Vista, Fla.—Organizing and get-out-the-vote activities for the November elections topped the agenda of the Florida AFL-CIO convention.

The 250 delegates reviewed the political training seminars offered to Florida union members through the Committee on Political Education and voted to step up "one-on-one" lobbying projects. They also approved a research project and survey on union organizing opportunities.

In his report, State AFL-CIO President Daniel J. Miller pointed out that six years of the Reagan Administration have meant "laws passed, appointments made and policies instituted that have not been in the best interests of working people."

The solution is political action, Miller declared, urging the delegates to work together toward organized labor's goal of achieving a better standard of living for all Americans.

Vice President Joe Martin agreed, calling on the delegates to inform "our brothers and sisters back home" about labor's endorsed candidates.

In his convention address, Gov. Bob Graham (D), who won the state federation's endorsement in the Senate race, called for fair trade and investment in American industries to keep U.S. firms "competitive with those in foreign countries that play 18th and 19th century wages."

Graham called for skill training and education for workers, pointing out that "the American worker must be equipped with the right tools to compete so that productivity will continue to increase."

Other speakers included Sen. Gary Hart (D), AFL-CIO COPE Assistant Director Joseph Valasquez and COPE Regional Director Clem Dowler.

Delegates voted to monitor the actions of community service organizations whose policies "run contrary to the interests of organized labor," urging affiliates to "withhold contributions to those organizations" that consistently work against workers' concerns.

The delegates also encouraged all affiliates to join the International Labor Communications Association and the Florida Labor Press Exchange.

Election of executive board members, held every two years, will take place at next year's convention. Elections for the State AFL-CIO's top officers, held every four years, are set for 1989.

EDITORIALS

Standing Up to USX

THERE ARE some fights you can't walk away from. That's what the Steelworkers understood when USX, formerly U.S. Steel, locked out 22,000 workers rather than negotiate fairly.

Despite union offers to keep working under the old contract while negotiations continued, USX padlocked its gates when the contract expired on Aug. 1.

In an era when labor and management have banded together to rescue the ravaged American steel industry, USX stands apart:

- Out of the six major steel companies in America, four have negotiated and signed contracts this year with the Steelworkers—Bethlehem, National Steel, LTV and Inland. A fifth, Armco, has agreed to an extension. Only USX has refused.
- Four steel companies that were asked to open their books for the union to examine did so, so that an honest appraisal of their financial condition could be made. Only USX refused.
- Four have agreed that protecting steelworker jobs is an important goal and that contracting out should be stopped. USX refused.
- All five have cooperated with the union on a political agenda that calls for an end to unfair imports. Only USX has refused.

USX is the most profitable steel company in the nation. While other companies have filed for bankruptcy, USX made $27 million off steel and related operations in 1985 and $409 million in profits overall.

STEELWORKERS HAVE been reasonable. Since 1983, the Steelworkers have given up $2 billion in wages and benefits to help save the steel industry.

In 1986, the union has been willing to make concessions to ailing companies in exchange for things like profit-sharing, stock ownership and employment security.

USX is stabbing the American steel industry in the back by signing a contract with Pohang Iron & Steel Co. of South Korea to import semifinished steel coils. This could cost 3,000 more Steelworker jobs.

Other steel companies sold off assets and used the money to invest in modernizing their equipment. USX also sold assets, but purchased Marathon Oil instead of modernizing.

The Steelworkers have taken a stand. They will not be bullied into accepting the unreasonable demands of USX. But this is a fight in which they need your help. It's a fight all working people have a stake in.

—From the AFL-CIO Steelworkers Support Committee.

A Mother's Question

THE MESSAGE Congress has sent President Reagan could not be more clear. There are enough hazards to which the human condition and an uncertain world expose us without the ticking time bomb of toxic waste dumps.

These industrial poisons threaten us in our homes and workplaces. They threaten the health of our families and of children not yet born.

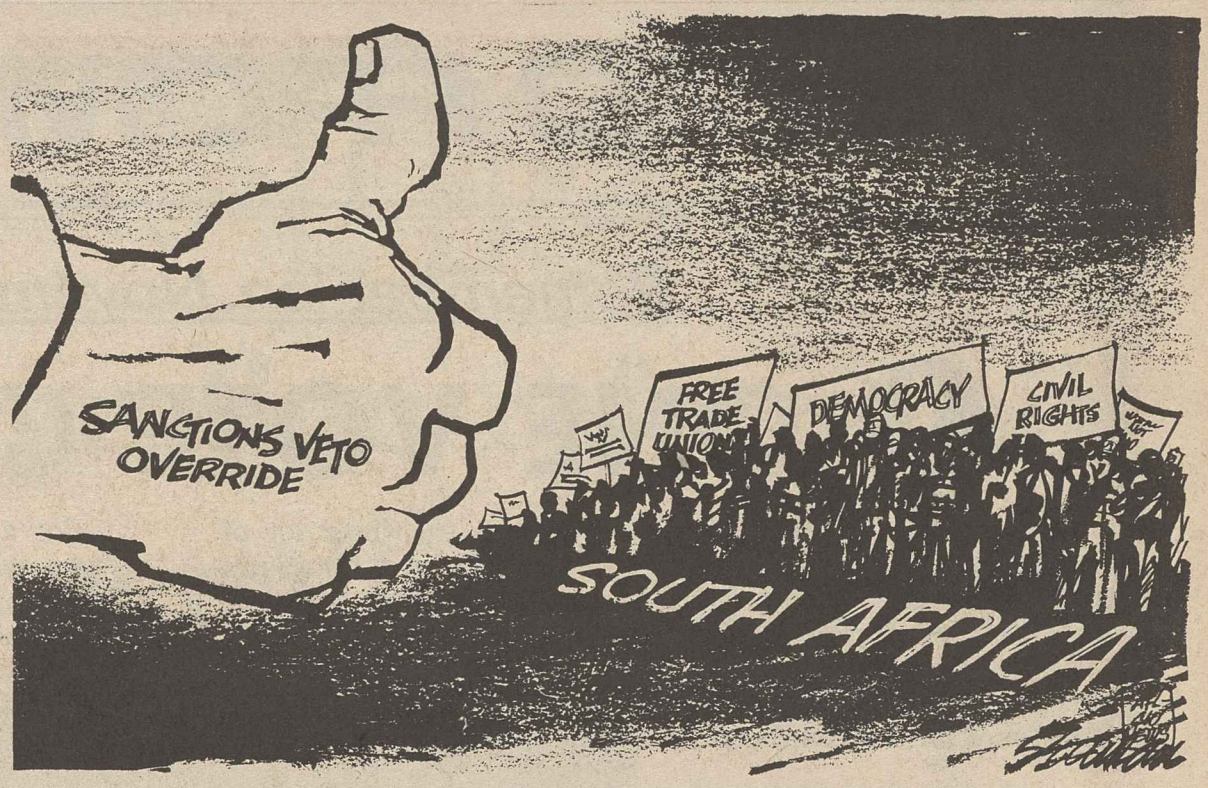
It is this awareness that led to the establishment of the Superfund program five years ago, and it is this awareness that brought such overwhelming and bipartisan support for the Superfund renewal bill that is awaiting the President's signature—or veto.

Eighty-one senators, a majority of both parties, signed a letter asking President Reagan to sign the legislation—despite his objections to a corporation profits tax to pay part of the cost.

"Priorities must be established," they wrote. "We cannot put this program in jeopardy while we continue to debate funding mechanisms.

"A mother whose child has been poisoned by toxic waste in the water will not ask whether a broad-base tax was used to fund Superfund. She will ask why her government failed in its duty to fund this desperately needed program."

This time perhaps, the President will bend to the near-unanimous voice of Congress. But if he does not, Congress must not adjourn until it gets the opportunity to override a veto. That mother's question is for Congress as well as the President.



Washington Window

High costs keep millions from needed health care

By Press Associates Inc.

Many Americans like to believe that this nation has the best medical care in the world. But that's only true if they can afford it.

According to congressional testimony, tens of millions of people cannot. Careful surveys estimate that 35 million Americans, a third of them children under 17, lack health insurance.

More than 200 million Americans are unprotected against catastrophic, acute or long-term care costs. Nursing home care costs $20,000 to $50,000 a year and a Harvard-Blue Cross study estimated that two-thirds of the elderly living alone would impoverish themselves in 13 weeks.

When it comes to individual cases, horror stories abound. Chairman Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.) of the House Select Committee on Aging recently held hearings on his proposed "U.S. Health Program Act." Professor Uwe E. Reinhardt of Princeton told the panel of cases reported in the Wall Street Journal, Business Week magazine and other publications:

- A 32-year-old accident victim lies unconscious in a Florida hospital that has no neurosurgeon available, while two larger hospitals with neurosurgeons refuse to accept him upon learning there is no guarantee his bill will be paid.
- A pediatrician in a Rock Hill, S.C., hospital wants to transfer a comatose 3-year-old girl to a better equipped urban medical center. But her family has no health insurance, and two hospitals refuse to take her in. A hospital 100 miles away finally accepts her.
- A woman in mid-labor in a private hospital casually mentions that her husband has just lost his job. Since in America this usually means the family has no health insurance, the woman is told to vacate and go to a public hospital.

Reinhardt said it should be understood by the American people that denial of urgently needed health care in the face of a surplus of doctors and hospitals is "uniquely American."

"It is simply inconceivable, for example, that a Canadian, French, German or Dutch 3-year-old comatose child would ever be denied available neurosurgical services simply because that child's parents are poor and uninsured," Reinhardt said. It is also inconceivable in these countries that a women would be told in mid-labor to vacate a hospital, he said.

Roybal's proposal calls for a comprehensive federal public insurance program to cover all Americans, protect against catastrophic and long-term care expenses, upgrade quality assurance and contain costs.

Chaos in the system

Douglas Fraser, former heard of the Auto Workers and now chairman of the labor-backed Health Security Action Council, said the nation's approach to health care is in chaos. Employers, pressured to contain runaway costs, have sharply escalated deductibles, co-insurance and worker premium-sharing, he said. Congress and the federal government, faced with huge deficits, try to copy by shifting responsibility for paying health costs for the elderly and disabled to private employers and the states.

The latest crisis, Fraser said, is in actions by major corporations to terminate retiree health benefits, threatening the welfare of millions of retirees and their families.

Fraser said his council is developing a new national health proposal which aims at objectives similar to Roybal's plan.

Arthur S. Fleming, former Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare, and now co-chair of the labor-backed Save Our Security coalition, supported the thrust of Roybal's plan.

Fleming pointed out that 20 years ago, Canada and the United States each spent about 6.7 percent of their gross national product on health care. Today Canada spends 8.4 percent of its GNP on health care, while the U.S. has soared to 10.7 percent—highest in the world.

America today stands alone as the only industrialized country without a national health program. Is it possible the incoming 100th Congress will begin the great debate that will lead to a universal health program?

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MEMO FROM COPE

Remember on November 4 . . . .

1 ONE VOTE COUNTS 1

Next month—Election Day, November 4—a whole lot of eligible citizens *won't* vote. A fair number will, but if things run true to form for a non-presidential year, the majority of those who *could vote aren't going to.* Between 35-40 percent *will.*

This is too bad. It means a minority of all voters will decide who sits in the Senate and House, in the state houses and state legislatures, in the courthouses and city halls.

For a lot of the non-performers, the reason they'll give is "why should I bother, one vote doesn't mean anything."

But there is endless documentation that proves they're wrong.

Following are election results culled from COPE Memos of recent years that demonstrate the "my vote doesn't count" theory is:

Baloney!

Don't Tell It to Frank

Don't tell Frank McCloskey (D) one vote doesn't count.

Two years ago, he came out a winner by 73 votes out of 233,613 cast for House seat in Indiana's 8th District. That was the election night tally.

Through counts, recounts and re-recounts, the result see-sawed between McCloskey and his GOP opponent, Rick McIntyre.

Six months after the election, McCloskey was finally certified the winner—by *four* votes.

P.S. The same two candidates are squaring off again this year in the 8th District. The only thing they agree on completely: *One vote counts!*

* * *

. . . Or to Tom, Either

While you're *not* telling Frank McCloskey one vote doesn't mean much, don't tell it to Tom Daschle either.

Rep. Daschle (D) runs for the Senate in South Dakota this year against incumbent Jim Abdnor.

When Daschle first ran for the House several years back, the election night count showed he lost by six votes out of 129,302 votes cast.

A couple of days later, an official canvass found Daschle the winner—by 20 votes. His opponent called for a recount. Daschle emerged from it with room to spare, a winner by 105 votes—about one out of every 1,300 votes cast.

It Happened in North Carolina

Seldom have voters in any one state seen so much evidence that one vote counts as North Carolinians in 1984.

Six of the state's 11 U.S. House contests were cliff-hangers. One, the 9th District race, came in at 109,258-108,792, a matter of only 286 out of 218,230 votes cast.

In three others, Democratic incumbents lost by an aggregate total of 10,299 out of 645,033 votes cast.

In still two others, Democratic incumbents *hung on* and beat back Republican challengers by a combined total of 7,685 out of 405,551 votes.

Taken together, voter turn-out in the six contests was 1,268,814. Total difference between the six winners and six losers was only 18,270.

Voters in North Carolina might learn the one-vote-counts lesson all over again on November 4: In three of the six win-by-a-nose districts of 1984, the same candidates go against each other.

One on the Button

Just last month, Dwight Townsend won nomination for sheriff in Orange County, Vt., by one vote—977-976.

In 1964, Julius Lippman was elected judge of New York's third district court 53,371-53,370—exactly one vote out of 106,641 votes cast.

In 1976, Lawrence Merman was elected probate court judge in Monroe County, Mich., 13,228 to 13,227.

In 1979, Jack McLaughlin won for Havre de Grace, Md., city council 603-602.

Four examples out of many where one vote really counts, because it's the margin of victory or defeat.

Then, There Are Ties

Often, elections aren't settled by any difference in votes at all. They wind up with the candidates deadlocked. So, they're decided by the flip of a coin, or the draw of a straw, or some other means where the chances are 50-50.

In 1980, a New Mexico state legislative race wound up 2,436-2,436 when all the ballots were counted. Election officials wanted to settle it with the toss of a coin. The candidates balked.

Someone suggested dueling. But that was nixed.

Then someone suggested wrestling. Ditto.

It was decided in the end by one hand of five-card poker.

A flip of the coin more than a month after the Nov. 3, 1981, election finally settled the Garfield Heights, Ohio, race for municipal judge in favor of Andrew Slivka over James Shipan. Until the climactic flip, through counts and recounts and recounts, Slivka had been declared the winner twice, Shipan once, and twice the contest had been called a tie.

Going all the way back to the Nov. 3 election, Shipan had been named the winner. Six days later, the election board declared a tie. Next, the official count made Slivka the winner by one vote after uncounted ballots were found in the board's computer room.

A subsequent recount by hand turned up a tie again. Another recount, which included 11 ballots incorrectly punched by voters, wound up with Slivka the winner 11,654-11,653—one vote.

Finally, election board workers discovered they had counted one of Slivka's votes twice, so it was all tied up again at 11,653 each.

At that point, they all threw up their hands and decided to let the coin flip settle it. And it did . . . for Slivka.

It Helps to Have a Spouse Who Can Count

This is about the primary candidate for sheriff in Howard County, Md., whose wife's sharp look at some numbers turned an apparent one-vote defeat into a four-vote win.

On election night, Richard Trott trailed Dennis Roach by eight votes. When absentee ballots were tallied the next day, Trott was up by nine votes. The day after that, the election board discovered an error in the count and declared Roach the winner by one vote.

A few day's later, Trott's wife, Christene, went to the election board office to triple check the figures. She compared results reported from the precincts with those posted by the board.

Her count put her husband up by four votes—2,416-2,412. A final try by the board confirmed her numbers. Her husband won the nomination.

One vote—and one spouse who bothers to check—count!

Get-Out-Vote Call Wins It for COPE Candidate

Elaine LaCroix, labor-endorsed candidate for the Maine legislature, was working the polls on primary election day 1984, greeting voters as they approached.

A married couple came up to her, introduced themselves, and advised her they were responding to a get-out-the-vote call from Maine COPE.

As they left the polls, they gave LaCroix the "V for Victory" sign.

It couldn't have been more appropriate. LaCroix won her primary by two votes 169-167. (She went on to win the general by 50—out of 3,246 votes cast.)

So, One Vote Counts . . .
Use Yours Nov. 4

The 11-Month-Long Election

Some elections are so close they take just a little longer to settle than other elections . . . like 11 months longer.

That's the time it took to come up with a winner in the U.S. Senate race between John Durkin (D) and Louis Wyman (R). Here's the sequence:

In November 1974, Durkin lost the New Hampshire U.S. Senate race to Wyman by fewer than 600 votes out of more than 220,000 votes cast.

Then there was a recount.

Out of the total 221,838 votes recounted, Durkin wound up on the happy side of a 110,924 to 110,914 count. He had won by 10 votes. Or so he thought.

After mulling it, Wyman decided to appeal the recount to the state ballot law commission.

The commission disqualified a few ballots here and a few ballots there, and Wyman was declared the winner by two votes. Or so *he* thought.

Durkin brought the whole mess before the U.S. Senate itself. The Constitution says the Senate is the final judge of who shall sit in it.

The Senate Rules Committee diddled around for months, couldn't break tie votes on key questions and on challenged ballots.

In August 1975, Durkin gave up in disgust, asked the Senate to send the question back to New Hampshire. The Senate did.

Nearly 11 months after the first Wyman-Durkin confrontation, New Hampshire voters went to the polls once more. This time, Durkin won big—by 27,000 votes. But he had learned the lesson: One vote counts!

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House margin likely to widen for Democrats

By David L. Perlman

Democrats will retain control of the House of Representatives when the ballots are counted Nov. 4, as they have in every congressional election of the past 32 years. Political earthquakes strong enough to topple the 253-182 Democratic majority just don't come without warning.

Going into the final two weeks of the election campaign, the much less certain consensus of election watchers is for a modest, probably single-digit, Democratic gain in House seats. But at least a dozen contests are so close they could tilt either way and the battle for effective control of the House is far from decided.

At issue is whether the legislative agenda in the 100th Congress will be shaped by mainstream Democrats, who most closely reflect the interests of America's workers, or by an already strong conservative coalition that consists of all but a handful of Republicans and a bloc of like-minded Democrats.

A Democratic gain in House seats on Nov. 4 could provide a majority for a plant-closing bill that fell five votes short last year. A slightly larger gain could also close the eight-vote gap that prevented the House from overriding President Reagan's veto of import curbs on textiles, apparel, shoes and copper.

Off-year election

It's that awareness that is motivating union volunteers who are trying to make a difference in an off-year election in which national issues are often secondary to the constituent service provided by incumbent members of Congress from both parties.

Incumbency is an immense advantage, and turnover is most likely in congressional districts where an incumbent is not seeking re-election. There are 44 such open districts this year, up from only 27 two years ago. The political opportunities are nearly equal. Twenty-three of the open seats are held or were last held by Republicans, 21 by Democrats.

For the record, 55 Democrats and 18 Republicans are getting a free ride this year, without major party opposition.

Perhaps a dozen incumbents from each party are running scared. But unless depressed grain prices redound against Republicans from the farm belt—most of whom have been trying to distance themselves from Reagan farm policies—there is no galvanizing force comparable to the 1982 recession when unemployment reached double-digit levels. That's when the Democrats scored a 26-seat mid-term pickup. In 1984, despite President Reagan's big re-election margin, the GOP regained only 16 of its lost House seats.

Limited change

An analysis by Congressional Quarterly in early October projected a Democratic gain of about five House seats if contests rated too close to call split evenly. A more current COPE tally projects a somewhat larger Democratic pickup, assuming that several candidates who have been gaining in the polls will be able to close the gap by Election Day.

Voter turnout will be a factor, with the formidable task of getting out the vote in an off-year election easier in states with close Senate or gubernatorial contests.

Every election has its upsets. But these

Continued on Page 2

Immigration reform bill links penalties, amnesty

Final version includes key labor goals

Congress cleared the way for final action on an immigration reform bill that cracks down on employers who hire illegal aliens and grants amnesty to persons who crossed the border illegally but have since established roots here. Both provisions have been long sought by the AFL-CIO.

The goal is to cut a flood of illegal immigration to a trickle and absorb hundreds of thousands of undocumented workers—mostly from Mexico and other Western Hemisphere nations—into the economic mainstream.

The House voted 238-173 to approve the House-Senate conference agreement and the Senate went into a late night session to complete action on the bill and clear it for the President's signature.

Just about everyone involved acknowledged that it is not a perfect bill. But two previous congresses had stalemated on the issue and each year the army of undocumented workers crossing the porous border with Mexico grew larger.

A House-added anti-discrimination provision sought to respond to concerns that employer fears of sanctions could result in discrimination against legal residents and citizens of Hispanic origin. A new Justice Dept. office will investigate complaints of discrimination.

While the legislation will beef up the border patrol, it relies largely on the cutoff of work opportunities resulting from employer sanctions to discourage illegal immigration. The sanctions range from gradually increasing civil fines, of $250 to $10,000 for each illegal hiring, to criminal penalties of up to six months in jail for employers guilty of a "pattern" of violations.

The final version scrapped the labor-opposed guestworker program adopted by the Senate that would have opened the border each year to up to 350,000 agricultural workers. It includes a somewhat cumbersome compromise from the House bill that in effect shields persons who have worked on U.S. farms for at least 90 days in the past year from the threat of deportation.

That compromise didn't get much applause—from anyone. It almost fell apart, and immigration reform was written

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United Way the union way

Union members go on camera to tell why they support the United Way in a new public service television announcement produced by the AFL-CIO's Labor Institute of Public Affairs. The 30-second spot features members of the Food & Commercial Workers, Communications Workers and Screen Actors Guild. Developed with the federation's Dept. of Community Services, the announcement sends the message that because of the organized labor-United Way partnership, "people can get the help they need."

Scheme to gut Davis-Bacon dies in conference committee

A House-Senate conference scrapped proposals to weaken the Davis-Bacon Act by excluding military construction contracts of less than $250,000 from the prevailing wage law.

The $250,000 exclusion voted by the Senate last August as an amendment to the Dept. of Defense authorization bill would have awarded most military construction contracts to firms paying the lowest wages and providing the fewest benefits.

The House rejected the Senate amendment, agreeing only to an inflation adjustment, and held firm in a House-Senate conference on the bill. To break the deadlock on a bill authorizing nearly $300 billion in defense spending, the House and Senate conferees finally dropped all changes in the prevailing wage law, leaving the $2,000 threshold intact. The measure was then cleared for the President's signature—without the anti-labor amendment to the Davis-Bacon Act.

As Congress pressed toward adjournment, a presidential veto threat put a big roadblock in the path of two labor-urged bills that had passed the House and demonstrated substantial bipartisan support in the Senate.

One of the bills would impose a modified "Buy American" requirement for offshore oil rigs. It would require that at least 50 percent of the rigs be built with American steel and assembled in this country. The other bill would curb double-breasted contractors who set up non-union subsidiaries to avoid compliance with their union agreements.

The House passed both bills separately and then also wrote them into the resolution that carried funds to operate virtually

Continued on Page 4

Governor numbers on GOP's side

By Arlee C. Green

The governorships of three dozen states will be decided on Nov. 4 and the Republican Party, holding just 16 statehouses currently, stands a good chance of adding to that total.

The GOP's favorable prospects are not due to any dramatic shift of the electorate or to overriding issues, but simply to the sheer number of seats being vacated by Democrats. Only a few of these open seats can be called one way or the other at this point.

Governors can heavily influence state legislation and even when matched against an opposition legislature can often thwart measures they don't like. With the annual state-by-state attacks on workers' compensation, jobless benefits, and other labor-backed measures, the election of a pro-labor governor can have a significant impact on the quality of life for workers. Governors in some states have been the stopping point for "right-to-work" bills passed by conservative state legislators.

Tax issues

The past four years have provided major challenges for the nation's governors. Many states, still weak from the Reagan Recession and the slashes in federal funding for the states, have had to institute new taxes or raise existing ones to keep afloat. Still others, in states whose fortunes are tied to oil, have been nearly crushed by the drop in revenues due to the plunge in oil prices.

Only four of the 17 contests where incumbent governors are seeking re-election can be described as neck-and-neck—Texas, Wisconsin, Iowa and California. In the 13 others, 10 Democrats and three Republicans are considered likely to retain their seats.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, in a rematch with former GOP Gov. Frank White, has maintained an edge in the polls throughout the campaign. His seat is considered securely Democratic. Ditto for Democratic Gov. Joe Frank Harris of Georgia, the COPE-endorsed candidate. His opponent is Atlanta lawyer Guy E. Davis Jr. In Massachusetts, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis swept 60 percent of the vote last time. With his COPE-support, he could do as well against Republican businessman George S. Kariotis.

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Modest gain by Democrats seen in House contests

Continued from Page 1

are the House contests that pre-election surveys have identified as the most susceptible to a party turnover:

California—The Republican target is the 36th District seat held by George Brown Jr. for 11 terms. The current GOP applicant is businessman Bob Henley. Democrats in turn hope Assemblyman Richard Robinson can oust right-wing incumbent Bob Dornan in the 38th District.

Colorado—Each party has hopes of a takeover. The GOP is eyeing the 2nd District seat that Democrat Timothy Wirth gave up to run for the Senate. Republican Mike Norton ran for it two years ago and has been running almost full time since. But Democratic State Rep. David Skaggs has proved a strong campaigner. In the 3rd District, COPE reports show Democrat Ben Nighthorse Campbell—a businessman, state legislator, part Indian and an Olympic gold medalist—gaining on incumbent Republican Mike Strang. Uphill but winnable.

Hawaii—A divisive Democratic primary in a district that Democrat Cecil Heftel formerly represented has made it close between Democrat Mufi Hannemann, a Harvard graduate of Samoan descent who has had White House and lobbying experience, and Patricia Saiki, state legislator and former GOP state chairman.

Idaho—Democrat Richard H. Stallings won the seat two years ago by a scant 170 votes after the Republican incumbent was convicted on felony charges of false financial disclosure. He faces a strong challenge from Republican Mel Richardson, a local broadcaster.

Illinois—COPE reports indicate a real chance for Democrat Mary Lou Kearns, a strong campaigner, in the 14th District where ailing Republican John Grotberg withdrew as a candidate. The GOP substituted State Rep. J. Dennis Hastert. Another normally Republican seat, in the suburban Chicago 4th District, was opened by the death of Rep. George M. O'Brien. While Republican Jack Davis is favored, Democrat Shawn Collins has proved a better campaigner than many anticipated.

The most threatened Democrat is 81-year-old Melvin Price, the former chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who has represented the East St. Louis 21st District for 40 years. Republican Robert Gaffner is again challenging him. Another GOP target is Kenneth Gray, who reclaimed his 22nd District seat in the last election after a 10-year absence.

Indiana—The 14-county 5th District is normally Republican, but the retirement of Rep. Elwood Hillis gives a chance to Democrat Jim Jontz. His GOP opponent, James Butcher, has campaign help from the religious right. Steelworkers and UAW members in the district are strong for Jontz. A couple of other Indiana contests could produce upsets.

Iowa—The retirement of Republican Cooper Evans in the 3rd District gives a good chance to Dave Nagle, former state Democratic chairman. His Republican opponent, John McIntee, lost a lot of credibility among farmers by suggesting that they could relieve a shortage of grain storage facilities by leaving their crops in the ground until next spring. No way.

The farm issue also gives Democrat Scott Hughes a chance to upset Rep. Jim Lightfoot's bid for a second term from the 5th District. In the Sioux City 6th District, it's still close between Clayton Hodgson, an aide to retiring Democrat Berkley Bedell, and TV actor Fred Grandy, out of Love Boat.

Louisiana—A lot of people will be watching the 8th District, where Democrat Cathy Long is retiring from the seat her husband had held until his death last year. The Democratic candidate is Faye Williams, an articulate and able black woman running in a southern district that is 61 percent white but normally strongly Democratic. The Republican candidate, Clyde Holloway, has little going for him except the color of his skin.

Maine—Just about everyone sees an easy Democratic pickup when Gov. Joseph E. Brennan, who has to give up the statehouse because of a two-term limit, takes over the 1st District House seat. Incumbent Republican John McKernan Jr. is his party's gubernatorial candidate this year.

Maryland—Two open seats may make for close matchups. In the 4th District, where Republican Marjorie Holt is retiring after seven terms, basketball star Tom McMillen and Republican State Rep. Bob Neall are battling it out. In the suburban Washington 8th District, with incumbent Democrat Michael Barnes not running, State Sen. Stewart Bainum Jr. has an edge, but not a shoo-in, over State Rep. Constance Morella, a moderate Republican. In the 2nd District, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, an RFK daughter, is in an uphill match with Republican incumbent Helen Delich Bentley.

Michigan—The always marginal 6th District is a close rematch between Democratic incumbent Bob Carr and Republican Jim Dunn, who formerly held the seat. Another close rematch pits 10th District Republican incumbent Bill Schuette against Democrat Donald Albosta, who lost the seat two years ago in a district Reagan carried by a 2-1 margin.

Minnesota—Put in the possible upset category the 7th District challenge by Democratic State Sen. Collin Peterson to five-term Republican Arlan Stangeland.

Mississippi—Republican Webb Franklin won the past two elections by less than 1 percent against black Democrats in the racially divided, economically depressed 2nd District. His black challenger this year, Mike Espy, could be a winner.

Missouri—In the 8th District (Cape Girardeau), incumbent Republican Bill Emerson is favored. But COPE has this election tabbed as a possible upset victory for Democrat Wayne Cryts, a farm leader.

New Hampshire—Republican incumbent Robert Smith started out as the strong favorite in the 1st District. But Democrat James Demers is within striking distance of an upset.

Nevada—In the Las Vegas district that Democrat Harry Reid is giving up to run for the Senate, State Sen. James Bilbray is in a close race with Republican Bob Ryan, a blind former legislator and aide to Sen. Paul Laxalt.

New York—A chance for a multiseat Democratic pickup. Incumbent Republican William Carney dropped out of the 1st District (Long Island) race. Democrat George Hochbrueckner, who nearly won two years ago, seems to have the edge over Republican Gregory Blass.

Other Democratic possibilities are in the 27th District (Syracuse), where State Public Service Commissioner Rosemary Pooler is running strong against incumbent Republican George Wortley, and in the Rochester area 30th District. There, incumbent Republican Fred Eckert is being challenged by State Rep. Louise Slaughter. A longshot is the bid of former Rep. Bella Abzug for the suburban Westchester 20th District seat held by Republican Joseph DioGuardi.

Republicans can cut their losses by taking the 34th District seat that Democrat Stan Lundine gave up to run for lieutenant governor. The GOP candidate is wealthy Amory Houghton Jr., chief executive officer of the Corning Glass Works, which employs 4,000 people in the district. County District Atty. Larry Himelein is trying to keep the seat Democratic.

North Carolina—Republicans gained three House seats here in 1984, and the Democrats hope to take at least one back. In the 4th District, Duke University Prof. David Price is an attractive alternative to Republican incumbent Bill Cobey. Democrat Robin Britt is seeking to recapture the 6th District from Howard Coble. The 11th District matchup is the third between former Rep. James Clarke and the Republican incumbent, Bill Hendon. Some other House contests are within range of upsets.

Ohio—Republicans are running well-financed campaigns to try to beat Democratic incumbents Don Pease with businessman William Nielsen in the 13th District (Lorain) and Edward Feighan with GOP State Sen. Gary Suhadolnik in the suburban Cleveland 19th District. They are also aiming at the open 14th District, which Akron Mayor Tom Sawyer is trying to keep Democratic. Summit County Prosecutor Lynn Slaby is the GOP candidate. Ohio unions are working hard to get out the vote for the labor-backed Democrats.

Oregon—The 4th District seat that Democrat James Weaver is leaving has produced a close match between Peter DeFazio, a labor ally who seems to have a slight edge, and Republican Bruce Long.

Pennsylvania—Three Democratic incumbents face especially strong Republican challenges this year. In the 11th District (Wilkes-Barre), Paul Kanjorski is opposed for a second term by wealthy Republican Marc Holtzman. Millionaire Republican Ernie Buckman is trying to take the seat of five-term Democrat Doug Walgren in the suburban Pittsburgh 18th District. In the Bucks County 8th District, incumbent Democrat Peter Kostmayer appears to be pulling away from David Christian.

Democratic hopes for takeovers lie in the Main Line suburban 13th District, where Joseph Hoeffel is again trying to oust Republican Lawrence Coughlin, and the rematch in the 23rd District (State College). Democrat Bill Wachob is challenging incumbent William Clinger Jr.

Rhode Island—Veteran Democrat Fernand St Germain is taking nothing for granted in his re-election bid against former GOP state chairman John Holmes, Jr.

South Carolina—An open seat in the 4th District, where incumbent Carroll Campbell Jr. is the Republican candidate for governor, gives a chance for a pickup. The Democrat is State Sen. Elizabeth Patterson, who faces Greenville Mayor William Workman. There's a chance also in another open district, which Republican Thomas Hartnett represented for three terms. Democrat Jimmy Stuckey is in an uphill contest with State Sen. Arthur Ravenel, Jr. for that seat.

South Dakota—The challenge is for the Democrats to keep the state's lone House seat that Tom Daschle gave up to run for the Senate. State Sen. Tim Johnson has moved at least even with Republican Dale Bell.

Texas—Republicans gained five seats two years ago. The most vulnerable appears to be the scattered 22-county 14th District, where incumbent Mac Sweeney is on the defensive against Democrat Gregory Laughlin. In the El Paso 16th District, Democratic incumbent Ronald Coleman seems to have a slim lead over Roy Gillia, who would like to bring Hispanics into the GOP.

Utah—Two of the three Republican-held seats are vulnerable. In the 1st District, Democrat Gunn McKay is trying to take back the seat he lost to incumbent James Hansen six years ago. In the marginal Salt Lake City 2nd District, freshman Republican David Monson backed away from a second-term try. The GOP candidate is Tom Shimizu. His strong Democratic opponent is a former congressman, Wayne Owens.

Virginia—In the Norfolk area 2nd District, the retirement of Republican G. William Whitehurst opens a good opportunity for Democrat Owen Pickett to beat out Joe Canada Jr.

There is a chance for Democrat Robert Scott to defeat incumbent Herbert Bateman in the Newport News 1st District, and the fact that a black is a serious contender in a district with a two-to-one white majority tells a lot about the changing South. In the suburban Washington 10th District, Democrat John Milliken is the strong but underdog challenger to three-term Republican Frank Wolf.

Missouri Fed girds for battle against anti-labor elements

St. Louis—A per capita increase, political endorsements and action in support of public employee bargaining rights topped the three-day agenda of the Missouri AFL-CIO convention here.

Citing the need to remain strong in the face of "the growth of anti-union elements of our society," the attempts to enact a state "right-to-work" law, and the loss of many American jobs under the Reagan Administration, the convention's 400 delegates voted to increase the monthly per capita from 40 cents to 45 cents next Apr. 1, and to 50 cents on Jan. 1, 1988.

A resolution was adopted calling for enactment of a comprehensive state public employee bargaining law covering all public workers including teachers, police and fire fighters.

State AFL-CIO President Daniel J. McVey raised the prospect of a statewide referendum on the issue if legislative attempts fail.

In other resolutions, the delegates:

- Called for enactment of a state minimum wage law to protect those workers not covered by the federal statute.
- Condemned Farm Bureau policies that oppose "social and economic justice at the worksite or the farm" and lower prices farmers receive for their commodities.
- Backed postcard voter registration and the use of "citizen registrars."
- Urged plant closing legislation to end the tax incentives that foster such shutdowns, fund retraining of displaced workers, provide health care benefits for laid-off workers and require advance notice.

Other action

The convention also opposed the use of polygraphs in employment, condemned South Africa's system of apartheid, backed the AFL-CIO national boycotts, and urged affiliates to participate in the Coalition of Labor Union Women convention.

The convention endorsed 125 Democrats and 19 Republicans in state and federal elections this fall. Keynote speaker Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D), who is retiring after three terms in the Senate, urged organized labor to throw its full support behind Lt. Gov. Harriett Woods who is running for the Senate against former GOP Gov. Christopher S. Bond.

McVey, Sec.-Treas. Donald Owens and Vice President Emmett Mayer were re-elected to new two-year terms.

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White House assailed

IUD convention opens drive to regain jobs

Hollywood, Fla.—Rebuilding the nation's industrial base, a new grassroots "Jobs USA" initiative, corporate campaigns against anti-union employers, and the Nov. 4 congressional elections topped the agenda of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.'s 17th constitutional convention.

In his keynote address to delegates representing 55 affiliated unions, IUD President Howard D. Samuel blamed the policies of the Reagan Administration for the steep decline of America's industrial base.

"The Reagan legacy for today's generation is intolerable unemployment, deindustrialization, decline of the middle class, polarization of income, and increasing poverty," Samuel said, adding: "This Administration, rather than leading us into a new era of strength and growth, is undermining the future of generations ahead."

Although he noted that "there have been too many Democrats voting with Republicans on the wrong side of congressional rollcalls," Samuel urged support for Senate Democrats in close races on Nov. 4. He said Republican control of the Senate during the past six years has facilitated enactment of Administration policies and blocked major labor-backed initiatives passed by the Democrat-led House. He cited the example of the Trade Law Reform Act, which passed the House on a 295-115 vote and died in the Senate.

Goal of education

"Goal number two," Samuel continued, "is to educate our own members, and the American people, about what is happening to our country, so that by the 1988 presidential elections, at least one candidate will be encouraged to face up to the great needs facing our nation."

Samuel said increasing use of corporate campaign and coordinated bargaining strategies by industrial unions has been paying off. "Concession fever is weakening, give-back demands diminishing . . . . More and more unions are coming to appreciate that going it alone is a dangerous luxury, that coordination is the wave of the future." He added that the IUD has been strengthening its coordinated bargaining program "by linking it with organizing the unorganized."

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, who spoke at a convention banquet, assailed American editorial writers and academics who "preach free trade to us" and dismiss labor's efforts to reverse the trade deficit as "protectionism."

Donahue, who attended the recent round of the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade in Punta del Este, Uruguay, as a member of the U.S. delegation, said that if those critics had attended the sessions they would have "seen the 75 other nations there all engaged in negotiations to protect their citizens—all explaining how trade must be arranged to advantage them."

Commitment to unionism

Samuel introduced United Mine Workers President Richard Trumka, who reminded the delegates that it was UMW leader John L. Lewis who, with Clothing Workers President Sidney Hillman 50 years ago, helped form the organization that became the CIO, of which the IUD is an offshoot. "We need to look at the CIO, to look at every one of those ideas and make them relevant to today's economy and today's environment," said Trumka.

"We must renew our commitment to industrial unionism, across union and national lines, so that we can unleash the power John L. Lewis talked about, so that the 1980s can be a turning point in which we arose from our complacency and started fighting back in a coordinated and organized way. We must give new meaning to the idea that an injury to one is an injury to all," Trumka told the cheering delegates.

A "Jobs USA" project soon to be launched at the local and state level by labor, religious, civil rights, citizen action and other groups was outlined by Machinists President William Winpisinger. He said the project would address the nation's "jobs crisis" by developing model jobs, training and support programs for displaced and other jobless workers in areas of high unemployment.

Once these model programs are developed in cooperation with public agencies, they can be copied by states and localities across the nation, Operating Engineers President Larry Dugan told the delegates.

"There is little chance today at the federal level, so there first has to be a head of steam built up at the local and state level," Dugan said. He added that the states in the early 1930s were "the laboratories for change that led to the New Deal."

"Jobs USA" will be coordinated by the labor-supported National Committee for Full Employment and the National Center for Policy Alternatives.

The convention re-elected Samuel and Sec.-Treas. Elmer Chatak unanimously. Newly elected vice presidents include President John Barry of the Electrical Workers, Vice President Sandra Feldman of the Teachers and President John Kelly of the Office & Professional Employees.

Delegates also approved a half-cent raise in the per capita tax to 6.5 cents and authorized the IUD Executive Council to add another half-cent in October 1987.

A highlight of the three-day convention was an evening concert and sing-along featuring singers Pete Seeger and Si Kahn. Seeger and Kahn were joined by Joe Uehlein, president of the Labor Heritage Foundation (LHF) and IUD special projects coordinator, and by singer/songwriter Laurel Blaydes, executive director of the LHF, which organized the event. The evening of traditional and contemporary labor music ended as the delegates joined hands in a rousing rendition of "Solidarity Forever."

IUD's Howard Samuel, right, and Graphic Communications Union President James J. Norton join in welcome for Mine Workers President Trumka.

South Carolina labor gears for election, legislative drive

Myrtle Beach, S.C.—South Carolina AFL-CIO convention delegates geared up for the upcoming elections and next year's legislative session and raised the monthly per capita payment of affiliates by ten cents.

State AFL-CIO President Randy Kiser told delegates the 1986 legislative session was the "high-water mark" of recent years for labor as it defeated the entire anti-worker package proposed by the state's Chamber of Commerce.

Further, labor lobbying netted a law guaranteeing that every jobless worker can receive unemployment benefits without penalty for receiving severance pay. Another measure protects employees who file workers' compensation claims from retaliation by their boss. Labor also won a measure allowing workers to file civil suits against employers who fire or demote them for complying with a subpoena to testify in court.

Kiser stressed that these laws are "so important because they change the 'employment at will' doctrine that this state has had for so long."

The per capita increase, effective next Jan. 1, was adopted unanimously. It will raise the rate from 35 cents to 45 cents.

AFL-CIO Vice President Morton Bahr, president of the Communications Workers, urged the delegates to use the region's growing national political influence to become "America's conscience, to challenge the popular perceptions and speak on behalf of working families living the economic reality at the bottom of the hill." The South is the poorest region in the nation and "still among the most undereducated," Bahr said.

'Key players'

Noting that the 11 southern states have more than half the 270 electoral votes needed to win the presidency, Bahr told the 250 delegates, "You are key players in organized labor's future resurgence that goes far beyond the number of workers you now represent."

Norman Hill, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, challenged the delegates to "make a difference" in this year's elections. The Reagan Administration has a reputation of ignoring black issues such as housing, education and voting rights, Hill stressed. He urged union members to do something about this by electing pro-labor candidates to state offices.

The Democratic gubernatorial nominee, Lt. Gov. Mike Daniel, stressed his efforts on behalf of education in the state. Government has a responsibility to provide a quality education to all citizens and give them the opportunity "to fulfill their potential," Daniel said.

Convention addresses

Other guest speakers included AFL-CIO Region IV Director James Sala, Executive Director Nelson Rivers III of the South Carolina NAACP, Vice President Nick Bonanno of the Ladies' Garment Workers, Organizing Director Harold McIver of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., and a number of candidates for office.

The convention stated its opposition to contracting out of public services. It urged affiliates representing public employees to negotiate safeguards against such actions and to use other tactics—such as cost comparison studies, publicity campaigns, lobbying and community coalitions—to restrict contracting out.

Delegates also voiced support for Steelworkers who have been locked out by USX Corp., backed the boycott of Shell Oil Co. products because of the firm's repressive treatment of black workers in South Africa, and opposed any tort reform measures that would limit the rights of workers to fair compensation for injuries sustained on the job.

Middle-class families buffeted by huge trade, budget deficits

Four years into the so-called recovery from the Reagan Recession, the American middle class is shrinking and the gap between the nation's wealthiest families and the rest of society is widening, reports from two separate groups revealed.

The trend that has driven families into a lower economic status has been accelerating, the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. declared, "as millions of formerly middle-class workers find themselves working at unskilled, low-paid jobs—or not working at all—in place of the excellent industrial jobs they once held."

Meanwhile, the gap in after-tax income betweeen the richest 20 percent of American households and the rest of the nation hit its widest point in 1984, according to an analysis of Census Bureau data by the Center on Budget & Policy Priorities.

Since 1980, the center pointed out, there was "a transfer of $32 billion a year in income from the bottom 80 percent of households to the top 20 percent"—a shift that the center called "of considerable significance."

The IUD report, titled "The Polarization of America—the Loss of Good Jobs, Falling Incomes and Rising Inequality," charged that the Reagan Administration has made the American economy "an increasingly weaker one beset by trade and budget deficits, lagging productivity and employment growth, and excessive unemployment.

Broad-based views

The study reflected the views of a broad cross section of community leaders, including Owen Bieber, president of the Auto Workers; Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; John Jacob, president of the National Urban League; Irene Natividad, chair of the National Women's Political Caucus; Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, and IUD President Howard D. Samuel.

As jobs in manufacturing, construction, utilities, communications and transportation disappear, the department said, "they are being replaced by jobs paying 40 percent or less." This factor, combined with recession-level joblessness and a dramatic rise in part-time employment for workers who want and need full-time jobs, has driven the average worker's pay back down "to 1962 pay levels," the IUD pointed out.

"What is most frightening," Samuel said, "is not only that the standard level is dropping, but that it is dropping faster than it was a half-dozen years ago." As a result, he continued, the economic prospects for young families today are severely limited and "for the first time in our nation's history, parents cannot expect their children to move higher on the economic ladder than they did."

The center said that the top 20 percent of U.S. households received 42.3 percent of all after-tax income in the country in 1984—the highest level recorded. The gain came "at the expense of middle-income households," whose 17.2 percent of the national income was the lowest on record for that group.

Both studies focused on the widening income gap between white and black full-time workers. "In 1979," the IUD said, "black workers earned 76.1 percent of white male wages," a figure that declined to only 72.9 percent in 1985.

As for the apparent closing of the gap between the wages of men and women, the IUD branded it as illusory. "Women's wages have not improved since 1979," the department study said, but "male workers who traditionally have held the best-paid jobs have seen a dramatic drop."

The Center on Budget & Policy Priorities pointed out that while after-tax income for the typical white household increased slightly more than 1 percent since 1980, the average black, Hispanic and female-headed households "still had less after-tax income than in 1980," just prior to the start of the Reagan Administration.

The IUD accused the Administration of running "a less compassionate American government that ignores persistent inequities facing minorities and women." It warned that Reaganomics has not worked "to preserve our industrial base and ensure that America remains internationally competitive."

The department said revitalization of American industry should include a development bank to help new firms start up and existing companies to modernize aging plants, government negotiations to open foreign markets to high-tech U.S. industries, job training for youths and displaced workers and trade policies to breathe new life into a lagging domestic economy.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue addresses Carpenters convention. Seated is UBC President Patrick J. Campbell.

AFL-CIO brief upholds right to set affirmative action goal

The AFL-CIO asked the Supreme Court to uphold the right of an employer and union to adopt an affirmative action policy on promotions in order to remedy a longstanding imbalance in higher-paid jobs, even if the imbalance was not caused by discriminatory actions.

The federation's brief stresses the precedent set in the Supreme Court's decision in the Weber case, where the Steelworkers and the AFL-CIO successfully defended a negotiated apprenticeship plan intended to increase the number of black workers in skilled jobs at a Kaiser plant in Louisiana.

In the case now before the Supreme Court, the Santa Clara, Calif., Transportation Agency gave preference to a qualified woman applicant for promotion to road dispatcher.

The agency's policy, adopted with the agreement of Service Employees Local 715, had as its goal an employment pattern approximating that of the county's working population. It was instituted after a survey found that women held only 8 percent of the agency's jobs—none in skilled occupations and only a handful in professional or technical positions.

A male employee who was passed over, despite having received a slightly higher score in a promotion rating based on an oral interview, charged "reverse discrimination" and won the first round of the legal battle in federal district court. But the 9th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals sided with the county government and the Supreme Court has agreed to review the case.

SEIU Local 715, which represents the workers affected, entered the case on the side of the county agency and in support of the affirmative action policy. The AFL-CIO filed a brief reinforcing the SEIU position, arguing that the affirmative action program is permitted by federal law, even though it may not be required.

Federation's view

As the AFL-CIO reads the Weber decision, the Civil Rights Act does not limit voluntary affirmative action to situations where there is a history of past discrimination by the employer or where a court would be justified in compelling the employer to establish an affirmative action plan.

Neither is it necessary to show that a racial or sex imbalance was caused by a pattern of discrimination by other employers in the community, the AFL-CIO contended.

The federation's brief notes that the only valid restrictions the Supreme Court's Weber decision imposes are that an affirmative action plan must not "unnecessarily trammel" the interests of non-minority employees and that it must be a "temporary measure," ending when the imbalance the plan seeks to remedy has been eliminated.

These criteria were met in the Santa Clara situation, the AFL-CIO contends.

The preference given to the woman applicant was in the nature of a "plus" added to her other qualification and not a mandate, the federation brief notes. Such a preference would make a difference only when the choice is between candidates who are competent and possess comparable qualifications.

Joseph Godson dies, former labor attache

Joseph Godson, 73, a veteran labor attache at the U.S. embassies in Ottawa and London and a former European coordinator of the Center for Strategic & International Studies at Georgetown University, died of cancer Oct. 10 at his home in London.

A native of Poland, Godson held the Canadian post from 1950 to 1952 and served in the London embassy from 1953 to 1959. He was first secretary at Belgrade, Yugoslavia, until 1961 and consul general in Zagreb until 1964.

He is survived by his wife, the former Ruth Perlman; two sons, Roy of Washington and Dean of Boston, and a daughter, Carla Davis, of Charlottesville, Va.

Organizing effort expanded

Carpenters' delegates vote first defense fund

Toronto—The 35th general convention of the Carpenters authorized the establishment of the union's first defense fund and voted to increase the monthly per capita to enable the union "to expand its organizing and administrative programs" in the final years of the 1980s.

The Carpenters' executive board, under referral from the convention, will set the size of the defense fund and determine how to implement the necessary constitutional changes.

The per capita payment for construction members will increase from $5.70 to $6.20 next Jan. 1 and to $6.70 a year later. For industrial members, the per capita rises on Jan. 1 to $4.10 from $3.85, and the union's executive board is empowered to raise the industrial sector dues, but by no more than 75 cents by 1990.

Several measures were approved to strengthen international ties between the union's American and Canadian members. The union's board was advised to find ways of extending the UBC pension reciprocity program throughout Canada, and to explore ways of expanding the activities of the UBC's annual Canadian conference.

Further, the 2,083 delegates voted to add "North" to the union's name, so it becomes the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of North America. The delegates also expressed a willingness to reaffiliate with the Canadian Labor Congress, provided that representation is based on membership and other considerations.

All the union's officers and executive board members were re-elected.

Carpenters President Patrick J. Campbell told the delegates that the union is "priming its goals," rebuilding its councils, and building stronger local unions that are properly financed. Noting that the union is 105 years old, Campbell said, "It took us over 100 years to build what we enjoy today, and it will probably take the next 100 years to hold on to what we've got."

Nonunion contractors are using the Davis-Bacon Act as a bogeyman, "no different from the way they used situs picketing in the past," Campbell said. "Every time we move to improve our position, the threats come down and the public is faced with a barrage of propaganda."

Priority on training

The Carpenters continued to place a high priority on apprenticeship and craft training. First Vice President Sigurd Lucassen told delegates that although the recession of the early 1980s caused a drop in income for affiliate training programs, the union will continue to maintain its high level of training.

Productivity problems in the construction industry have developed, he said, because the nonunion sector has no provisions for worker training.

Carpenters Sec. John Rogers reported a drop in membership since the last convention, but said the union has set a goal of a million members, "an objective which can be achieved." He also noted the progress in record-keeping technology among local unions and added attention to direct communication between members and the union's headquarters.

In an address to the delegates, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue said "the tide is beginning to turn for working people."

"We have a number of important legislative gains that we have won," Donahue noted, pointing to victories against Reagan Administration efforts to tax fringe benefits, repeal Davis-Bacon, and amend the Hobbs Act to make "every single picketline scuffle a federal crime."

Donahue warned that "the assault on our wages and working conditions is not going to end as long as millions of workers have no jobs. The most urgent goal we have is to correct the distortion of foreign trade . . . that is causing the export of 2 million jobs a year."

Innovative organizing

AFL-CIO Organization & Field Services Director Charles McDonald told delegates that the rules of labor-management relations are changing and labor must change the way "it plays the game." What is needed, he said, is "the right blend of skills, youth, imagination and tenacity" to make the Carpenters grow. He noted that the union "must be doing something right," because its success rate in labor board elections is greater than other unions.

Terming the half-billion dollar union-busting industry a "monster," McDonald said labor is winning the battle against the union-busters. "Workers want unions and our affiliates are finding ways to overcome the obstacles and help the unorganized," he declared.

Conferees kill effort to gut Davis-Bacon

Continued from Page 1

all government programs for the remainder of the fiscal year.

Under White House veto pressure, a House-Senate conference packaged the relatively non-controversial elements of the $576 billion funding bill, while reporting the two labor bills and several other provisions "in disagreement."

One of the provisions in the funding resolution cleared for the President's signature was a short-term version of a bill the House had passed to prevent companies filing for bankruptcy from unilaterally cancelling health and life insurance benefits for retired workers. That's what LTV Corp. had sought to do before a Steelworkers' strike forced management to back down.

But at the Senate's insistence, the legislation was made temporary, until May 15, 1987, leaving further action to the next Congress.

Cleared for approval as part of a pending budget reconciliation bill is legislation for the public sale of the Conrail freight railroad system, a key goal of rail unions. The Administration had proposed a sweetheart-deal sale to the Norfolk Southern Corp. To get action, rail unions reluctantly agreed to drop labor protections.

Third of recession-displaced workers still jobless

Nearly one-third of the 5.1 million workers displaced from their jobs between 1981 and 1986 as a result of rising imports and the Reagan Recession remained unemployed at the beginning of this year, an analysis of Bureau of Labor Statistics data revealed.

And nearly half of those displaced workers who managed to find full-time jobs continue to bear the burden of the flawed Administration economic policies. BLS said that, in their new jobs, 44 percent are earning less than they did previously —many of them taking pay cuts of as much as 20 percent in the process. Another 330,000 who lost full-time jobs have been forced to settle for part-time employment.

According to the government statistics, 13.1 million workers aged 20 years and over were thrown out of work during that five-year period because of plant closings or relocations, slack work or the wiping out of individual jobs or entire shifts.

But, BLS said, nearly half had been on their jobs only a short period before the layoffs, and it focused its data only on the 5.1 million workers with "a relatively firm attachment to the jobs they lost"—those with three or more years' tenure.

Narrow 'recovery'

Nearly 18 percent of displaced workers were still unemployed last January, despite Administration claims of an "economic recovery." Another 15 percent were reported to have left the labor force—most of them showing up in the Labor Dept.'s category of "discouraged workers" who have quit looking for jobs that aren't there anymore.

Manufacturing workers suffered a disproportionate number of job losses. Although manufacturing accounts for less than one-fifth the total number of jobs in the economy, about half the total number of job losses were concentrated in that sector.

Reflecting the continuing impact of foreign trade, the BLS study showed that approximately half the workers who lost jobs in the apparel, textile and electrical machinery industries never found re-employment. The government said that many of these were women who have since left the labor force.

"Women were more likely than men to leave the labor force after a job loss," the BLS study said. "Almost one out of every four of the women who had been displaced from a job was no longer in the labor force in January 1986, compared with one out of 10 men."

More than 29 percent of the men and 40 percent of the women displaced from their jobs during the five years of the Reagan Recession still have not found re-employment either at their former skills or in lower-paying jobs in the service trades, the BLS study found.

Age factor

Although federal law prohibits age discrimination in employment, the study conceded that age was a "major factor" in finding new jobs. While 30 percent of those between age 20 and 54 were still looking for work, about one-third of those between age 55 and 64 and over two-thirds of those over 65 left the labor force because they couldn't find new employment.

The study showed sharp disparities among whites, blacks and Hispanics in terms of extended joblessness. While 32 percent of displaced white workers are still unemployed, the figure stands at 43 percent for blacks and Hispanics.

Food & Commercial Workers post key victory in anti-union stronghold

Indianola, Miss.—The Food & Commercial Workers scored a major breakthrough in this anti-union, right-to-work state with a stunning organizing victory at Delta Pride Processors Inc., the largest catfish processing plant in the nation.

Backed by a coalition of black ministers and civil rights activists, who preached support for the union from their pulpits and in face-to-face meetings with workers, the UFCW won the representation election by a margin of 489-349.

In doing so, it overcame a concerted management drive—orchestrated by the New Orleans-based union-busting law firm of Kullman, Inman, Bee & Downing—that included radio ads, letters mailed to workers' homes, and signs posted throughout the plant warning that voting for the union could lead to layoffs and a plant shutdown.

Hailing the impact of the victory, UFCW Vice President Willie L. Baker Jr. told cheering Delta Pride workers, 90 percent of them woman and virtually all of them black:

"The toughest state to organize in is Mississippi. The toughest part of Mississippi is the Delta. And this is the heart of the Delta."

Rev. Michael Freeman, one of the union's strongest advocates in a region that in the past has been openly hostile to organized labor, called the campaign a way to "break the shackles" that kept the workers in economic deprivation.

"The black labor force is viewed as cheap labor," Freeman declared, "and has been manipulated for a long time."

Rev. Edward Shields, another preacher who took to his pulpit in support of the UFCW campaign, pointed out to the rest of the community that higher wages at the catfish processing plant would "boost the entire local economy," because workers would have more money to spend on goods and services.

Plantation economy

Baker stressed the same theme. "This is still a plantation-type economy," he pointed out. "We have emphasized that low-income workers are spending 99 percent of their wages at every corner store, supermarket and barbershop," and that the proprietors of those establishments "all stand to benefit" from union-won wage gains.

And Cleve McDowell, state field director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, emphasized throughout the campaign that workers' civil rights go beyond the right to vote and encompass "economic power" as well.

"We joined this campaign because here was a labor union doing what we had always hoped they would be doing," McDowell said. He expressed the hope that unions would intensify their organizing efforts among the "poor people in the Deep South."

The UFCW began the organizing drive last winter with a direct mail campaign to catfish workers throughout the Delta whose wages average about $3.90 an hour, who receive no paid sick leave, inadequate health benefits and who are subjected to authoritarian discipline including restricted bathroom privileges.

In addition, Delta Pride regularly forced workers to punch out and wait around outside the building, without pay, until shipments of fish arrive for processing, the UFCW charged. It has filed a $6-million lawsuit against the company for violating federal wage-hour laws that mandate pay for required waiting time.

During the campaign, eight pro-union workers were fired for union activities. The National Labor Relations Board issued a complaint against the company in May, alleging the management fired and threatened to fire workers for attempting to unionize and illegally questioned and spied on employees about their union activities. Extended hearings have been held and final resolution of the complaint is pending.

The day before the election, the company staged a barbecue featuring cash prizes, a television set, anti-union flyers and caps bearing the message, "Vote No." In addition, several dozen police officers escorted an armored truck containing $182,000 in cash—the equivalent, the company told workers, of the amount of the dues they would have to pay the UFCW in one year.

Ploy backfires

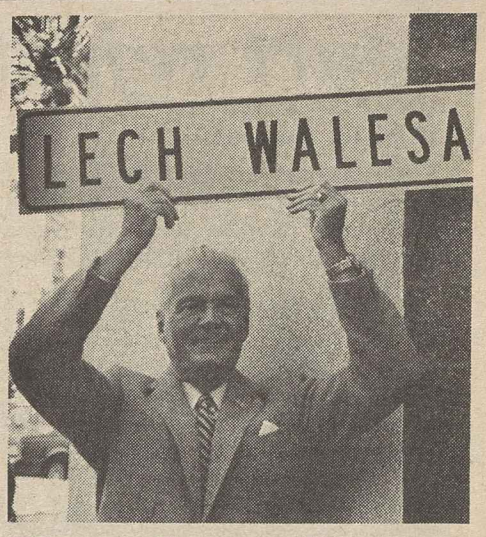
But that ploy backfired. As one worker put it, "I thought to myself, if they had all that much money lying around, then why didn't they give us a raise?"

On election day, more than a dozen workers from the nearby Pride of the Pond catfish plant—who voted by a 60-10 margin for the UFCW a few weeks earlier—came to Delta Pride to urge workers to vote "yes."

"We're here supporting our fellow workers," explained Kevin Bell, a maintenance worker at Pride of the Pond. "We want to show them if we can vote union, they can, too."

A company-inspired rumor given prominent display in local newspapers on the eve of the balloting—that Pride of the Pond was being forced to close as the result of the UFCW victory there—failed to stem the overwhelming pro-union vote in an area where the jobless rate is nearly three times the national average.

"This is a tremendous victory not only for the UFCW but for all workers in the Deep South," UFCW President William H. Wynn declared. "Other workers will see what workers at Delta Pride did and know that they can organize, too."



Freedom sign

Executive Sec.-Treas. John Henning of the California AFL-CIO holds sign marking Lech Walesa Street near San Francisco's City Hall. Local labor and Polish-American organizations had urged the Board of Supervisors to acknowledge the work of Walesa and Solidarnosc—the Polish free trade union movement—by renaming the street in his honor. During the dedication ceremony, Henning said Walesa symbolizes the "determination of the trade union movement to remain free throughout the world."

Gloomy corporate magnates see no trade deficit relief

By Gene Zack

The heads of the nation's largest corporations painted a gloomy picture of an America still battered by foreign imports throughout the remainder of this year and beyond, rejecting the Reagan Administration's rosy claims that a narrowing in the record-shattering trade gap is just around the corner.

The 100 top executives who attended the semi-annual meeting of the Business Council in Hot Springs, Va., expressed views paralleling those of the AFL-CIO, which has repeatedly warned that failure of the Republican-dominated Senate to pass a get-tough trade bill that has already cleared the House will mean the continued destruction of U.S. industries and jobs.

Industry's grim assessment of the economy came as the Labor Dept. reported inflation began heating up again in September—running at an annual rate of 4.7 percent.

The blame was laid at the doorstep of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries which re-established its grip on the market by agreeing to deep production cuts. This forced gasoline prices up a sharp 9.2 percent and drove home heating oil prices 7.7 percent higher—the steepest rise in 17 months.

At the Hot Springs meeting, the business executives saw no easing in the unemployment figures, which have remained stuck at recession levels during the 28 months since the start of the supposed "recovery" from the Reagan Recession. The Business Council saw the jobless rate remaining in the 7-percent range for the balance of this year, dipping to only 6.8 percent sometime in 1987 or 1988.

Trade gap 'sticky'

Industry's apparent lack of concern about unemployment drew stinging criticism from Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald. "The willingness of business to accept unconscionably high unemployment rates matches the heartlessness of the Reagan Administration, which has stubbornly refused to deal with the root cause of the problem—the soaring trade deficit," he declared.

Oswald pointed out that, prior to 1980, "an unemployment rate of 5 percent was considered a recession; today, 7-percent joblessness is called 'recovery.' The Administration is willing to use semantics to avoid its responsibilities to do something about the deepening tragedy of unemployment."

He noted that the current 7-percent jobless figure "is nearly double the 4 percent full employment level mandated by the Humphrey-Hawkins Act of 1978. But the White House ignores its statutory duty and seems not to care about either the cause of the problem or its cure."

Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige went to Hot Springs to predict that the trade deficit—which is expected to soar to a new all-time high of $170 billion this year—would narrow by about 20 percent next year.

But the business executives were openly skeptical.

"I can't see that we've turned the corner yet" in stemming the import tide, said Henry H. Henley Jr., chairman of Cluett, Peabody & Co., an apparel maker whose industry has been devastated by unrestrained imports.

Philip Caldwell, former Ford Motor Co. chief executive and now senior managing director of the investment firm of Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc., said, "I am not particularly optimistic" about the Administration's willingness to curb the competitive challenges from Japan, South Korea and the other countries of the Pacific Rim.

Trade deficit blamed

John S. Reed, chairman of Citicorp, the nation's biggest bank, said that "the trade gap seems pretty sticky," while John T. Connor, former head of Allied Corp. and Commerce Sec. in the Johnson Administration, dismissed Baldrige's determined optimism, declaring: "I think the consensus is that it's still to be proved."

The business executives predicted that the gross national product would expand a weak 2.6 percent this year, down from 2.7 percent last year and far below the 3.2-percent growth rate the Reagan Administration has been touting.

Nor did the industry leaders see much improvement ahead, forecasting a growth rate of only 2.9 percent in 1987 and 3.1 percent in 1988—the last year of the Reagan presidency.

On the inflation front, September's rise of four-tenths of 1 percent in producer prices followed an increase of three-tenths of 1 percent the previous month. Among the commodities showing increases at the wholesale level were women's apparel, up one-tenth of 1 percent; men's clothing, up three-tenths of 1 percent, and children's clothing, up one-tenth of 1 percent.

The government reported that the cost of new automobiles rose eight-tenths of 1 percent last month despite the end of the 1986 model year.

Low-cost interest rates and, in some instances, no-cost financing deals used by automakers to clear up a glut of unsold cars before the 1987 models hit the showrooms led to a 19.5-percent increase in automobile sales last month. The result was a record 4.6-percent increase in retail sales in September. Without the spurt in the automobile field, the retail sales gain would have been an anemic one-tenth of 1 percent—far weaker than August, when the non-auto category rose seven-tenths of 1 percent.

Poland's regime acts to suppress free union revival

Warsaw—Poland's free trade union movement has run into stubborn opposition from the Jaruzelski regime, as at least four labor leaders were rounded up for questioning as Solidarinosc reappeared on the scene five years after being outlawed by the government.

Lech Walesa, former head of Solidarnosc and winner of the AFL-CIO's George Meany Human Rights Award, was one of those facing interrogation. Although he supported the newly formed Temporary Council of Solidarity, Walesa is not a member of the leadership group.

Walesa agreed to answer the summons to report to the Socio-Administrative Dept. at the Gdansk provincial governor's office, but contended that "this department is not competent to review the problems of trade unions."

Government spokesman Jerzy Urban branded the newly formed council an "illegal structure," warning that, like Solidarnosc, it would be "liquidated according to the law."

The union leaders announced plans to abandon their clandestine activities and began working openly once again for independent trade unions. Their action came on the heels of a government announcement that 225 political prisoners, most of them union leaders and members, were being released from long jail terms.

Urban warned that the "destructive" step involved in the formation of a successor group to Solidarnosc could lead to "a vigorous application of the law" without hope in the future for "new humanitarian acts" similar to last month's sweeping grant of amnesty.

Rail strike issues sent to arbitration

The Maintenance of Way Employees and Guilford Transportation Industries reached agreement on a number of key issues, and submitted three areas of disagreement to binding arbitration, BMWE President Geoffrey Zeh reported.

Guilford agreed to accept the national railroad agreement provisions for wages and health and welfare benefits for its workers on the Maine Central Railroad and the Portland Terminal Co. The union "is glad Guilford has recognized that railway workers on the Maine Central line deserve the same wages and benefits as their fellow workers throughout the country," Zeh said.

Additionally, both sides agreed to "work out our problems concerning incidental work rules through the peaceful procedures of the Railway Labor Act," Zeh said, pledging his union will not strike over such matters.

Finally, the company agreed to the recommendations of a presidential emergency panel that severance pay be $26,000 for workers whose jobs the company plans to terminate. Still at issue, however, is how many workers are covered by this separation allowance, as a number of BMWE members are already on layoff status.

That dispute will be submitted to binding arbitration as requested by the union. Legislation passed by Congress and signed by President Reagan on Sept. 30 provided for the naming of an arbitrator. The National Mediation Board named Arthur T. Van Wart of Wilmington, Del., to that post. He will have 20 days to decide the issues.

Zeh pointed out that disagreement still remains also over the company's insistence on system production gangs—maintenance workers who can be assigned to work anywhere on the Maine Central line—and the duration of the contract. The emergency board had recommended that system-wide gangs be prohibited from doing routine day-to-day maintenance work.

Court rejects USX bid to block lockout benefits

By Candice Johnson

A federal court judge in Harrisburg, Pa., rejected a petition by USX Corp. to cut off unemployment benefits for Pennsylvania Steelworkers locked out by the steelmaker since Aug. 1.

USX sought an injunction in the U.S. District Court for Middle Pennsylvania to halt the jobless benefits—averaging $192 a week—awarded to 6,200 Steelworkers by the state Dept. of Labor & Industry. The agency had ruled that the USWA members were eligible for benefits because they had been locked out by USX.

In its petition, the giant steelmaker contended that its constitutional right to due process was violated because benefits are being paid to the locked-out workers while the steelmaker appeals the ruling. USX also charged that because the state has no provision for recovering the payments if the award is overturned, the company could face higher premium payments to the state unemployment compensation fund.

But Judge William W. Caldwell rejected that argument, finding that USX will not suffer "irreparable harm" if a state court overturns the jobless benefit award.

Caldwell said the court generally would agree that violation of the right of due process would result in irreparable injury. "But here the violation of due process may only have a monetary impact on USX" that can be averted by other means, he continued.

Caldwell noted that the USWA clearly demonstrated "a great possibility of harm to the workers" if unemployment benefits were stopped.

Public interest

"The public has an interest in seeing that unemployment payments are made" so that the locked-out workers would not have to rely upon public assistance while USX's appeal moves through the state system, he added.

The Dept. of Labor & Industry also disputed USX's claim that it would be liable for higher payments to the unemployment fund if the decision is overruled. USX is already at the maximum unemployment compensation tax rate of 9.7 percent because of its history of laying off workers, said department official Alan Williamson.

USX is appealing the compensation award to the Unemployment Compensation Board of Review, with a hearing set for mid-October. If the award of benefits is sustained, USX can seek a reversal in the state's courts.

USWA members in Ohio, Minnesota, Texas and Alabama are receiving jobless benefits and the union is appealing decisions in Illinois and Utah that denied workers unemployment compensation.

In Indiana, nearly 4,000 union members attended an employment commission hearing to determine eligibility for unemployment benefits. Earlier, benefits had been awarded to Indiana workers who were laid off prior to the Aug. 1 lockout.

Meanwhile, corporate raider Carl Icahn made USX an offer of $31 a share, or $7.2 billion, for its entire operation. Icahn called his bid "a friendly one" that would be withdrawn if USX could increase the value of its stock above the $31-mark. Icahn owns about 11.4 percent of USX stock.

Earlier, USX announced it was considering a possible "restructuring" of its operation, with the results of that analysis due Oct. 22.

Takeover speculation

USWA President Lynn Williams said the union is neither endorsing nor opposing Icahn's takeover bid. "We're not in the business of picking among corporate raiders, encouraging raiders or anything like that," he said.

Williams noted that Icahn has said a USX under his control would consider exchanging a stock and profit-sharing plan for wage and benefit reductions or might sell the steel unit to its employees, a move the union "would not shy away from," Williams said. But he added that these scenarios were merely "speculation."

No new negotiations have been scheduled as the lockout continues into its third month.

Immigration bill includes goals of penalties, amnesty

Continued from Page 1

off as dead in late September. But with a little more tinkering, a majority was reestablished and the House passed the bill. A House-Senate conference quickly agreed on the final terms.

Jack F. Otero, president of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement and a vice president of the Railway & Airline Clerks, was one who had mixed views on portions of the bill. But on balance, he said, it is a step forward.

Otero, a member of the 1981 blue-ribbon commission that proposed major immigration reform, said he considers both employer sanctions and amnesty necessary.

He noted that many employers prefer to hire illegal workers over other Hispanics because the threat of deportation intimidates them from complaining about wage-hour violations or seeking to improve their working conditions by organizing.

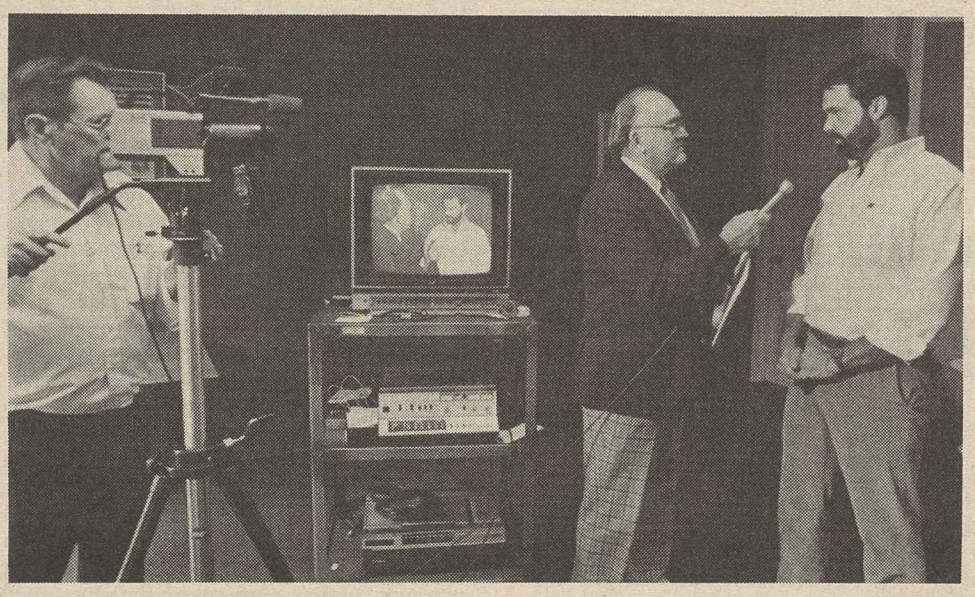
The general amnesty provision allows illegal aliens who came to the United States before Jan. 1, 1982, to apply for legal status. Starting six months after passage of the bill, they will have 18 months to submit an application.

After a year as lawful temporary residents, they will be able to apply for status as permanent residents after demonstrating a "minimal understanding of ordinary English" and a basic knowledge of U.S. history and government. After five more years, they can apply for citizenship.

The special farmworker provision allows temporary status for more recent immigrants but requires a two-year wait for permanent resident status. If the supply of seasonal farm workers proves inadequate, the government could admit additional aliens in fiscal years 1990 through 1993.

Employers will have to ask all job applicants for documents such as a passport or birth certificate and driver's license to confirm that they are either citizens or legally authorized to work in the United States.

Another provision requires the General Accounting Office to monitor the employer sanctions and civil right guarantees and report to Congress in each of the next three years. The measure also authorizes federal funds to reimburse states for public assistance and medical help to aliens who acquire legal status.



Meet the media

Tod Wilkinson, Indiana director for Frontlash, is interviewed by Gene Morrill, an instructor at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, as part of a workshop in public communication. Union representatives are taught how to work with radio, television and newspapers to improve labor's image. The camera operator is Bob Kimble of the Meany Center staff.

Pilots see air safety threat in deficient FAA proposals

Midair collisions are the foremost safety concern of the nation's pilots and the Federal Aviation Administration's proposals for preventing such occurrences have "several critical deficiencies," the Air Line Pilots warned.

ALPA President Henry A. Duffy told a House subcommittee that the union received with "mixed feelings" the recent FAA announcement that it would begin rulemaking next year to mandate certain on-board equipment by 1989. The equipment is designed to warn pilots of an impending collision and whether to ascend or descend.

Duffy said the union applauded the possibility that the such a system will be mandated, reversing the agency's current position that leaves the decision on using such equipment up to the air carriers.

But the system being considered is "the wrong equipment," he said, listing these reasons why ALPA prefers the TCAS III system now being developed:

- TCAS II limits pilots to only vertical escape maneuvers. When confronted with an in-air situation, pilots prefer to turn right or left, rather than climb or descend, knowing that the normal separation standard for airplanes is greater horizontally than vertically.
- It gives excessively high alert rates, mainly due to the poor quality of its antennae, a problem that erodes pilot confidence in the system.
- Vertical maneuvers are inappropriate during descents and especially during take-offs, when the plane may not be able to climb any faster or at a steeper angle. The result might force the pilot to descend, reducing the maneuvering options by 50 percent.

Action demanded

Duffy noted that the FAA and the industry have tried on and off for two decades to develop a collision avoidance system. Current air traffic levels demand such action as the number of airlines has proliferated under deregulation and the "firing of the experienced PATCO controllers has decimated the experience level of the controller work force."

The ALPA president recommended that the FAA set up a TCAS III program office to help "reduce the bureaucratic coordination process," that Congress fund a limited installation program and that the FAA retain the program for airplanes currently equipped with TCAS III. He urged that minimum standards for this system be developed "as quickly as possible."

Duffy cited a recent poll of his membership by Fingerhut/Madison Opinion Research that showed mid-air collisions to be the number one safety concern of pilots (20 percent) followed by airport congestion and the weakening of air traffic control (ll percent).

Pacts ratified at San Francisco hotels

Hotel workers in San Francisco ratified new contracts at 27 of 36 hotels bringing to a near close this year's round of bargaining. Meanwhile in Atlantic City, bargaining continues at one hotel after union workers at 10 other casinos approved their new contracts.

Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Local 2 in San Francisco ratified the new agreements by a 98-percent approval margin and members at one other hotel will vote soon on a tentative package, the union reported. Only about 350 members at eight hotels remain without new contracts, he said.

The pattern settlement, won initially at five hotels, provides annual hourly raises of 35 cents for non-tipped employees and 15 cents annually for tipped workers. Overtime, health and pension benefits and sick leave provisions were improved, while group legal insurance will be added in the final six months of the agreements.

In Atlantic City, HERE Local 54 members ratified a new agreement in a mail ballot by a 400-vote margin. The settlements, reached after a short strike at eight hotels, provide wage increases ranging from 10 to 20 cents an hour.

Bargaining continues with the Atlantis hotel, which filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection last year.

Vermont's unions back candidates, urge state ERA

Jeffersonville, Vt.—Incumbents in November's gubenatorial and congressional elections were endorsed by delegates to the Vermont AFL-CIO convention, which also reaffirmed the federation's commitment to the passage of a state equal rights amendment.

Sen. Patrick J. Leahy and Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin, both Democratic incumbents, received the federation's backing, as did Rep. James M. Jeffords (R), the state's at-large congressman. The convention also endorsed Democrats Howard Dean for Lieutenant Governor and Liz Dodge for Secretary of State and Republican Jeffrey Amestoy for Attorney General.

The 77 delegates voted unanimously to support the state ERA in the November referendum, a position they have taken the last five conventions.

In addressing the convention, Leahy stressed his votes in Congress on vital human rights and jobs issues backed by labor unions. He is being challenged in the November election by former Gov. Richard Snelling.

Kunin explained how she had inherited a $35-million deficit when she took office two years ago and had reversed that to a $9-million surplus this year. She also reminded the delegates of her efforts to save jobs and to improve public education.

Jeffords detailed the actions he taken in support of labor measures, including voting recently to override President Reagan's veto of a measure to limit imports.

The delegates voiced strong support for the locked-out Steelworkers at USX Corp., for continued adequate funding for the state's occupational safety and health program, and for increased apprenticeship funding by the state. They urged that Vermont's unemployment benefits law be fairly administered and that the workers' compensation law continue to be "one of the best in the country."

Keying on an issue likely to be raised in the next state legisative session, the delegates firmly opposed the introduction of any so-called right-to-work measures.

In a mini-workshop, the delegates discussed ways to contest drug testing within the collective bargaining process, calling the use of drug testing an even greater "invasion of privacy" than the use of lie detectors. They also covered the provisions of the state's worker and community right-to-know laws on hazardous substances.

Union donates space for AIDS research

Miami—Although its Red Cross office was destroyed by fire, a research project on AIDS—Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome—has found a temporary home at Electrical Workers Local 349's hall.

The IBEW local donated free office space to the project until construction of a new facility at the regional blood center is completed. The project tracks persons who have received blood from donors who now test positive for AIDS or AIDS-related complex.

EDITORIALS

Exporting Jobs

FACTORY JOBS in the United States apparently aren't disappearing fast enough to satisfy this Administration.

Take the incredible sponsorship by an arm of the U.S. Dept. of Commerce of an "exposition" in Acapulco, Mexico, intended to encourage companies to move work—and jobs—out of the United States.

Our government has sent invitations to thousands of U.S. firms. The list includes manufacturers of textile and clothing products, electrical and electronic equipment, auto parts, toys, communications equipment and dozens of other items that are still made in the U.S.A.

The invitation in effect is to lay off American workers and take advantage of what the brochure paid for by American taxpayers describes as "a way of utilizing the low-cost foreign labor in the assembly of products for re-export" to the United States.

Under the cozy arrangement that has been in effect for too many years, across-the-border factories operate as jobbers or subcontractors for U.S. firms. This enables U.S. manufacturers to avoid paying even a minimum wage, hardly a goal for our government to applaud.

In 10 years, the number of jobs that have moved across the border has risen from 80,000 to 300,000. Yet the Dept. of Commerce is not satisfied. It wants still more jobs exported.

It's time to ask this Administration, in the words of the old union song, "Which side are you on?"

One thing is clear. It's not the side of this country's workers.

Stuck with the Bill

A TERRIBLE PRICE is being paid for the takeover games that corporate raiders and Wall Street financiers play, and it's usually the workers who end up getting stuck with the bill.

Take the case of Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp., which has been making a healthy profit each year from the variety of insulation and building materials that some 28,000 workers produce in its plants across the country.

It was the target of a takeover bid last summer by a California firm that offered Owens-Corning stockholders a higher price than the market value of their stock. Owens-Corning management responded by borrowing $1.5 billion from banks to outbid the raider, who then backed off gracefully after pocketing a $30 million profit.

That's the type of financial gamesmanship that sometimes makes the business sections of newspapers as lively as the sports pages. But the Owens-Corning story, like so many others of its kind, would be more suitable for the obituary page.

THE COMPANY, now saddled with a huge and needless debt, decided to keep only its highest-profit segments and shut down or sell off a large part of its operations.

It has already announced the layoffs of thousands of workers and anticipates an eventual reduction of some 13,000 employees, nearly half its total work force.

"We have a need to manage for cash flow," a company spokesman explained. Therefore, it chose to abandon "businesses that weren't performing at levels that we would hope." Because of the huge debt it incurred in buying up its stock at inflated prices, it didn't have the resources for needed capital development.

THE EXTRA costs resulting from the refinancing and contraction of operations gave the company a third-quarter loss of $58 million, even though its sales and net income were up. But if it had not been for the write-offs, the company would have shown a $50 million profit for the quarter, up 28.5 percent from the previous year.

The restructuring will be "extremely painful to many people," the Owens-Corning chairman acknowledged.

Unfortunately, we know all too well who these people are.

They're us.

Washington Window

Students need new skills to enter information age

By Press Associates Inc.

For those seeking to cull the best ideas from the push for education reform that meets the nation's needs, a new federally funded report provides a focus on the target.

In "Literacy: Profiles of America's Young Adults," the National Assessment of Educational Progress found in a representative household sample of 3,600 young adults that 95 percent of those 21 to 25 years old reach or surpass a fourth-grade reading level.

That means that most young Americans are literate by the standard adopted by the military some 50 years ago. By the standard adopted during the War on Poverty in the 1960s, 80 percent of the young adults were estimated to read at or over the eighth-grade level. By recent standards, more than 60 percent were found to read at or over the 11th grade level.

This is good news in the sense that it demonstrates that America has raised its citizenry to one of the highest literacy levels in the world.

But, in the context of today's complex, information-based society, the NAEP report demonstrates that the nation has a long way to go.

For example, 96 percent of those tested could accurately locate a single piece of information in a newspaper article; 99 percent could identify the correct meeting time from a form, and 92 percent could total two bank deposit entries.

Key skills lacking

However, at the higher levels, only 9 percent could distinguish between two types of employee fringe benefits; only 20 percent were able to correctly use a bus schedule, and only 10 percent were able to select the least costly item based on unit pricing information similar to that used by grocery stores or calculate the amount of interest charges from a loan ad.

What this means for education, as Ruth Whitman of the Teachers pointed out, is that young people must be able to do more than "decode and decipher" to be competitive and succeed in today's society. The nation, she said, needs a new educational system to move it into a knowledge-based society.

The AFT and the National Education Association endorse ways to professionalize teaching and restructure schools to empower teachers to move beyond traditional curricula and develop more effective educational programs.

One area of recent intense focus by both unions is the role of elementary education in establishing analytical and information-processing skills and habits needed in higher education. Studies suggest that the early years are a "make or break" time for later achievement.

'Make or break' time

The NAEP report noted that current elementary and even adult literacy programs are usually restricted to simple narrative texts to teach reading. However, primary emphases on this single aspect of literacy may not lead to learning complex information-processing skills and strategies.

In an article in the AFT's "American Educator" magazine, E.D. Hirsch Jr., an English professor at the University of Virginia, said the high-level reading and writing skills required to attain new knowledge-based skills throughout life are based on "a large, complex system of world knowledge," which he calls "cultural literacy."

Societies worldwide rely on transmitting particular, shared background facts to children at an early age. Called "acculturation" by social scientists, this process gives children a basis for what they need to know to function as adults usually by puberty or age 13.

Hirsch suggests that this is where schools have failed. By not taking advantage of children's natural eagerness to learn social and scientific facts by using materials and programs that include them as part of learning basic skills, he said, schools may never be able to make up for this cultural illiteracy in the higher grades.

By now, most Americans realize that well-educated citizens are the nation's best hope in a technologically complex world. Careful planning of education reforms can help meet these goals.

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Numbers favor GOP in governor races

Continued from Page 1

In Nevada, COPE-endorsed Gov. Richard A. Bryan is running well ahead of GOP State Treas. Patty Cafferata. And in New York, the polls have Gov. Mario M. Cuomo favored by better than 60 percent of the voters against Westchester County Executive Andrew P. O'Rourke.

Republican Gov. Edward DiPrete of Rhode Island is heavily favored for re-election over Democratic opponent businessman Bruce G. Sundlun. And in neighboring Connecticut, Gov. William A. O'Neill is holding onto a slight lead over his Republican opponent, state Rep. Julie Belaga. To the north, New Hampshire's Republican Gov. John H. Sununu is running well ahead in the polls over his Democratic opponent, Atty. Paul McEachern, a former Portsmouth city councilman.

Toward the Midwest, neighboring governors James J. Blanchard of Michigan and Rudy Perpich of Minnesota—both COPE-endorsed—are leading their Republican rivals. Blanchard holds a strong margin over Wayne County Executive William Lucas, while Perpich is maintaining his lead over former state Rep. Cal Ludeman. In Ohio, COPE-backed Democratic Gov. Richard F. Celeste maintains a solid lead over 76-year-old, former four-term Gov. James A. Rhodes.

Democratic edge

Vermont Gov. Madeleine Kunin, endorsed by the state AFL-CIO, is leading a three-way race against GOP Lt. Gov. Peter P. Smith and independent candidate Bernard Sanders, mayor of Burlington. If no one gets a simple majority (50+ percent), then the election goes to the state legislature.

Illinois Gov. James R. Thompson, a Republican who was endorsed by the state AFL-CIO, stands well ahead of challenger Adlai E. Stevenson III, a former Democratic senator, who gave up the Democratic nomination to run on the Illinois Solidarity Party ticket after finding himself paired with a follower of Lyndon H. LaRouche following the Democratic primary.

Four incumbents are facing stiff enough challenges for their races to be considered toss-ups.

● Texas Gov. Mark White is locked in a rematch with former GOP Gov. William Clements, whom White beat in 1982. White has had to contend with a $3.5-billion shortfall in state revenues and a jobless tally exceeding 10 percent—both a result of the slump in the state's oil industry. In August, White called a special session of the legislature to deal with revenue problems. Clements said he'd reveal his ideas to solve Texas' fiscal crisis if White called the special session. When he did, Clements was empty-handed. White is closing the gap, but the race is too close to call.

● Wisconsin Gov. Anthony S. Earl, who erased the state's sizable deficit by raising taxes, is fighting the nickname the GOP tagged him with in 1983, "Tony the Taxer." He recently won approval for a $3-million worker retraining program. Earl, the COPE-endorsed Democrat, has a slight lead over House Minority Leader Tommy G. Thompson, a Republican with two decades in the legislature.

● Farm Belt misery has tightened the economic waistband in Iowa, making Republican Gov. Terry E. Branstad's re-election effort tougher, especially since his Democratic opponent is former Senate Majority Leader Lowell L. Junkins, the COPE-endorsed candidate.

Branstad has flip-flopped on issues and failed to meet a previous campaign pledge to create 180,000 new jobs. He has distanced himself from Reagan farm policies and would prefer Junkins' proposal to sell $500 million in state bonds to become the campaign's focus, instead of the dismal farm economy. Junkins, quoting Franklin D. Roosevelt, said the state has reached the point where it must "try something."

● California Gov. George Deukmejian, with a war chest ten times that of challenger Tom Bradley, Democratic mayor of Los Angeles, has seen his big edge slowly erode during the campaign. While maintaining his lead in the rematch with the COPE-endorsed Bradley, Deukmejian has been put on the defensive for his anti-worker policies and his vetoes of certain toxic-waste measures.

In other states, of 19 chief executives leaving office, a dozen are being forced out by state laws that prevent them from seeking re-election, six are stepping down voluntarily and one—Alaska Gov. Bill Sheffield—lost in the primary. In the races for open seats, only Baltimore Mayor William D. Schaefer, a COPE-endorsed Democrat seeking the governorship of heavily Democratic Maryland, is considered a shoo-in. His opponent is GOP state Rep. Thomas Mooney.

● In Alaska, State Rep. Steve Cowper, endorsed by the State AFL-CIO, beat Gov. Bill Sheffield in the Democratic primary, setting up a race with GOP state Sen. Arliss Sturgulewski. She was a surprise winner in a nine-way GOP primary and currently leads in the polls, aided by the endorsement of former Gov. Jay Hammond.

● COPE-endorsed Democrat Carolyn Warner, Arizona superintendent of public instruction, faces Republican Evan Mecham, an auto dealer, in the contest for Gov. Bruce Babbitt's seat. The independent write-in candidacy of Democrat Bill Schulz could affect the outcome, but Warner has maintained a lead over Mecham and is favored.

● Colorado Treas. Roy Romer, endorsed by COPE, is locked in a close contest with Republican state Senate President Ted Strickland. Both have lost in statewide races and made political comebacks. It's considered a toss-up.

● Former Florida State Rep. Steve Pajcic, endorsed by the State AFL-CIO and sheriffs and police unions, will vie against Democrat-turned-Republican Tampa Mayor Bob Martinez. The contest is regarded as very close.

● In Hawaii, Republican D.G. Anderson, former Honolulu city manager, will face two challengers for Gov. George R. Ariyoshi's seat. Lt. Gov. John Waihee won the seven-way primary for the Democratic nomination in an upset over former Rep. Cecil Heftel, who is now running as a write-in candidate. A split Democratic vote could put Anderson on top.

● In Idaho, former Democratic Gov. Cecil Andrus has the edge over GOP Lt. Gov. David H. Leroy. Andrus was governor of the state from 1970 to 1977 when he joined President Jimmy Carter's cabinet, handing the gubernatorial seat to his lieutenant governor, John Evans, who is now running for the Senate. The state's economy is in a slump and many Idahoans recall Andrus's terms as governor as a period of relative prosperity. Leroy has had trouble pinpointing an issue on which he can attack Andrus.

● Kansas Lt. Gov. Thomas Docking, whose father and grandfather were popular governors of the state, has strong ties to the major cities here, but still trails Republican House Speaker Mike Hayden. Docking, endorsed by organized labor, has an uphill fight as Hayden's camp has latched onto weak age and name issues—claiming Docking is too young, at 32, and is trading on the family name.

● A four-way race in Maine has Republican Rep. John McKernan Jr. slightly ahead of Democratic state Atty. Gen. James E. Tierney. The spoil factor goes to independents John Menario, former Portland city manager, and former GOP state Rep. Sherry F. Huber. A definite toss-up.

● In the country's first woman-against-woman gubernatorial race, Nebraska State Treas. Kay Orr has lost ground to Democrat Helen Boosalis, former mayor of Lincoln. Outgoing Gov. Robert Kerrey tapped Boosalis to serve as state director of the Dept. of Aging from 1983-85. She is a popular campaigner and has nearly the same name recognition as Orr. Currently a dead heat.

● COPE-endorsed Democrat Ray Powell, an engineer trails GOP's Garrey Carruthers, a former U.S. Interior Dept. official, in the contest for governor of New Mexico. Powell is saddled with problems from the administration of Gov. Toney Anaya, while Carruthers is stressing a "new beginning."

● In Oklahoma, former Republican Gov. Henry Bellmon has a slight edge over Democratic businessman David Walters. Bellmon, a two-term U.S. senator, stands politically to the right of center, but he is under fire from the hard-core right for his Senate votes for the Panama treaty and against an anti-busing amendment. Walters is drawing his support from the business community and young professionals.

● In Oregon, Democrat Neil Goldschmidt—a former mayor of Portland, Secretary of Transportation in the Carter Administration and a business executive—has closed the gap in the race with Republican Norma Paulus, secretary of state from 1977-1985. Goldschmidt, the COPE-endorsed candidate, has strong business community support. Paulus is popular among feminist groups.

● In Pennsylvania William Scranton III, son of a former Pennsylvania governor, is trailing COPE-backed Democrat Robert Casey, a former state auditor. Scranton, lieutenant governor under outgoing incumbent Richard Thornburgh, is playing up the state's economic recovery—a tactic that will be lost on western Pennsylvania's steel country which is mired in recession-level unemployment.

● Polls show South Carolina a toss-up. COPE-supported Lt. Gov. Michael Daniel is stressing his role in the administration of outgoing Gov. Richard Riley, particularly in lobbying for landmark education programs. Republican Rep. Carroll Campbell Jr., who is playing up his links to the Reagan Administration, is the recipient of more business PAC dollars than any other member of the state's House delegation.

● South Dakota House Minority Leader Lars Herseth has only a slight lead over GOP House Speaker George Mickelson. While both are sons of former state governors, COPE-endorsed Herseth is making the most of his background as a farmer in a year when many farmers are dissatisified with Republican national farm policies. Herseth's lead may hold.

● Tennessee's neck-and-neck race features Democratic House Speaker Ned Ray McWherter, a well-liked, down-home style politician, and former Gov. Winfield Dunn, a dentist-turned-corporate executive with an ample war chest and telegenic appeal.

● In Wyoming, COPE-backed Democrat Mike Sullivan, an attorney with a reputation for being more conservative than his Republican opponent, Pete Simpson, a former University of Wyoming vice president, is trailing slightly in the polls.

Alabama's gubernatorial race is as much in the courts as on the campaign trail. Democratic Atty. Gen. Charles Graddick won the primary by 9,000 votes. But Lt. Gov. William Baxley convinced a federal court that Graddick had violated the Voting Rights Act by encouraging some 25,000 Republicans to cross over and vote in the Democratic runoff. Graddick won one appeal, but lost another, and Baxley, who has COPE support, as of now will be the Democratic candidate. Meanwhile, Republican Guy Hunt, a former county probate judge, has benefitted from the rift and currently leads in the race.

Candidates for governor

Democrats	States	Republicans
William J. Baxley	Alabama	Guy Hunt
Steve Cowper	Alaska	Arliss Sturgulewski
Carolyn Warner	Arizona	Evan Mecham
Bill Clinton*	Arkansas	Frank White
Tom Bradley	California	George Deukmejian*
Roy Romer	Colorado	Ted Strickland
William O'Neill*	Connecticut	Julie Belaga
Steve Pajcic	Florida	Bob Martinez
Joe Frank Harris*	Georgia	Guy E. Davis Jr.
John Waihee	Hawaii	D.G. Anderson
Cecil Andrus	Idaho	David H. Leroy
Adlai Stevenson†	Illinois	James R. Thompson*
Lowell Junkins	Iowa	Terry E. Branstad*
Thomas Docking	Kansas	Mike Hayden
James E. Tierney	Maine	John R. McKernan Jr.
William D. Schaefer	Maryland	Thomas J. Mooney
Michael S. Dukakis*	Massachusetts	George S. Kariotis
James J. Blanchard*	Michigan	William Lucas
Rudy Perpich*	Minnesota	Cal Ludeman
Helen Boosalis	Nebraska	Kay A. Orr
Richard Bryan	Nevada	Patty Cafferata
Paul McEachern	New Hampshire	John H. Sununu*
Garrey Carruthers	New Mexico	Ray Powell
Mario Cuomo*	New York	Andrew P. O'Rourke
Richard Celeste*	Ohio	James A. Rhodes
David Walters	Oklahoma	Henry Bellmon
Neil Goldschmidt	Oregon	Norma Paulus
Robert P. Casey	Pennsylvania	William Scranton III
Bruce Sundlun	Rhode Island	Edward DiPrete
Michael Daniel	South Carolina	Carroll Campbell Jr.
Lars Herseth	South Dakota	George Mickelson
Ned Ray McWherter	Tennessee	Winfield Dunn
Mark White*	Texas	William Clements
Madeleine Kunin*	Vermont	Peter P. Smith
Anthony S. Earl*	Wisconsin	Tommy G. Thompson
Mike Sullivan	Wyoming	Pete Simpson

*incumbent †Democratic primary winner, but running as candidate of Illinois Solidarity Party.

3,200 St. Louis jobs at stake as Kroger sells off 54 stores

St. Louis—The Food & Commercial Workers are waging an admittedly uphill battle to save the jobs of 3,200 members at the Kroger Co.'s 54 retail stores here being sold off piecemeal to the food chain's competitors.

The union has already opened negotiations with two of the prospective new purchasers—Schnuck Markets, a large local independent chain, and National Tea Co., a subsidiary of Loblaw Companies—and agreement seemed near on the hiring of as many of Kroger's UFCW members as possible.

But the outlook for preserving the jobs of all 3,200 workers is complicated by the fact that some of the other purchasers, longtime competitors of Kroger's, plan to close down the rival retail outlets to gain control of a larger share of the market. As many as one-third of the Kroger stores seem doomed, the union said.

The current contract between UFCW Local 655 and Kroger provides a maximum of eight weeks' severance pay in the event of a closing but contains no protection for seniority rights under a successor owner.

Management notified the union that it was prepared to bargain over the impact of the closing, and Local 655 is seeking to have unused vacation credit and accumulated sick leave added to the severance package.

In a related announcement, Kroger disclosed it will sell all of the nearly 900 drug stores it operate under the separate SuperRX and Hook Drug banners. The nearly 10,000 workers at these outlets are nonunion.

99th Congress posts a mixed record on labor issues

By David L. Perlman

The 99th Congress concluded its two-year term with a burst of productivity, some impressive accomplishments—and some glaring failures.

It passed tax reform and immigration reform laws that moved in directions the AFL-CIO has urged, but not as far as the trade union movement sought.

It was unable to compel a change in trade policy to stop the destruction of American industry and bring imports and exports into closer balance.

One important trade bill was killed by President Reagan's veto. A broader-based bill passed the House by a veto-proof margin, but died in a Republican-controlled Senate reluctant to again challenge the President's rigid commitment to free trade.

Trade legislation was labor's top priority in the 99th Congress, and it will be the top priority in the 100th Congress that will be elected on Nov. 4, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten stressed.

Where a bipartisan consensus could be achieved, Congress took some big steps forward, McGlotten noted. It protected many of the domestic programs that President Reagan's budget would have gutted. It overrode Reagan's veto of the South African sanctions bill. And it caused President Reagan to sign the Superfund toxic waste cleanup bill rather than have another veto overridden.

But on many bills directly affecting workers and their unions, the political divisions between the Democratic House and the Republican-controlled Senate resulted in a standoff.

Thanks in large part to the House, the 99th Congress did not weaken labor laws and worker protections, as its anti-union elements had urged. Some progress was made where a bipartisan consensus was achieved. But too many bills for which unions fought died in the Senate after passing the House. That's one reason the 99th Congress doesn't get more than a passing grade on labor's report card.

McGlotten had high praise for retiring House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. for holding together a majority on most bills of special concern to workers in the face of opposition by a strong conservative coalition. On several important issues, a mere handful of votes made the difference.

This is how the 99th Congress dealt with some of the major concerns of union members:

The need to stem the hemorrhage of American jobs added urgency to the battle over trade legislation. When President Reagan took office, the United States was running a trade surplus of $12 billion a year in manufactured goods. By the start of the 99th Congress, this had turned into a deficit of $89 billion. When the second

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AFL-CIO news

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Kirkland spurs election turnout

Stresses workers, unions have high stake in outcome

The stakes are high for American workers—"trade, jobs, fairness, families and our future"—as the nation heads into the final days before the mid-term elections, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland asserted.

In an election-eve statement addressed to members of the federation's 92 affiliated national and international unions, Kirkland said:

"I urge you and your family to vote on election day and to encourage every member of your union—and their families—to go to the polls and make their votes count."

The Nov. 4 election will see contests for 34 Senate seats, where a swing of just four seats would put an end to the Republicans' shaky grip on that body; races for all 435 seats in a House of Representatives that is certain to remain firmly under Democratic leadership and that could see a dwindling of the ranks of the ultra right; 36 governorships, now overwhelmingly Democratic, and balloting for thousands of state and local offices.

All the election contests are important, Kirkland stressed, because "more and more decisions that affect workplaces and paychecks are made in the state legislatures."

But it is on the national level where workers and their families have the most to gain—or lose.

When the 100th Congress convenes in January, Kirkland emphasized, it will face an agenda of "crucial importance to working people," as it tries to rescue a faltering domestic economy, put Americans back to work and restore domestic programs that protect children, the elderly and the needy.

The new Congress, Kirkland pointed out, will also have to deal with the twilight of the Reagan Administration as it makes one final effort "to destroy the legitimate role of government in our society and slash the programs important to middle-class Americans and their families."

What the nation needs, the AFL-CIO president reminded workers, is "a Congress that will pass a good trade reform bill, that will protect the right of American workers to decent wages and working conditions and to a healthy workplace, and one that will fight to save American jobs.

"We need a Congress that will pursue the goal that all Americans and their families have decent housing, education, health care, social security—and jobs."

Critical votes

Kirkland took note of the fact that the federation regularly reports to trade unionists on the critical votes in the House and Senate in which the labor-supported position won or lost by a handful of votes.

"This election," he said, "is a chance to make the list of wins longer and the tally of losses shorter."

The best way to achieve that goal, he continued, is to "widen the margin of labor's friends who sit in the House and to return the Senate to a progressive course."

The question of who holds key Senate committee chairmanships is crucial to organized labor, he pointed out, if workers and their families are to get "a fair hearing and treatment" regardless of "the anti-union pressures applied by the far-right wing or the Reagan Administration."

The federation's national and state

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Free at last

"We rejoice at your release," AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told recently freed Soviet dissident Yuri Orlov during the latter's visit to federation headquarters. Founder and chairman of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, Orlov was imprisoned for seven years at hard labor and was just completing five years of forced exile in Siberia when he was allowed to emigrate to the United States as part of the deal that freed American newsman Nicholas Daniloff. Orlov thanked Kirkland for the federation's continued support for trade union and human rights in the Soviet Union and around the globe.

Superfund cleanup approved as Reagan backs off on veto

President Reagan backed off from a showdown with Congress and signed broadly supported legislation to replenish and expand the Superfund program to clean up the toxic waste dumps that pollute America.

Reagan's White House staff had recommended a veto, contending that the cost was too high and protesting that the corporate profits surtax levied to help pay the cost would breach the Administration's rigid opposition to new sources of tax revenue.

But House Democratic leaders had declared their intent to postpone the formal adjournment of the 99th Congress to assure an opportunity to override the veto, and Senate Republican leaders had warned the President of serious political fallout if he killed the Superfund.

The 386-27 vote by which the bill passed the House and the 88-8 vote in the Senate left no doubt that a presidential veto would be overridden.

In the end, Reagan signed the bill after getting a face-saving letter from 50 senators, originated by Republican Leader Robert Dole, promising that the business tax would not be increased or diverted to other uses.

Veto threats

But Reagan veto threats forced the deletion of two labor-sought provisions from the big government funding bill that Congress enacted before adjournment, and a presidential veto blocked an effort to end the blacklisting of former air traffic controllers fired for participation in the 1981 strike.

The House had sought to include in the

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10/25/86

Weak economic growth tied to widening U.S. trade deficit

By Gene Zack

In a rare burst of candor, the Reagan Administration conceded that the soaring trade deficit is undermining the domestic economy, as the Commerce Dept. reported the gross national product grew a lackluster 2.4 percent during the third quarter.

Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige blamed the worsening trade crisis for the weak GNP performance, admitting it has reduced economic growth so far this year by close to 2 percentage points.

As American voters prepared for mid-term elections that could redirect the nation's priorities after six years of Reaganomics, Baldrige tried to put a rosy tint on the gray economic figures. He predicted that the trade imbalance would improve and that GNP would rise at a 4 percent rate in the last quarter—far above what private economists see for the last three months of the year.

The AFL-CIO took sharp exception to Baldrige's claim that the long slide in foreign trade was coming to an end.

"Every indicator points to a trade deficit by the end of the year that will far overshadow 1985's record-breaking $148.5-billion shortfall," said Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald.

In the third quarter, the trade deficit was running at an inflation-adjusted annual rate of $164.6 billion—some 50 percent higher than for the same period in 1985.

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99th Congress posts a mixed record

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session opened last January, the annual shortfall was a staggering $113 billion.

Against that backdrop, Congress sought to limit the flood of textile and clothing imports that had already cost 300,000 jobs in America's largest manufacturing industry. The bill also held hope for the ravaged shoe and copper industries.

President Reagan's veto dashed these hopes. Last August, the House voted 276-149 to override the veto, eight short of the needed two-thirds majority.

The House mustered a veto-proof 295-115 vote for a broad-based trade bill designed to make trade more of a two-way street, but the measure languished in the Senate Finance Committee from last May until Congress adjourned. Reagan veto threats led to the dropping of Buy American provisions in several bills.

Tax justice, another big start-to-finish campaign, was a two-front war.

An early objective was to stop an Administration-spurred attempt to tax workers on the value of employer-paid job benefits such as health and life insurance. That would have made a mockery of the entire concept of tax reform.

Shift of burden

Thanks to labor's grass-roots campaign, a majority of both the House and Senate pledged to oppose any such tax, and the threat was repelled.

The tax bill itself ended up as a broadly supported compromise that helped many low-income households and shifted more of the tax burden from individuals to corporations.

But faced with a Reagan veto threat, Congress passed up the opportunity to use needed tax reforms as a source of revenue to reduce the huge federal deficit without short-circuiting the nation's needs. Its failure to do so almost guarantees a budget crisis in the new Congress.

A goal of labor's foes was to weaken and eventually repeal both the Davis-Bacon Act prevailing wage requirements for government construction contracts and the comparable Service Contract Act. Another was to amend the Hobbs Act so that the stiff penalties of the federal anti-racketeering law could be applied to union members engaged in a lawful strike. A third was to lower the federal wage floor through a subminimum youth wage.

All were rejected or sidetracked.

The only change in the Fair Labor Standards Act came through a compromise the AFL-CIO and its public-sector unions helped negotiate after the Supreme Court reversed itself and ruled that Congress could extend wage-hour coverage to state and local employees.

Public agencies will be allowed to substitute compensatory time off for overtime pay if employees are willing. But the "comp time" must be computed at the same time-and-one-half rate as cash overtime pay.

As noted in the separate story on the final days of the session, Reagan's veto threat led to the scrapping of the House-passed bill to stop double-breasted contractors from evading their union agreements.

The House passed a union-urged bill to require the Transportation Dept. to impose labor protection provisions as a condition for approval of an airline merger. But it was blocked by a 49-49 tie vote in the Senate. A comparable provision in the House-passed Conrail bill was dropped in conference to clear the way for approval of the public sale.

Congress approved a long-overdue increase in the pension insurance premium that single-employer pension plans pay to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. and made other changes to better protect the retirement benefits of some 29 million workers.

Other gains

Some other pension law improvements are included in the tax changes Congress enacted. A worker must be vested in a pension plan after five years of employment; the previous requirement was 10 years. Another provision limits the ability of employers to reduce pension benefits by integrating them with social security.

Congress required employers with group health insurance plans to allow laid-off workers to buy continued health insurance at group rates for up to 18 months after a layoff and to provide a similar option for spouses and dependents of deceased workers for three years.

The House had voted to bar firms seeking bankruptcy law protection from unilaterally cancelling health benefits provided to retirees. But the Senate insisted on making the law temporary, and the next Congress will again have to face the issue.

While renewal of the Superfund for toxic waste removal was a major plus, a labor-backed bill requiring notification of workers whose past employment has subjected them to health hazards died without action.

Another setback was the sidetracking in the final hours of Congress of a consensus bill that included labor-sought strengthening of federal pesticide controls. Endangered farm workers will have to wait for the legislation to move through the newly-elected Congress.

Congress did give final approval, however, to a union-sought bill that requires schools to get rid of hazardous asbestos and directs the Environmental Protection Agency to set standards for safe removal by certified contractors.

Polygraph ban

One of the disappointments of the 99th Congress was failure to complete action on a House-passed bill barring most private employers from subjecting workers or job applicants to polygraph tests. For a while, bipartisan sponsorship raised hopes for Senate action. But it didn't happen.

In the first session, the Senate sidetracked a South African sanctions bill in exchange for a token slap-on-the-wrist executive order issued by Reagan.

But in the second session, the issue could no longer be evaded. After passing a sanctions bill intended to bring increasing economic pressure on Pretoria to abandon apartheid and negotiate with black leaders, both the House and Senate overrode Reagan's veto.

A domestic civil rights issue was less successful, however. As had happened in the previous Congress, an attempt to clarify the federal ban on sex discrimination to overcome an adverse Supreme Court decision became tangled in a dispute over abortion issues between two House committees. Some progress was reported on efforts to reconcile differences.

Another House failure was the defeat of a labor-priority bill to require employers to give workers and communities advance notice of plant closings. Despite concessions made to overcome objections, the bill was defeated last year by a 208-203 vote.

The House did pass a parental leave bill that would give workers of either sex the right to take unpaid leave to care for a new child—and to claim their job back. But the Senate let it die.

Immigration reform was the surprise accomplishment of the final days of a session that ran more than two weeks past its scheduled adjournment.

In past years, congressional opinions were so splintered that it appeared impossible to muster a majority for any single bill. In late September, after the House defeated a rule providing for consideration of a compromise immigration bill, the measure was declared dead. But it survived with slight modifications as an imperfect measure that appeared to most members of Congress to be a last opportunity to act on a festering problem.

That's the way it looked to the AFL-CIO also.

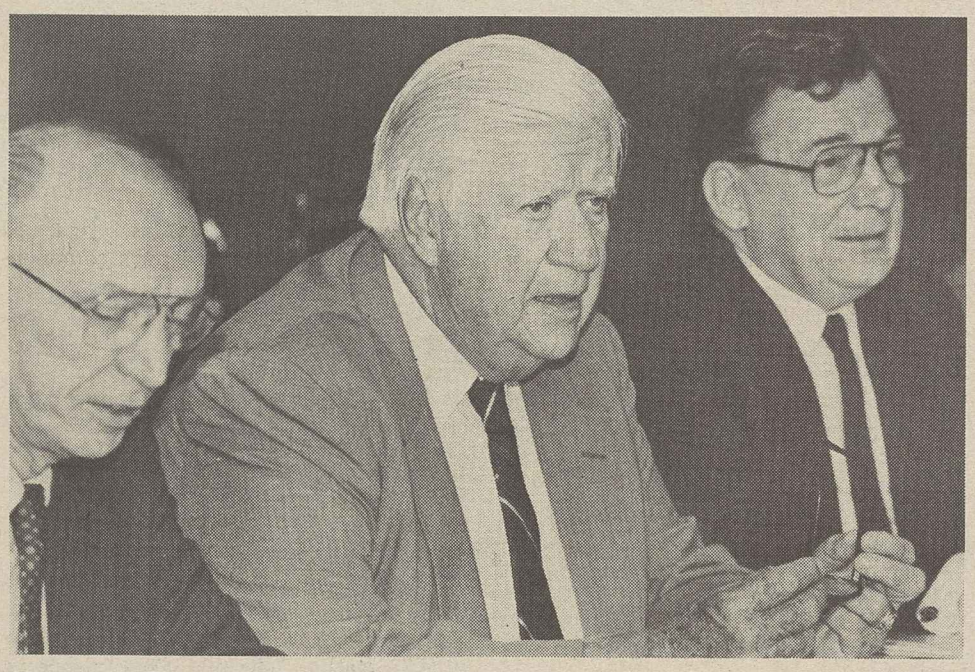
Wide-ranging issues

This Congress struggled to deal with budget deficits and drugs, with military needs and domestic priorities, with differences over Contra aid and funding of the MX missile.

It passed the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act to put budget cutting on automatic pilot, and breathed a collective sigh of relief when the Supreme Court ruled the delegation of the budget-chopping powers unconstitutional.

The Senate sought to revive the procedure by giving greater powers to the White House Office of Management & Budget, but the House wouldn't buy that alternative.

Many of the battles will be refought in the 100th Congress, and the election returns on Nov. 4 will have a lot to do with the outcome.



Speaker for America

With the close of the 99th Congress, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. tapped his gavel for the last time and concluded a remarkable half-century in public office. Tip O'Neill's ties to the trade union movement stretch back to a father who was a staunchly union bricklayer. This photo of O'Neill with AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue was taken at the federation's Executive Council meeting last February, at a session that explored the outlook for labor's legislative program. With O'Neill as an ally and field general, a great chunk of it was passed by the House of Representatives.

Senate okays Cracraft for vacant NLRB seat

The Senate confirmed the nomination of Mary Cracraft to the National Labor Relations Board in the final hours of the 99th Congress, restoring the NLRB to full five-member strength for the first time since June.

Cracraft, 39, is a former NLRB field attorney who most recently has been in private practice with a Kansas City law firm. She replaces Patricia Diaz Dennis, who left the NLRB to become a member of the Federal Communications Commission.

The NLRB has operated shorthanded during most of the Reagan Administration and has experienced a heavy membership turnover. Cracraft is the eighth board member appointed by Reagan. Chairman Donald L. Dotson, appointed in 1983, is now the senior member.

Widening trade deficit stalls economic growth

Continued from Page 1

"Secretary Baldrige may find some comfort in those statistics; the millions of American workers whose jobs have been shot out from under them because of imports do not," Oswald said.

The new trade figures are due out just six days before the election that will test whether control of the Senate can be wrested from Republican hands where it has been since Reagan took office in 1981.

As for the economic growth data, Oswald pointed out that the GNP advanced only 2.3 percent in the first nine months—significantly below the lackluster 2.7 percent recorded last year. "Unless an unlikely pickup occurs," he said, "this will be the second consecutive year of declining growth."

Even a pickup in the final quarter of the magnitude that Baldrige claimed would still leave the nation far below the White House target of a 4-percent improvement in GNP for all of 1986. Chairman Beryl Sprinkel of the Council of Economic Advisers admitted that was now an unlikely scenario, pointing out that it would require a 5.6-percent rate in the final three months of 1986—40 percent higher than what Baldrige envisioned.

The GNP figures are preliminary and are subject to revision. In the past, the Commerce Dept. has been forced repeatedly to adjust its growth figures downward based on its analysis of additional data.

Consumer spending

Most of the third quarter's growth was centered on consumer spending, as purchases of durable goods rose a sharp 38.4 percent. But the figure is "misleading," Oswald said, because it was concentrated mainly in automobile sales as dealers tried to clear out a glut of 1986 cars before the start of the new model year.

"Without the automobile sales," Oswald explained, "consumer purchases rose only 1.8 percent in the third quarter, compared with 2.9 percent in the second." Moreover, he continued, the automobile industry could find sales tumbling in the last quarter because of higher prices and the end of the cut-rate financing that lured buyers into dealers' showrooms.

The GNP figures also showed that spending on new plant and equipment increased a meager three-tenths of 1 percent in the third quarter. "This poor investment performance reflects the general weakness in consumer spending and the battering that industries have received from imports," Oswald said.

Meanwhile, the economy suffered another jolt as housing starts plunged 7.6 percent in September, suggesting that construction activity won't supply as much overall economic stimulus as it did earlier this year, when falling interest rates spurred sales of single-family homes for millions of families previously locked out of the market by the high cost of borrowing.

Housing starts were down to an annual rate of slightly more than 1.6 million units in September, the lowest level since November 1985 and far below the 2-million pace during the first quarter of this year, when interest rates began their downward slide.

Negative impact

The decline in the housing market—which was recorded in both single-family and multi-family units—will have a negative impact on such other segments of the economy as home furnishings and appliances which are linked to new home sales.

And in another development, the operating rate of U.S. factories, mines and utilities showed no improvement in September, running at the same 79.2-percent recorded the previous month.

But there was a sharp decline in the mining industry, which includes oil and gas production, where the operating rate slowed to 72.9 percent as management cut back on exploration and output in the face of falling world oil prices.

Lockout continues

Steelworkers, USX return to bargaining

For the first time in nearly three months, negotiators for the Steelworkers and USX Corp. have returned to the bargaining table, seeking to end the dispute that has locked out 23,000 USWA members in nine states.

Top union and company officials met for a three-hour session on Oct. 21, with further negotiations to be scheduled on a day-to-day basis.

The USWA stressed that its bargaining position "remains unchanged," with the union seeking strict limits on USX's contracting-out practices and a stock and profit-sharing plan in exchange for possible wage and benefit reductions. The steelmaker has refused to open its books to USWA negotiators and has rejected the profit-sharing proposal.

The move to resume negotiations may have been spurred by the actions of corporate raider Carl Icahn, who has made an $8-billion offer for USX. Icahn has said he would open the company's financial records to the USWA and would offer a stock and profit-sharing plan in exchange for concessions by the union. Icahn also said he would consider selling the steel unit to employees.

Fighting takeover

USX Chairman David Roderick met with Icahn, spelling out the terms of the company's planned restructuring. USX announced it will spin off its Yates Oil Field properties in Texas, part of Marathon Oil Co., into a limited partnership, in order to raise its stock price above the $31 a share offered by Icahn.

In other steel negotiations, the USWA reopened talks with Armco Inc., the nation's fifth largest steelmaker, hoping to reach a settlement by Nov. 1. Armco's pact expired Aug. 1 but was extended three months by the union. Armco is the last of the major steel producers, excluding USX, to sign a new contract with the USWA.

USWA local union presidents representing workers at LTV Corp. met to debate the steelmaker's request to renegotiate a settlement reached last April that reduced wages and benefits by $3.15 an hour in exchange for profit-sharing, stock and other benefits. LTV filed for protection under federal bankruptcy laws last July and has said it will seek greater concessions.

Meanwhile, contributions to the federation's Steelworkers Support Committee defense fund have hit the $160,000 mark, while a West German metalworkers union, IG-Metall has sent the Steelworkers $100,000.

USWA members at three Timken Co. plants in Ohio ratified a new agreement after a month-long walkout.

The new pact, covering 6,000 workers, temporarily cuts hourly wages by 45 cents, the reductions to be restored in 15-cent increments at the end of each contract year. The workers fought off management efforts to reduce overtime pay and vacations and won improvements in the pension plan.

Reihl succeeds Schmitt at helm of Wisconsin Fed

Milwaukee—Delegates to the Wisconsin AFL-CIO convention elected new officers and set plans for the November elections during the 14th biennial convention.

Sec.-Treas. Jack Reihl was elected president by acclamation. He replaces retiring President John Schmitt who led the state federation for 20 years. Schmitt was voted the position of president emeritus by the 975 delegates.

David Newby, current president of the Dane County AFL-CIO, was elected to succeed Reihl as secretary-treasurer, and Vice President Joseph Gruber was re-elected. The delegates also elected 16 executive board members.

Kenneth T. Young, executive assistant to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, in an address to the delegates outlined labor's recent victories in Congress, including a program of sanctions against South Africa passed over President Reagan's veto and a fair trade measure adopted by the House.

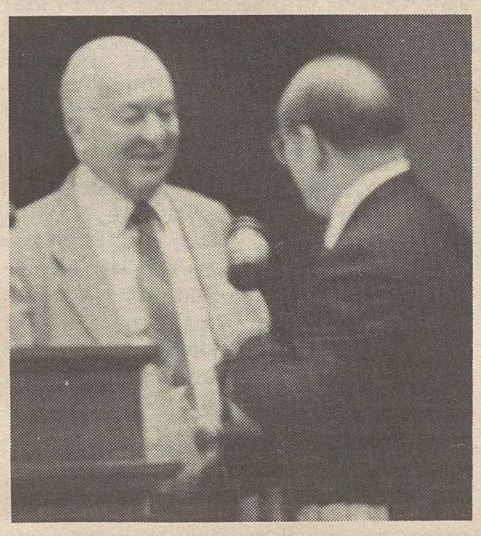
Legislative agenda

Labor's agenda for the 100th Congress will include programs that attack unemployment and provide decent job training, eliminate discrimination against women workers, continue the battle against racial injustice and "halt the dismantling of America."

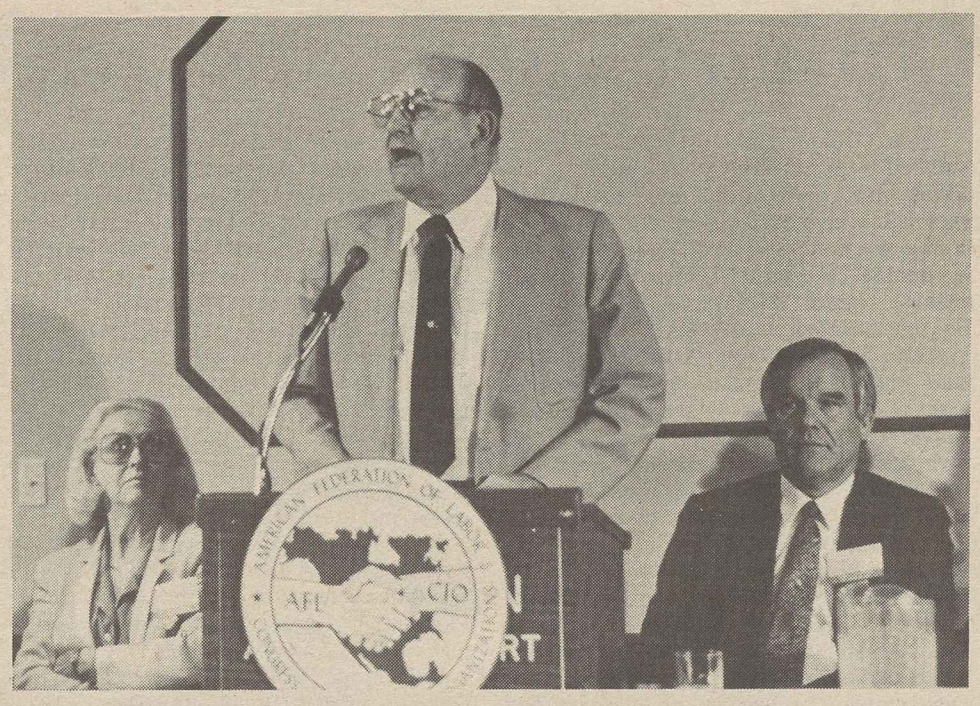
He noted that "phone banks, voter registration and check-lists, doorbell ringing and one-on-one discussion" with rank and file members is the "work that wins" in the November elections, and urged delegates "to assist candidates who share our principles and our agenda."

In his address, Schmitt also stressed the importance of the upcoming elections and urged delegates to work for labor's endorsed candidates.

The convention heard from Gov. Anthony Earl (D), who is running for re-election, and Ed Garvey, Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate. Garvey served as executive director of the National Football League Players' Association for 12 years before he became Wisconsin's deputy attorney general. Both have been endorsed by the State AFL-CIO.



Retiring Wisconsin AFL-CIO President John Schmitt, left, presents gavel to new President Jack Reihl.



IAM President Winpisinger with Georgia AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Martha True and President Herbert H. Mabry at state federation's annual convention.

Georgia unions map plans for get-out-vote campaign

Atlanta—Delegates to the Georgia AFL-CIO convention called for expanded get-out-the-vote and political education activities, as they focused on the upcoming elections.

The 300 delegates also reviewed the operation of the state federation's One-on-One program, a grassroots campaign to organize union members around labor issues and improve communications among trade unionists.

In a convention address, Machinists President William W. Winpisinger spelled out the Reagan Administration's record on labor issues. "Since 1980, 30 percent of our industrial base has either been shut down, sold out or moved overseas. Two million jobs have been permanently lost, and 12 million workers are losing their jobs because of plant shutdowns, plant runaways and permanent layoffs," he said.

Of the 14 million workers who lost their jobs and found new employment, 60 percent took cuts in pay and benefits, Winpisinger continued, pointing out that a third of all new jobs provide only part-time work.

"If you want to change this dismal picture" and show the United States to be a humane and civilized country, then "we'd better start electing more of our friends and defeating more of our enemies," he said.

Delegates heard from Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, who thanked labor for its support during his last campaign, and Candle Bray, Democratic candidate for Congress.

A job for labor

AFL-CIO Region V Director James Sala also underscored the importance of the upcoming elections, noting that although more than 8 million jobs have been lost, "America continues to listen" to the Reagan Administration when it "says everything is just great." Labor has a job to do, he stressed.

In workshop sessions, delegates reviewed arbitration strategies and labor's community services programs.

The convention also called for a ban on industrial homework, endorsed the federation's boycott of the Shell Oil Co. for its participation in South Africa's apartheid system and urged that labor education programs in the public schools be expanded.

Congress scores in extra innings

Continued from Page 1

continuing appropriations measure a bill it had passed earlier this year to bar contractors from evading their union agreements by setting up non-union subsidiaries, a tactic known as double-breasting.

It also wrote into the funding bill a "Buy American" requirement for off-shore oil rigs. As modified in a compromise that gained broad support, the provision would have required that at least oil and gas drilling rigs operating in the continental shelf off the U.S. coast would have to have at least a 50 percent domestic content in both labor and materials, principally steel.

A House-Senate conference reported the two provisions in disagreement, reflecting a difference that would have to be resolved before the rest of the bill could be cleared for the President's signature.

The House initially reaffirmed its position, by voice vote on the double-breasting provision and by a 264-133 vote on the Buy American section. But the Senate refused to accept either measure and in the face of a veto threat the House then agreed to drop the provisions.

Buy American opposition

A letter from Office of Management & Budget Director James C. Miller stressed that both the Buy American and double-breasting measures "have been opposed consistently and most strongly by the Administration." He said the provisions would have to be dropped in order to make the continuing appropriations resolution "acceptable to the President."

A House-inserted provision to allow the rehiring of fired air traffic controllers went to the President as part of a temporary extension of funding authority passed while Congress was trying to put in final shape a long-term bill. But Reagan shot back a veto message reiterating his refusal to agree to any amnesty for the air controllers dismissed for striking the government.

In an attempt to keep the door open, Congress included in the permanent continuing appropriations resolution that Reagan signed a requirement that the Federal Aviation Agency increase its controller workforce of 14,800 to at least 15,000 by next September and raise the percentage of fully qualified controllers from the present 64 percent to at least 70 percent. The goal would be difficult to achieve without tapping the reserve of already trained controllers denied the opportunity to be considered for job vacancies.

Immigration bill

Congress completed action on a compromise immigration reform bill that includes penalties against employers who hire illegal aliens. An amnesty provision allows most persons who entered the United States illegally to apply for permanent resident status, which will lift the threat of deportation.

The Senate first cut off a filibuster by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) and then it cleared the House Senate conference agreement for the President's signature by a 63-24 vote. The House earlier voted 238-173 for final passage.

Also passed with strong bipartisan support was anti-drug legislation that provides more money for law enforcement, stiffer penalties for offenders, and grants for drug education programs.

A deficit-reduction measure, needed to bring the anticipated budget deficit below the limit set by the Gramm-Rudman law, includes a directive for the public sale of Conrail, the freight railroad system the government took over when it was bankrupt. It was helped back to financial health by concessions made by railroad workers in exchange for Conrail stock.

The sale is expected to bring in some $2 billion in deficit-reducing revenue. Rail unions had fought the Administration's original plan to sell Conrail to the competing Norfolk Southern Corp.

The debt-reduction bill included a labor-supported provision to hold down the Medicare hospital care deductible. Elderly patients now pay the first $492 of hospital expenses for an illness, a figure that was scheduled to rise to $572 in January. Instead it will rise to $520, with increases in future years indexed to inflation.

Another provision guarantees social security beneficiaries a cost-of-living adjustment each year. They now get an adjustment only if the cost-of-living rise exceeds 3 percent. The bill also makes more low-income households eligible for Medicaid coverage of infants, pregnant women and the elderly.

Reagan veto threat

Dropped from the bill, however, was a House-passed provision that would have required states to make two-parent households eligible for benefits under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) welfare program. Many states already allow benefits when need results from unemployment of a principal wage-earner. But the provision is optional, and nearly half the states won't pay AFDC benefits if both parents are living together, a requirement that has forced needy families to separate.

Reagan on Oct. 9 sent a telegram from Iceland, where he was preparing for the summit meeting, informing Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole that he would veto the entire deficit reduction measure if the two-parent AFDC provision were included.

Convict labor freezes out Colorado's jobless

Brush, Colo.—Low-cost convict labor, supplied by a for-profit prison operation, is taking jobs away from workers in the packinghouse industry here and in neighboring communities where unemployment is running 50 percent above the national average, Food & Commercial Workers Local 7 charged.

Some 28 UFCW members at the Loveland Foods Inc. plant in nearby Loveland had their $8.60-an-hour jobs abolished and were forced into lower job classifications, with $50-a-week pay cuts, when their operation was transferred to Brush where the work is now being done by convicts being paid $3.51 an hour.

At the same time, three workers at the Brush facility were replaced by cut-rate prisoners. Although management denied that the $5.50-an-hour workers were laid off to make room for more prisoners, three convicts were brought in the following day at wages $1.99 an hour below what the fired workers had been making.

Local 7 Research Director Joe Drexler pointed out that when Loveland Foods purchased the long-idle Sigman hog plant here earlier this year, 500 local residents—roughly half the total unemployed in Morgan County, where the jobless rate stands at 10.2 percent—applied for work.

But management stunned the community when it disclosed that more than half the jobs would go to inmates at the privately run Criminal Justice Alternatives facility under an arrangement worked out in advance between the packinghouse and the Texas-based, for-profit prison operation.

That move was followed by the closing of the kill floor at the UFCW-organized Loveland plant and the transfer of that operation to Brush. Now, the union charged, Loveland has begun producing lard at the local facility, posing a further threat to the jobs of workers at the company's plant in Loveland.

"It's getting to the point where it looks like the only way to get a job is to go to prison," said Al Gollas, packinghouse director for Local 7.

Loveland and the privately run prison have applied to the U.S. Labor Dept. for $20,000 in funds under the Job Training Partnership Act to teach the convicts packinghouse skills.

The move won the approval of the Colorado Rural Private Industry Council over the protests of Local 7 and the State AFL-CIO.

Union stand backed

Labor has appealed to outgoing Gov. Richard Lamm (D) to block the application, and has won support from COPE-backed candidates—including the Democratic nominee for governor, State Treas. Roy Romer; Democratic Senatorial nominee Rep. Tim Wirth, and the incumbent Republican attorney general, Dwayne Woodard—all of whom have pledged to oppose the use of JTPA funds for this purpose.

The UFCW's concerns go far beyond the Loveland Foods situation. The 300 members of Local 7 at the Sterling Beef Inc. plant 30 miles from here fear that their company, and other packinghouses, will be tempted to follow Loveland's lead and replace them with cheap prison labor.

Practice revived

Although private use of prison labor was common in the United States in the early years of the 20th century, the practice died out in the 1930s with the surge of union organizing and the enactment of state and federal laws prohibiting open-market sales of prison-made goods and the contracting out of convict labor.

In the past fifteen years, however, there has been a renewed interest in the use of prison labor in private industry, spurred by the anti-union climate and the development of "prisons for profit." Former Chief Justice Warren Burger openly advocated repeal of the prohibitions against prison labor, endorsing what he called "factories with fences."

Passage of a 1979 federal law allowed certain "experiments" in the private use of prison labor and the trend has gained increasing public support, stimulated by an orchestrated management campaign claiming such a move could relieve prison overcrowding and reduce the need for additional taxes to fund new prison construction.

As a result, long-distance phone reservations for Best Western Hotels and Howard Johnsons are now handled by prisoners.

In Minnesota, Sperry Corp. employs convicts in disassembling old computers, and prisoners are working for private industry in a variety of enterprises in Arizona, Florida, Nevada and Kansas.

Although the legislatures in some states—notably South Dakota, Wyoming, Michigan and Illinois—reaffirmed their opposition to using prisoners in the workplace, Colorado enacted a law in 1973 specifically authorizing such arrangements between business and prison facilities.

Alternative to imports

UFCW Local 7 proposed that prison programs focus on the rehabilitation of prisoners and the reduction of the cost to taxpayers for maintaining correctional facilities by creating plants that would engage in what it called "import substitution." Under such a program, products now made completely abroad could be produced for profit by prisoners.

"That way," Drexler emphasized, "prisoners can learn every aspect of industry, from management and accounting to production and quality control, without stealing needed jobs away from workers and their communities."

Kirkland stresses workers' stake in election outcome

Continued from Page 1

COPE operations and the political action arms of its affiliates have been galvanized this fall in support of labor's allies, with the primary emphasis focused on providing members with information on the issues at stake, where the candidates stand on those issues, and how they voted on them.

"Our endorsements have been straightforward recommendations for members to use in making their own decisions in the voting booth," Kirkland stressed, and are a continuation of labor's time-honored tradition of giving members "information on key issues that they need to make their choices."

Backing up the informational program, state and local central bodies and local unions have put out a massive effort on behalf of labor-backed candidates—manning telephone banks, talking "one-on-one" to fellow workers in the workplace, conducting polls, distributing literature and going house-to-house to stimulate voter interest and involvement in the election.

Labor's only goal, Kirkland stressed, is to do "all that we can to encourage union members and their families to exercise the right to vote," recognizing that, in the final analysis, "the choice is theirs and only theirs."

With the campaign season drawing to a close and the balloting only days away, he said, "union leaders have done all they can to provide members and their families with good information and sound advice. Now the job is getting out the vote."

Kirkland added:

"It's the number of union members that go to the polls to vote that shows whether or not the labor movement has truly done its job in political action.

"We can be confident that union members, when they have the facts they need, vote in the best interests of their families, their communities and their future."

Bates workers choose ACTWU in new votes

Greensboro, N.C.—In a re-run election, garment workers at five plants of the Bates Nitewear Co. voted in the Clothing & Textile Workers. The new election was held after the National Labor Relations Board ruled that supervisors harassed workers and interfered with workers' conversations on their own time.

The apparel workers, who sew children's pajamas, voted 387 to 324 for ACTWU representation.

ACTWU organizers said key issues in the Bates campaign included company favoritism and the lack of a pension plan and other benefits.

Getting out the youth vote

Frontlash, the AFL-CIO's youth arm, aims a voter registration project at students and young workers in Minneapolis. Volunteers, including six high school interns, have been signing up new voters at the Minnesota AFL-CIO convention, the state fair and through door-to-door canvassing. At the terminal is intern Gisela Vincent, with Minneapolis Frontlash Director Michelle King, left, and Frontlash National High School Director Jannie Robinson. The program is supported by the Minneapolis AFL-CIO.

27 states post jobless rates still in excess of 6 percent

Unemployment rates exceeded 6 percent in 27 states and the District of Columbia in August, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

Fourteen states reported jobless rates between 6 percent and 7.9 percent, while eight states and the District of Columbia had jobless rates between 8 percent and 9.9 percent.

Five states reported double-digit unemployment in August: Mississippi, with 12.7 percent; Louisiana, with 12.3 percent; West Virginia, with 11.6 percent; Alaska, with 10.2 percent; and Alabama, with 10.1 percent. Puerto Rico's jobless rate was 18.7 percent.

New Hampshire, with 2.9 percent, Rhode Island, with 3.3 percent, and Vermont, with 3.5 percent, had the lowest jobless rates.

Of the 22 states reporting over-the-year unemployment increases, seven states had increases of 1 percent or more. States with the highest increases included Oklahoma, with a 2.4 percent surge; Mississippi and Alaska, 2.3 percent; and Texas, 2.1 percent.

For the year ending in August 1986, unemployment decreased in 26 states, with nine states reporting declines of 1 percent or more. Delaware and Nevada had the largest declines, 2.1 percent. Jobless rates in Arizona and Massachusetts were unchanged over the year.

Nonfarm payroll employment, as measured by an establishment survey, rose over the year in 40 states, with increases of 2 percent or more in 25 states.

Service sector gains

Nearly every state reported over-the-year job gains in services and finance, insurance, and real estate, and about four-fifths of the states reported job gains in trade.

In contrast, BLS said, 32 states lost jobs in manufacturing, with losses heaviest in Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Texas.

Of the 32 states suffering declines in mining employment, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas accounted for about three-fifths of the losses due to a drop of 95,000 jobs, primarily in oil and gas extraction.

Some 35 states reported jobs gains in construction, while 24 states had gains in transportation.

Legislature backs SEIU lawsuit on sex discrimination

San Francisco—The California legislature joined a class action suit in support of Service Employees Local 1000 which is challenging employment discrimination by the state.

In the first known case of a state legislature intervening on behalf of public workers, the legislature filed a strongly worded legal brief citing its recognition of sex-based wage discrimination in the state and its repeated attempts to remedy the situation. Each measure passed by the legislature was vetoed by Gov. George Deukmejian (R).

Judge Marilyn Hall Patel of the U.S. District Court for Northern California will hold a hearing on the motion for dismissal on Nov. 3.

President Leo Mayer of Local 1000, also known as the California State Employees Association, hailed the legislature's action as a "sign of the lawmakers' sensitivity to the problem of sex-based wage discrimination and support for our efforts to correct a longstanding injustice."

Support welcomed

SEIU President John J. Sweeney welcomed the latest in a series of legal victories for the CSEA case. "The state of California has steadfastly refused to correct illegal wage discrimination, leaving SEIU no choice but to pursue the largest Title VII sex-based wage discrimination lawsuit to date," Sweeney declared, adding:

"The unprecedented filing of an amicus brief (by the legislature) sends clear messages of warning to the state and of encouragement to the state employees whose salaries have been unjustly depressed."

The lawsuit, filed in November 1984, covers more than 100,000 past and present state workers in predominantly female jobs —those with female concentrations of more than 70 percent. It covers the period from June 1977 to the present and alleges the state pays these workers less than it would have paid if the jobs were predominantly held by men.

The legislature's brief was filed in response to a motion by the state for dismissal, claiming there was a lack of evidence of discrimination. The legislature's statement advised the court that the "legislature's actions in this regard better support the (state workers') argument that a factual dispute does exist concerning sex-based wage discrimination rather than the argument (of the state) that it does not."

While Local 1000 is pursuing legal remedies, it has addressed the issue of sex-based wage discrimination in its last two contracts with the state. In settlements reached in 1984 and 1985, predominantly female occupations received wage adjustments aimed at ending pay disparities.

Sandinistas hit for repression of union rights

Three AFL-CIO vice presidents strongly criticized the Nicaraguan government for its "violation of trade union rights," citing what they termed "21 cases of interference with and repression of free trade unionism" in that Central American nation.

The complaints were contained in a letter to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega signed by Presidents John J. Sweeney of the Service Employees, John T. Joyce of the Bricklayers and Gene Upshaw of the Federation of Professional Athletes.

The letter, delivered to the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington, was accompanied by a long list of crimes against unions and their members prepared by Alvin Guthrie, secretary general of the Nicaraguan Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Guthrie's indictment of the Sandinista regime was originally intended to be delivered to Ortega personally during his appearance earlier this month at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. But Ortega cancelled that visit.

The protest from the AFL-CIO officials cited three items of "particular urgency":

- The arrest of five members of the Peasant Union of Posoltega, Chiandega, because of their association with the CUS. The unionists have been "accused of criminal acts," the letter noted, "but no proof has been submitted" against them.
- The indefinite suspension of the confederation's monthly publication, Solidaridad, last year. The labor officials demanded that Ortega explain "why this publication of an independent confederation has been shut down" while the Sandinista-controlled labor center "is permitted to act freely in support of the government."
- The layoff of more than 200 workers from La Prensa, the last independent newspaper in Nicaragua, which was shut down by the Sandinistas in April. Noting that the AFL-CIO, the ICFTU and its Latin American arm—ORIT—have contributed more than $20,000 to help these unionists, the letter asked Ortega to explain what the government is doing "to protect those workers' benefits that you, yourself, eliminated" by shutting the newspaper.

The accompanying letter from Guthrie recited the history of violence against the CUS, including mob attacks on union headquarters, police confiscation of union records, dissolution of some unions by the Sandinista regime and death threats made against some union leaders.

In transmitting the charges to the Nicaraguan president, Sweeney, Joyce and Upshaw told Ortega:

"We share the hope of workers in both of our countries for an end to the violence that plagues Central America. We believe that your prompt action to rectify these cases will be a step in the direction of peace and pluralism."

3-percent raise slated for federal employees

Congress provided a 3 percent pay raise for the federal government's salaried employees, ending a 15-month pay freeze that President Reagan had imposed last year.

Reagan had announced a 2 percent general pay raise, to take effect in January 1987. But the House raised this to 3 percent in the resolution funding government departments for the next fiscal year, and it was included in the final bill.

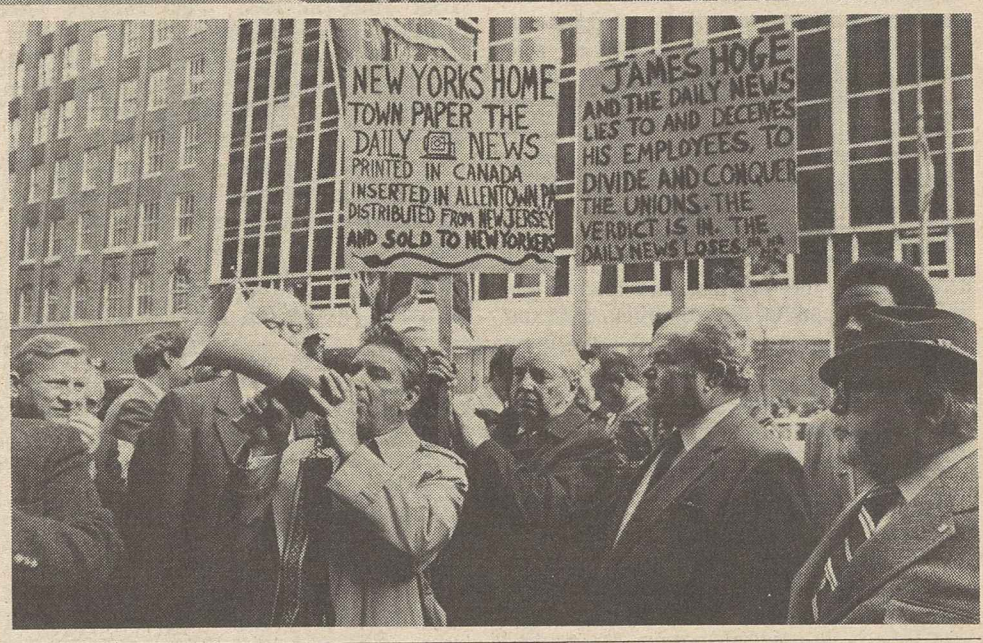
A long-disregarded federal law requires government pay to be kept comparable with private-sector salaries, to take effect automatically unless the President decrees otherwise. In recent years, presidents have substituted smaller raises. Last year, Reagan proposed a 5 percent pay cut, which he later modified to a pay freeze.

The 3 percent raise will go to nearly 1.5 million salaried federal employees in January. It will in effect act as a ceiling on raises for some 465,000 blue-collar workers whose hourly pay is supposed to be based on local prevailing wages. They have also had their wages frozen.

It does not apply to employees of the semi-autonomous U.S. Postal Service, whose pay is set through bargaining.

Runaway paper

More than 1,500 union members rally in front of the New York Daily News building on Manhattan's East Side, to protest the paper's farming-out of work to nonunion operations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the support of the New York City AFL-CIO and nearly 25 local unions, Mailers Local 6 led the noontime demonstration, blasting the tabloid that considers itself "New York's hometown newspaper." Here, Mailers President George McDonald sends a loud and clear message to newspaper management, backed by New York City AFL-CIO President Thomas P. Van Arsdale and other union supporters.



Labor Dept. drops challenge to pension fund's investments

The Labor Dept. dropped charges against two former trustees of a multi-billion-dollar pension fund associated with the Electrical Workers—a suit aimed at chilling investment of workers' retirement dollars in unionized construction projects.

The U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia formally dismissed all charges against former IBEW Sec. Ralph Leigon and former Executive Vice President Robert L. Higgins of the National Electrical Contractors' Association, trustees of the National Electrical Benefit Fund at the time the charges were filed in February.

The court acted after the government conceded that neither the labor nor management trustees broke any law in connection with two loans for union-built projects in the District of Columbia.

Both Leigon and Higgins relinquished their posts with the pension fund when they retired from their organizations.

The Labor Dept. had accused them of violating their fiduciary responsibilities under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act, alleging that the two $20-million-dollar loans for union-built office projects were not made at what the government claimed was the "prevailing market rate."

The pension fund made one of the construction loans at 13 percent interest and the other at 14 percent in 1980, during a period when the prime rate—what lending institutions charge their preferred customers—was bouncing back and forth between 12 and 21 percent.

Many criteria

In the course of the legal proceedings, the Labor Dept. conceded that linkage to the prime rate was only one of a score of criteria used for judging construction loans. The government also acknowledged that major construction projects fall into a different category than other commercial loans.

Both loans have been fully repaid, earning more than $15 million in interest and loan fees for the pension fund. A spokesman for the former trustees called the loans "solid investments with ironclad security" and said the Labor Dept. dropped the case because it knew it could not sustain its charge that the loans were "imprudent."

Leigon expressed satisfaction at the court's dismissal of the charges, voicing pride in the "unbroken and untainted string of accomplishments" by the pension fund under his trusteeship.

"During my service," Leigon said, "the fund went from $420 million to over $2 billion in value and benefits to participants were quadrupled. Obviously, our investments were sound and prudent."

Leigon's attorney, John P. Counts, said the settlement marked "another failure" for the Labor Dept. in its attempt to impose on pension plan trustees the same criteria required of bankers.

"Commercial lenders are taxable businesses concerned with profit. Their focus is on a profit spread which exceeds their costs for the money they lend," he said.

By contrast, he continued, pension plan trustees manage tax-free entities, and a "desirable return for them" involves the prudent investment of workers' retirement benefits. "Maintaining the plan's contribution base—unionized work—is also a vital and appropriate concern," Counts said.

NLRB puts down anti-union attack on Saturn accord

The AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. won another round on its agreement to construct General Motors' new Saturn plant in Spring Hill, Tenn., as the National Labor Relations Board again rejected a challenge filed by the nonunion Associated Builders & Contractors.

In a terse letter, Mary M. Shanklin, director of the NLRB general counsel's office of appeals, upheld the decision of the Memphis regional director who earlier had thrown out the ABC complaint against the pact covering the $3.5-million project.

The open-shop contractors' group filed unfair labor practices against the BCTD and Morrison-Knudsen, construction manager on the project, objecting to provisions in the agreement requiring contractors to hire workers through a union hiring hall, follow union work rules, contribute to benefit funds and sign the agreement.

The NLRB rejected ABC's claim that the pact constituted an "illegal pre-hire agreement." Morrison-Knudson is "an employer in the construction industry," the regional office ruled and the general counsel's office agreed, and therefore the project agreement is "legal and valid."

Ban on forced retirement adopted

Congress gave final approval to a labor-supported amendment to the Age Discrimination Act that prohibits imposition of a mandatory retirement age for most occupations.

The age discrimination law originally covered workers between 40 and 65. In 1978, the upper limit was raised to 70 for most workers and eliminated entirely for nearly all federal employees.

The new legislation, which the President is expected to sign despite earlier Administration opposition, exempts for seven years law enforcement employees, fire fighters and tenured college faculty. It directs a study of the special concerns of these groups.

In supporting the bill's intent, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert McGlotten said older workers have the right to be judged on their ability to do a job, not on "some arbitrary age." He noted, however, that most workers do not wish to stay on the job after becoming eligible for retirement, and some 70 percent of workers retire before age 65.

In a related area, Congress included in its budget reconciliation bill a requirement that employers continue to fund pension accruals for employees who continue to work past 65. Under present law, an employer isn't required to add to a worker's pension entitlement for service beyond 65, the normal retirement age.

The new legislation takes effect Jan. 1, 1988, unless a collective bargaining agreement has a later expiration date. But it must be implemented by Jan. 1, 1990.

Plant executives indicted for mercury poisonings

New York—Two owners of the Pymm Thermometer Co. and a plant foreman were indicted on felony charges that they "knowingly and continually" exposed employees to toxic mercury fumes, and the Occupational Safety & Health Administration was sharply criticized for permitting the poisoning of the workers to continue for a number of years.

In announcing the criminal charges at a press conference, State Atty. Gen. Robert Abrams said, "This is the first time New York State has treated as crimes of violence the alleged acts of corporate executives who knowingly expose their workers to a toxic chemical."

Pymm Thermometer Co. President William Pymm, Vice President Edward Pymm and foreman Thomas Daniels were indicted on felony charges of assault, reckless endangerment, conspiracy and falsifying business records. If convicted, they could be sentenced to five to 15 years in jail and fined up to $5,000 each. Also charged was the Pymm Thermometer Co. and an affiliate, Pak Glass Machinery Corp.

The assault charges stemmed from the case of an employee, Vidal Rodriquez, who suffered permanent brain damage after working for 11 months in a windowless cellar, the site of the firm's mercury storage and reclamation operations.

The Ladies' Garment Workers has tried to organize the thermometer plant, and several attempts by the unaffiliated Teamsters failed to beat the firm's anti-union tactics.

Abrams and Brooklyn District Atty. Elizabeth Holtzman criticized OSHA's laxity in enforcing federal worker protections. Holtzman noted that since the beginning of the Reagan Administration, the number of manufacturing inspections carried out by OSHA has dropped by 40 percent and the number of the agency's inspectors has been cut by 22 percent.

"This is a case of poison for profit," Holtzman declared. Abrams added that the owners and the foreman had shown "such disregard for the health and safety of the workers as to warrant" the charges.

The two Pymm brothers and Daniels pleaded not guilty at their arraignment in the State Supreme Court in Brooklyn.

Last Feb. 6, OSHA cited the company for 16 violations of federal safety standards, including improper respirators, lack of training for workers, lack of protective equipment, unsanitary conditions, haphazard storage of mercury, exposure of workers to excessive levels of mercury and poor ventilation.

A fine of $30,100 was proposed and OSHA announced the same week as the indictments that Pymm had accepted the citations issued in February and would immediately correct the problems found at the factory. The fine was reduced to $21,000.

Pymm was first cited by OSHA's New York office in 1981. The company was ordered to immediately clean up the plant, install ventilation equipment and purchase protective equipment for the workers. Then OSHA repeatedly extended the time in which the thermometer firm could rectify the hazardous conditions existing in the plant. Pymm got three annual extensions of the requirement to install ventilation equipment. OSHA's proposed fine of $1,400 was reduced to $350.

Repeat citation

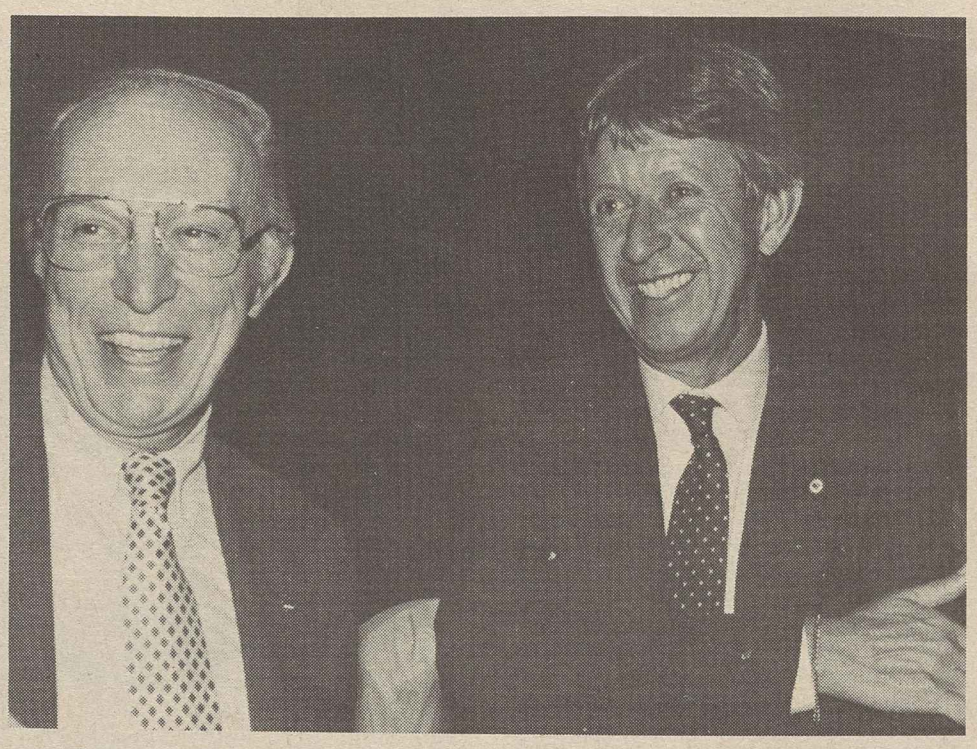
Another inspection in August 1983, in response to a worker's complaint, netted a repeat citation for allowing workers to eat around mercury contaminated equipment. It drew a $100 fine, which the company eventually paid.

Four more citations were issued in mid-March 1985 following an earlier inspection that evidently was prompted by a inquiry from a CBS television reporter. A fine of $2,880 was proposed. Pymm has appealed those citations to the Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission.

After finding high levels of mercury in the workers, the city health department in January 1985 ordered Pymm to clean up the plant within three days and come up with plans for a ventilation system within 30 days—the same action OSHA sought four years earlier. The firm responded by suing the health department.

Former Labor Sec. Raymond Donovan, in a statement to the court, sided with Pymm, declaring the city action was preempted by the federal hazard communication standard, and that's how the federal court here ruled. A state suit against Pymm charging violation of the state's right-to-know law was also ruled to be preempted by the federal standard.

OSHA's own internal investigation resulted in the resignation of one of its New York office administrators and the transfer of another to a non-supervisory, non-enforcement position with the agency.



AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Donahue, left, with Kenneth Moffet, assistant to NABET President Nolan, at union's convention.

Broadcast Employees assail overseas production scheme

Bal Harbour, Fla.—Delegates to the Broadcast Employees & Technicians convention elected new officers and called for an end to the export of union members' jobs to overseas production sites.

James P. Nolan was elected to his first full term as president. Nolan has headed NABET since last March, when he was named to fill the post of retiring President Edward Lynch. Lynch was named president emeritus.

The delegates returned Sec.-Treas. Robert Lind to office and elected John Clark of New York as Vice President. The officers will serve four-year terms.

In a convention address, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue stressed that the labor movement will continue to make itself heard on issues important to America's workers.

"We will say it at the bargaining table, in the board room, in the studio and when necessary, on the picket line, as well as at every political, community and economic meeting open to us," he pledged.

The labor movement succeeded in moving the trade issue to the front of the national agenda, Donahue said, noting that workers in the broadcast and film industry as well as those in basic manufacturing are affected by runaway employers seeking bottom-of-the-barrel wages.

To turn around this dismal picture and "get back to the main job of building a just and decent society," he said, "we must do all we can to help candidates who share our principles and our agenda, who can still tell right from wrong."

He also outlined some of labor's new initiatives, which include a coordinated organizing strategy and new communications methods involving the One-on-One program, grassroots lobbying campaigns underway in 28 congressional districts, and operations of the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

The 70 delegates urged television networks and cinemas to end the distribution of feature films produced by nonunion crews and called for strict limits on runaway, nonunion productions.

The convention endorsed strong sanctions against the South African government for its efforts to maintain the racist system of apartheid, reaffirmed support for labor's boycott of Adolph Coors Co. products and urged union members to buy union-produced goods and services.

James P. Nolan

Telegraph union delegates endorse CWA affiliation

St. Louis—The Telegraph Workers voted to affiliate with the Communications Workers and reviewed plans for restructuring the union which were adopted at a special convention last April.

The 114 delegates approved affiliation with CWA by a 3-to-1 margin. Under the affiliation plan, UTW will remain an autonomous organization with a charter from CWA, keeping its own officers and headquarters. The agreement also includes a three-year "escape clause" if UTW members wish to end their partnership with CWA.

President Daniel Beckstead, who was elected last April, assumed office during the convention. He will serve until the union's next convention in 1989.

Delegates reaffirmed the April vote eliminating the positions of secretary-treasurer and international vice president. They also voted to reduce the number of regions from 7 to 5 and eliminate two vice president positions, effective next January.

In a convention address, Robert F. Means, executive assistant to Steelworkers President Lynn Williams, reported on the union's standoff with USX Corp. More than 23,000 steelworkers have been locked out by the giant steelmaker since Aug. 1.

50 resolutions

The delegates also adopted more than 50 resolutions on economic and labor issues.

At the special meeting earlier this year, delegates votes 58-57 to join CWA and recommended a membership referendum. Those ballots were impounded by a federal judge following charges that some delegates to the April convention lacked proper credentials.

UTW and CWA officials claim the overwhelming vote for affiliation answers any objections or concerns about the earlier vote. Judge Thomas Jackson of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia will hear arguments later this month.

Minnesota labor mobilizes election forces

Duluth, Minn.—The Minnesota AFL-CIO convention endorsed eight candidates for Congress in the coming election, six for statewide constitutional office and 148 for the State House and Senate. President Dan Gustafson called on local union leaders to urge their members personally to turn out and vote.

The 695 delegates adopted resolutions calling for creation of a coordinated organizing committee in Minnesota and for a uniform union policy on political contributions during legislative sessions. Support was reaffirmed for the state's proposed $10-million Labor History Interpretative Center, along with a $10,000 contribution from the Minnesota AFL-CIO.

Steelworkers President Lynn Williams, in an address to the delegates, attacked the giant USX Corp. for its lockout of 23,000 steelworkers, including 1,400 on Minnesota's Iron Range. He charged that USX "wants to export jobs and buy steel from a dictatorship in South Korea that pays slave wages, that allows no occupational health and safety provisions, that allows no effective human or trade union rights."

Gov. Rudy Perpich recalled that he ran on the promise of job creation in 1982 and said the state has gained "more new jobs in the past five years than all the jobs gained in Iowa, Wisconsin, North Dakota and South Dakota combined." Perpich also reminded delegates that he did "what is fair, what is right," when earlier this year he vetoed the unemployment insurance bill that would have slashed jobless benefits by $361 million.

Delegates heard Charles McDonald, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization & Field Services, describe how unions are adjusting to the new and adverse "rules of the game" decreed by President Reagan's National Labor Relations Board. AFL-CIO unions gained 15 percent more members through NLRB representation elections in 1984 over 1983, and another 15 percent in 1985, McDonald noted.

Key concerns

In other resolutions, the four-day convention backed the locked-out steelworkers at USX, supported an omnibus fair trade law, backed federal and state plant-closing legislation to provide advance notice and extended health care benefits, called for U.S. economic conversion to spur civilian production, supported the Shell Oil boycott, and opposed apartheid in South Africa.

Greetings from AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue were brought by Kenneth Young, executive assistant to Kirkland. He criticized so-called free trade for its failure to raise the living standards of workers at home or abroad. Young warned if multinationals "continue to have their way, along with Third World products we will be importing Third World living standards and Third World working conditions."

Besides the governor, endorsed statewide candidates addressing the convention were Atty. Gen. Hubert H. Humphrey III, Sec. of State Joan Growe, Lt. Gov. Marlene Johnson and Auditor Arne Carlson, the lone Republican.

Other speakers included Rep. James L. Oberstar; AFL-CIO Regional Director Ray Francis; Marsha Mickens, Detroit Bakers Union; State Senate Majority Leader Roger Moe; State House Minority Leader Fred Norton; Gerald Miller, vice president of the Grain Millers; Willis Eken, president of the Minnesota Farmers Union, and Joseph Samargia, state commissioner of jobs and training, who is a former steelworker.

In conjunction with the convention, the Minnesota AFL-CIO held a mini-conference on bargaining for affordable health care.

Participants were told to scrutinize established health cost patterns to develop alternatives to employers' attempts to shift higher costs to employees.

EDITORIALS

Election Stakes

IF MONEY ALONE could win elections, President Reagan would not now be criss-crossing the country in a last-minute effort to transfer his personal popularity to his party's candidates for the Senate.

Republican candidates in close elections have more money pouring in than they can figure out how to spend.

In Louisiana, where Democrat Russell Long's retirement from the Senate leaves an open seat, the Republican candidate has raised nearly $3 million more than his Democratic opponent. But that's just the tip of the iceberg.

Republican fund-raisers across the country have channeled so much money into the Louisiana Republican organization that the GOP state chairman told a Washington Post reporter that he has lost track of how much came in and how much was spent. The challenge is to find "creative" ways to use this money. A "ballot integrity" scheme to challenge voters in predominantly black precincts backfired.

But with all that flow of cash, the not-so-secret Republican election weapon this year was explained by a GOP official in these words: "The factory worker and the common laborer, he's not as inclined to vote. . . ."

Working people have more trouble getting to the polls on a weekday than typically Republican voters, he explained.

IN THIS election campaign, America's unions have taken on a twofold task.

The first, largely accomplished, has been to inform members and their families of the records of the various candidates and explain the reason for labor's endorsements.

The second, which is enlisting the volunteer efforts of thousands of politically aware union members until the polls close on Nov. 4, is to get out the vote.

Lane Kirkland's election message, reported in this issue, stresses the importance of electing "a Congress that will pass a good trade reform bill, that will protect the right of American workers to decent wages and working conditions and to a healthy workplace, and one that will fight to save American jobs."

If workers are convinced that their votes can indeed make a difference on these issues, it will more than offset the imbalance in campaign funds.

Dollars don't vote. People do.

Also Running

NATIONAL NEWS coverage of this election necessarily focuses on congressional races, rather than the thousands of separate contests that will determine the makeup of our 50 state legislatures.

That's understandable. But in terms of trade union concerns, it would be a grievous error to underestimate the importance of these elections.

It's not an error that the AFL-CIO's state and local central bodies are likely to make. They know the difference between a legislature responsive to worker needs and one dominated by anti-union interests.

The union-shop ban voted by the Idaho legislature last year over the governor's veto followed the election returns. So did state laws wiping out prevailing wage protections.

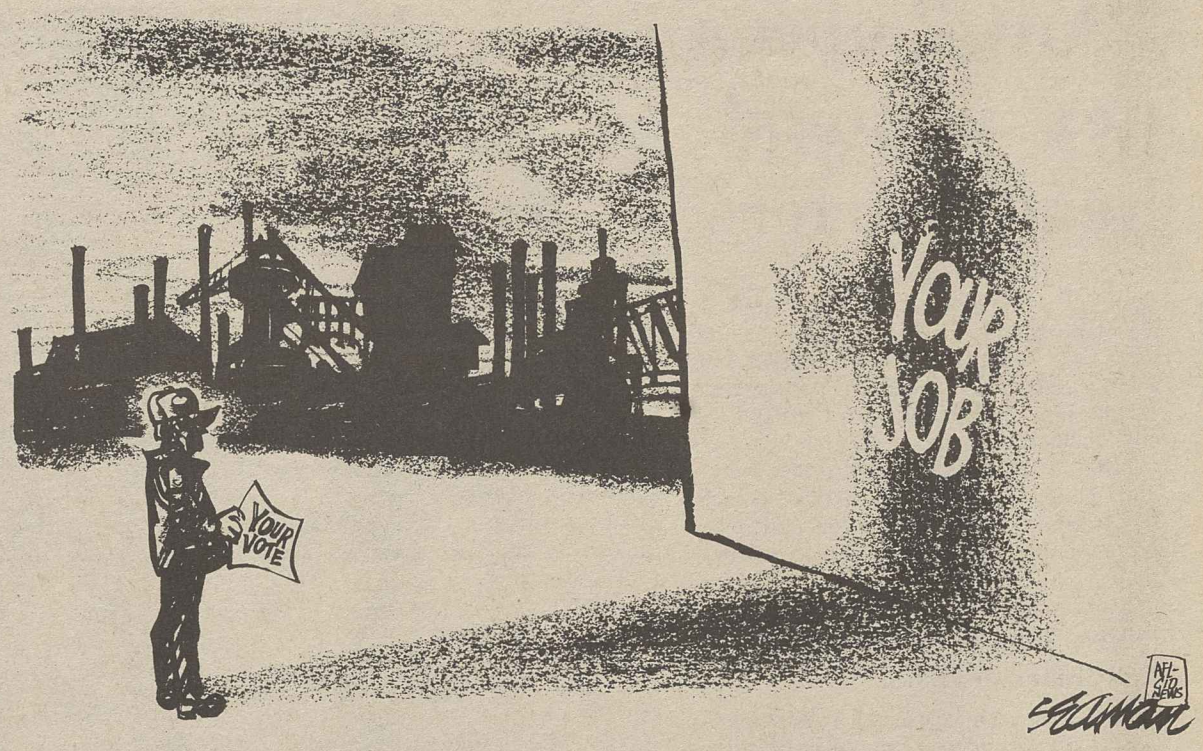
On the plus side, it was state laws giving workers the "right-to-know" about the toxic substances they deal with on the job that prodded OSHA to set a federal standard.

Public employees know that the legislative process is often an extension of the bargaining table and that state laws set the ground rules for negotiations.

In areas that affect workers as parents, consumers and taxpayers, deep cutbacks in federal programs compel states to make important choices. It is the legislators and governors we elect who will make these choices.

A careful newspaper reader may be aware of how a member of Congress voted on an important issue. But seldom is the same public scrutiny given to the votes of individual legislators.

That's a gap labor's state federations fill with their voting records, candidate interviews and election endorsements. We ignore them at our peril.



Washington Window

WDL marks half-century of defending defenseless

By Press Associates Inc.

If "organizing the unorganized" is labor's rallying cry, "defending the defenseless" has been the enduring role of the Workers Defense League.

The WDL is now celebrating its 50th year as a member-supported organization committed to the defense of workers' rights. The WDL chooses no easy battles, having over the years defended victims of Ku Klux Klan terror, helped sharecroppers to organize and mobilized support for strikers.

Most Americans probably would be shocked to learn that peonage or involuntary servitude still reappears from time to time. It is an evil that the WDL has been steadfastly fighting for decades.

"When WDL began in 1936," according to its chairman, Harry Fleischman, "its first victory was the conviction of a sheriff who was also a plantation owner in Arkansas, convicted of holding farm workers in virtual slavery.

"WDL then exposed forced labor in Broward County, Fla., where a sheriff falsely arrested black workers, charged exorbitant fines, and rented them as day laborers to farm growers until their fines were paid. The League helped the racially integrated Southern Tenant Farmers Union win better pay, housing and working conditions for thousands of poor tenant farmers and sharecroppers."

Peonage returns

Now, 50 years later, farm worker debt peonage has returned and farm workers are being grossly exploited, said Fleischman.

"In Arkansas not long ago," he said, "farmers bought aliens for $400 each, then withheld their wages until the $400 was paid through their labor. Then the farmer would sell the worker to other farmers for $400 and the practice would be repeated. Hugh Williams, a U.S. Border Patrol chief, reported that 'the aliens never saw any cash. In effect, each farmer was getting free labor. We found Mexicans who were at their third or fourth farm job and hadn't made a penny the whole time they were in the U.S.—peonage, that's really what it was.' "

Fleischman said the WDL took a gamble in 1983, "spending $20,000 of its meager budget to enable its southern organizer, Joseph (Chip) Hughes, to build a coalition that won a law in North Carolina making it a felony to hold workers in bondage—120 years after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation."

Network active

Charles Horwitz, a lawyer who worked for years with migratory workers, credited a WDL coalition with helping to create the East Coast Farm Workers Support Network. The coalition included AFL-CIO field staff, the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, the Farm Worker Justice Fund and representatives of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish organizations.

Horwitz said the network is active in Florida, the Carolinas and New Jersey and aims to raise the conditions of East Coast farm workers to those of unionized farm workers on the West Coast.

As WDL Chairman Fleischman recalls it, the WDL won free-speech rights against Mayor Frank ("I am the law") Hague in Jersey City, N.J. It was the first group to protest the internment of Japanese-Americans in World War II. It forced reform of the nation's Industrial Personnel Security Program under which employers used cold war tensions to fire union activists as "security risks." And it worked to break down the walls of segregation.

The ties between labor and the WDL have always been strong, so it is fitting that the WDL will present its David Clendenin Award to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland at its 50th anniversary dinner in New York on Dec. 4.

Fleischman recalled that WDL founder Norman Thomas once refused the label, "champion of lost causes," preferring instead, "champion of causes not yet won." And that, Fleischman said, is the WDL's role.

AFL-CIO news

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NAACP opens new national headquarters

Baltimore—A weeklong celebration opening the new national headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was launched with a labor luncheon, a tribute to the longtime partnership between the AFL-CIO and the civil rights movement.

NAACP Executive Director Ben Hooks said labor's contributions to the "struggle for freedom and equality" merited it a place of honor in the dedication celebrations.

More than 200 union and civil rights activists attended the luncheon.

Landmark legislation

Kenneth Young, executive assistant to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, recalled the efforts of A. Philip Randolph, George Meany, Roy Wilkins and other leaders who "shaped the strategy that secured the landmark civil rights legislation of the 1960s."

Under the banner of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the labor movement and the NAACP formed a bond and "a rallying point for action on the whole range of issues that concern the lives and welfare of Americans," Young said.

"None of us, however, expected the kind of full-scale counter-revolution against human rights and human justice that we have faced over the last six years," he said. But the labor-civil rights partnership, which has withstood tests "of our mutual loyalty" will "rebuild the wrecked economy and divided society that could well be the chief legacies of the Reagan era," Young declared.

AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director Richard Womack praised the tradition of solidarity that sustains the alliance between organized labor and the NAACP, pointing out that "temporary allies" are easy to find, "but forging an enduring alliance" is a much harder task.

Shocking disparities

Womack scored the growing misconception that "minorities and women have 'made it,' that equality has arrived" as an "unreasonable assumption," in light of shocking disparities in earnings, employment, education, housing, poverty and opportunity.

During the dedication ceremony, the NAACP paid special tribute to stalwarts of the civil rights movement—Rosa Parks, Daisy Bates, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Myrlie Evers, wife of the slain civil rights activist Medgar Evers, and Dick Gregory.

The new headquarters and conference center will also include an archives and civil rights exhibition hall, a law library and special facilities including a computer network and an audio-visual system.

Jersey hospital units back CWA in elections

Mt. Holly, N.J.—Hospital workers at Zurbrugg Memorial Hospital facilities in two central New Jersey communities gave their vote of approval to the Communications Workers in a National Labor Relations Board election.

Workers in Riverside and Rancocas—including licensed practical nurses, service, clerical and maintenance workers and technicians—chose CWA Local 1044 by 330-295 vote.

Drama of unionism

Members of nine unions take to the stage during a 10-week theater workshop created by the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles and the Labor Institute of Public Affairs. At the end of the workshop, the 13 workers-turned-actors will present a drama based on their service sector jobs and concerns. The cast includes, top row, from left, Henry Walton, Service Employees; Mary Steiger, Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees; Rebecca Goldstein, Flight Attendants; Larry Weiner, Food & Commercial Workers; Jess Baranjas, SEIU; Joe Woods, SEIU; Cynthia Cuza, unaffiliated Longshoremen; Phil Newman, Teachers; Victoria Ann Lewis, director; Kim Miller, SEIU, and Michael Kaemerer, Fire Fighters. Not shown are cast members Jackie White, Letter Carriers; Hope Fierro, SEIU, and Robert Hosler, Communications Workers.

Kilroy charges Reagan policies incite union-bashing by railroads, airlines

By Arlee C. Green

Union-bashing attempts in the airline and railroad industries are the result of Reagan Administration policies and the impact of deregulation, Richard I. Kilroy, president of the Railroad & Airline Clerks, declared, predicting that legislative attacks on measures affecting workers in those industries will likely continue in the next Congress.

In a background discussion with reporters, Kilroy said that "under the atmosphere that has existed since 1980, the railroad industry feels it may not have a better opportunity than it does right now to accomplish many of the things they want to accomplish, such as eliminating work rules and other contract items involving payments to its employees.

"So we see it as a serious effort on the part of industry to eliminate unions or to eliminate their effectiveness."

Ultimate goal

Kilroy, who is chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association, cited the recent strike by the Maintenance of Way Employees against Guilford Transportation Industries. There was "every indication coming out of the Guilford operation that that was union-bashing at its ultimate," he observed. There was no doubt that the company's ultimate goal was to "eliminate unions, work rules and anything else connected to it" on its Maine Central Railroad and Portland Terminal.

The BRAC president warned that other major rail carriers may head down that same track because they see a chance "to change work rules severely and reduce wage costs, and they're going to do it even if it means confrontation with the unions."

The Reagan Administration and its philosophy have "lent a great deal of comfort and support (to the rail carriers). We get bashed by the ICC (Interstate Commerce Commission), the DOT (Dept. of Transportation), other regulatory bodies and the National Mediation Board for whatever reasons—lack of funding or what not. Certainly all the evidence is there that this has not been a pro-worker Administration."

Emergency boards

As an example, Kilroy pointed out that in the past a strike against any major rail carrier was considered to have enough economic impact to warrant the naming of a presidential emergency board. Not so anymore, Kilroy said, stressing that the BMWE had little choice but to try to picket every other carrier in the nation before the NMB would recommend an emergency panel.

The key to the Guilford strike was the ability of BMWE to picket other rail lines that were aiding Guilford. This use of secondary picketing will come under heavy attack in the next session of Congress, Kilroy predicted.

Although rail labor's right to secondary picketing was upheld in a number of court challenges during the Guilford strike, Kilroy noted that President Reagan has already announced his intention to introduce legislation to restrict this right.

Further, he warned, attempts will be made to gut or eliminate the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railway Labor Act, which he called "an effective, proven law." On the other hand, he observed that results of November's elections could make it easier for rail labor to meet its legislative goals.

These include gaining labor protection provisions for workers on the Conrail freight railroad system. The unions accepted the removal of those protections from the legislation providing for the public sale of Conrail because House Energy & Commerce Committee Chairman John Dingell (D-Mich.) felt "nothing further could be done" to retain the provisions.

Kilroy noted that a number of other provisions sought by the unions "to protect Conrail in the foreseeable future" also fell by the wayside in the congressional rush toward adjournment. He stressed that Conrail employees and management have in mind keeping Conrail a separate entity. What will happen though, depends on what the market will be, how the sale is packaged and other factors, he said.

The railroad unions own a 15-percent share of Conrail and feel it would be appropriate for labor to have two seats on the Conrail board of directors, Kilroy said. "Whether the present Conrail management would negotiate provisions for two seats, I can't say, but we're still interested."

Deregulation of the rail and airline industries has forced a number of marriages and takeovers as employers try to maximize profits. In answer to a question about mergers at People Express, Texas Air and Frontier, Kilroy noted that while these firms could have failed, "that's not an employee problem—that's a management problem of deregulation, of airlines trying to break into the business with low costs, no frills, and it didn't work.

Commenting on the pending merger of Northwest Orient and Republic Airlines, Kilroy said this sort of merger produces nothing for the economy or "anything in the way of betterment for employees that we can see. All it does invariably is reduce the number of jobs and helps put money in the pockets of corporate powers and investors."

Ethnic recognition

Three trade unionists are among 80 Americans from 42 ethnic groups who will be awarded the Ellis Island Medal of Honor as part of the observance of the 100th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty.

Selected from more than 15,000 nominees were Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez, of Mexican ancestry; Executive Sec.-Treas. John F. Henning of the California AFL-CIO, who is of Irish descent, and Assistant Director Paul Sanchez of AFL-CIO Region VII, a veteran member of the Electrical Workers, of Puerto Rican origin.

The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation will present the medals at a ceremony on Ellis Island on Oct. 27—the day before the 1986 Liberty Centennial observances come to a close.

Gordon Cole retires from Meany Center

Gordon Cole, an instructor in newswriting and other media courses at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, retired Oct. 3 after nearly 50 years in the trade union movement.

Cole, 74, taught more than 500 labor editors during his nine years at the Meany Center. Prior to that he served as director of public relations for the Machinists and editor of its newspaper. He joined the IAM in 1947.

He also worked as a reporter and labor editor at the Syracuse, N.Y., Post Standard, the Wall Street Journal, the newspaper PM in Washington, D.C. and Labor Relations Reporter. He was the first president of the International Labor Press Association and served on its board 12 years.

AFL-CIO news

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Shopper's showcase

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland checks his "Union Label Shopper," a six-page mail-order catalog featuring union-made products. The flyer includes bargains on housewares, linens, clothing and other goods. Left, Marc Schechtman, head of the mail-order company, and Union Label & Service Trades Sec.-Treas. John Mara answer questions from reporters about the new all-union service. (Story on Page 2.)

Trade deficit racing toward record level

Reagan policies spur import-related job losses

By Gene Zack

Foreign imports continued to erode American jobs and industries and to depress the economies of hundreds of communities, as the nation's trade deficit soared to $127.9 billion in the first three quarters of this year—20 percent above the $106.7-billion loss during the same period a year ago.

The trade imbalance for the first nine months of this year was well ahead of the $123.3-billion loss recorded for all of 1984 and, with three months still to go, is already within striking distance of last year's record-shattering $148.5-billion deficit.

The shortfall between imports and exports is running at a crippling annual rate of $170.5 billion—nearly 15 percent ahead of the previous high-water mark reached in 1985.

At the same time that it released the September trade figures, the Commerce Dept. disclosed it was making an upward revision in the August numbers. Instead of the $13.3-billion loss reported earlier, the department said the August deficit actually was above $14 billion.

The AFL-CIO found "cold comfort" in the fact that September's $12.6-billion deficit marked the second consecutive month in which the trade gap moderated somewhat. The federation pointed to government statistics showing that every $1-billion shortfall in trade wipes out 22,500 American jobs.

"The White House may choose to put the best possible face on the slight declines in August and September," Federation economist Mark Anderson said, "but that still won't save the jobs of workers nor will it shore up our declining industrial base."

President Reagan "inherited a trade surplus when he took office in January 1981," Anderson said, "and has sat idly by while his policies piled up a cumulative trade deficit of more than half a trillion dollars. Yet he continues to insist that there is light at the end of the tunnel."

The Administration bases its optimistic forecasts of a trade turn-around on three factors—that the falling value of the U.S. dollar will redress the imbalance by making exports cheaper and imports more expensive, that its pleas to Germany and Japan to expand their economies will translate into increased American exports, and that this country will benefit from the current round of trade negotiations.

Still waiting

"The President is wrong on all three counts," Anderson said. "The dollar has been declining for 18 months and we're still waiting for the improvement it was supposed to produce. Although Japan and Germany are stimulating their own economic growth, they haven't opened their markets to American-made goods. And not only do we not yet know what the trade talks will produce, but they won't be over for six years."

The Administration's "refusal to recognize the danger that mounting trade losses pose to the American economy," Anderson said, "makes it that much more important for Congress to get down to business and pass trade legislation that will rescue American workers, industries and communities from economic disaster."

He said this would be the federation's "first priority" when the 100th Congress convenes in January. In the just-completed

Continued on Page 3

Labor-backed candidates rely on get-out-vote drive

Union members and retirees are volunteering in record numbers for a get-out-the-vote campaign in support of labor-endorsed candidates for Congress and state offices. That's the word COPE Director John Perkins is getting from regional offices across the country and from the AFL-CIO's state and local central bodies.

Their goal is to make a difference in a non-presidential election year in which most Americans normally don't bother to vote.

In just one mid-sized state, Missouri, some 14,000 volunteers will be working until the polls close to turn out the vote. State AFL-CIO President Daniel J. McVey said active members and retirees from nearly every union have been staffing phone banks and helping to get out mailings and flyers supporting labor's endorsed candidates.

The effort is being duplicated in other key states, Perkins said.

At stake is whether labor's allies or foes command a majority in the new House and Senate.

The agenda for the 100th Congress will be largely set by the outcome of the elections.

Labor's agenda

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's get-out-the-vote call urged election of "a Congress that will pass a good trade reform bill, that will protect the right of American workers to decent wages and working conditions and to a healthy workplace, and one that will fight to save American jobs."

The most-watched elections are the contests that will determine majority control of the Senate.

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Council sets fund for quake victims

The AFL-CIO launched its Salvadoran Earthquake Relief Fund with a $25,000 contribution approved by the Executive Council.

In an appeal to affiliates, Federation President Lane Kirkland called on all affiliated unions, state and local central bodies and union members to join in the assistance effort in light of the disaster that took nearly 1,000 lives, injured 10,000 persons and left another 200,000 homeless.

While reports from San Salvador indicate that immediate human needs are being met, Kirkland said, "additional aid to the victims and long-term rehabilitation programs are needed" to begin the slow

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Modest pay gains wiped out as consumer prices creep up

Real earnings—the buying power of paychecks after adjustment for inflation—tumbled three-tenths of 1 percent in September, leaving American workers and their families 6.1 percent worse off than they were seven years ago.

The September decline wiped out an increase of the same magnitude in August and marked the fourth time in the past six months that real earnings trended downward.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that a modest two-tenths of 1 percent increase in average hourly earnings was more than offset by a drop of three-tenths of 1 percent in average weekly hours and a rise of three-tenths of 1 percent in consumer prices.

During the past year, a 1.4-percent hike in prices and a three-tenths of 1 percent decrease in hours offset an increase of 1.3 percent in average weekly earnings.

Thus, despite continuing Administration claims that there has been an economic "recovery" from the Reagan Recession, wage-based workers are no better off than they were in September 1985.

On the price front, BLS reported that the inflation rate for the third quarter hit 2.2 percent, triggering modest 1.3-percent increases in social security and federal re-

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Harassment training

Jobless dunned for overpayments

By David L. Perlman

The Labor Dept. is pressing state unemployment insurance staffs to use aggressive telephone debt collection techniques to recoup overpayments to jobless workers before other creditors have milked them dry.

One of its concerns is that "debtors to the unemployment insurance system often owe money to others who rely on professional assistance for collection. As a result, debt collection has become a highly competitive field."

The solution recommended by the Labor Dept.'s Employment & Training Administration, which oversees the federal-state unemployment insurance administrators to help train employees as telephone debt collectors. It is offering video cassette tapes to state unemployment insurance administrators to help train employees as telephone debt collectors.

Harassment training

The training film is an hour-long monologue by T. Frank Hardesty, a vice president of Payco American Corp., the nation's largest debt collection agency. Like many such firms, it has been the target of suits claiming harassment by its collectors.

Hardesty is described in an Oregon state training guide as "a crusty old gent with strongly held opinions." He did a similar training film for the Dept. of Education's program to recover student loan debts.

Payco, after putting on a pilot program for the Education Dept., ended up with a lucrative government contract to take over a large part of the student debt collection when the department decided that using private collectors was more cost efficient than using its own employees.

One of the tapes deals with collection of overdue taxes from delinquent employers.

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11/1/86

John Lyons dies at 66, headed Iron Workers

Bethesda, Md.—John H. Lyons, president emeritus of the Iron Workers, died Oct. 26 at Suburban Hospital following a stroke. He was 66.

Lyons, who headed the Iron Workers for 24 years, served on the AFL-CIO Executive Council from 1967 until his retirement in 1985. He was chairman of the council's committees on economic policy and defense.

In a letter of condolence to Lyons's wife, Dorothy, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue praised the "gifts of leadership and friendship" that won Lyons the trust and affection of generations of unionists.

The spirit exhibited in Lyons's work "as an architect of the AFL-CIO's economic policy and defense policy extended his influence throughout the American labor movement and the world," they wrote.

Lyons, a 48-year union veteran, was elected president of the Iron Workers in 1961 after serving as international representative and vice president. He became a vice president and member of the executive councils of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades and Metal Trades Departments in 1962 and joined the AFL-CIO Executive Council in 1967.

During his years in office, Lyons was appointed to 19 advisory commissions and panels by six U.S. presidents, including the Labor Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations & Trade Policy and the President's Commission on Strategic Forces. In 1984, Lyons served as a co-chairman of the National Democratic Party Platform Committee.

Because of failing health, Lyons resigned as president of the Iron Workers in 1985 and was voted president emeritus by the union's executive council.

"Jack's works will live in coming generations of Iron Workers whose skills, conditions, safety and roles in labor and in life will continue to be enhanced by the leadership he gave their organizations for so many

John H. Lyons

fruitful years," Kirkland said in a eulogy at the funeral Mass, Oct. 30 at Our Lady of Mercy Church in Potomac, Md.

"His works live in the strength and vigor of the free trade union movement, in America and the world, as the voice of working people on the job, in the community and in the political life of democratic societies."

IAM-Lockheed accord ratified covering 20,000

Nearly 20,000 Machinists ratified new three-year contracts at Lockheed Corp.'s aerospace plants at Burbank, Calif., and Marietta, Ga., in settlements patterned after an agreement reached earlier this month with Boeing Co.

Meanwhile, 8,000 IAM members at the company's missile plant in Sunnyvale, Calif., rejected the same package but remained on the job.

And members of the Auto Workers at McDonnell Douglas Corp. in Long Beach, Calif., turned down a proposed contract that failed to follow the Boeing pattern. They, too, stayed on the job.

Under the Lockheed agreement, cost-of-living adjustments of 76 cents an hour which IAM members received under the old contract will be folded into existing pay rates before calculating lump-sum bonuses of 12 percent of annual pay in the first year and 5 percent in each of the remaining two years. A 40-cents-per-hour advance payment of future COLAs will take effect immediately.

In addition, monthly pension benefits —which amounted to $20 for each year of past service and $24 for future years —were improved to provide $25 for all years. This represents a 23-percent increase in benefits. It will raise monthly pensions from $612 to $750 for employees with 30 years' service and from $812 to $1,000 for those with 40 years' service.

Savings plan

The contract also liberalizes a savings plan to allow employees to contribute up to $34 a week with the company matching 50 percent of that amount.

The UAW rejected the McDonnell Douglas plan that called for a 3-percent bonus and a 3-percent pay increase the first year, bonus and pay increases of 2 percent each in the second year, and a 4-percent bonus the third year. The proposal also would require retirees to make health insurance contributions that would more than wipe out scheduled pension increases, and would require employee contributions to a new medical plan.

Still being negotiated are IAM contracts at McDonnell Douglas plants in Torrance and Huntington Beach, Calif.

Union-label goods at discount prices

New catalog offers 'proud products' of AFL-CIO affiliates

By Candice Johnson

Consumers on the lookout for the union label can turn to "the Union Label Shopper," a mail-order catalog featuring clothing, linens, appliances and other union-made products at a discount price.

The shopper was developed by the American Union Shopper Corp., a private corporation, with help from the AFL-CIO Union Label & Services Trades Dept.

At a news conference launching the catalog, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland praised the mail-order plan as another way union members can save jobs and fight against unfair imports while encouraging "employers to keep their plants in this country."

By supporting the development of the Union Label Shopper, the AFL-CIO and its its affiliated unions are taking another major step to mobilize the purchasing power of the labor movement to benefit American workers, Kirkland said.

Value conscious

ULST Dept. Sec.-Treas. John Mara called the shopping guide "an important means for the labor movement to support the sale of quality goods produced in this country under the most advanced working conditions."

He noted that the timing of the mail-order plan was "ideal," since Americans are "more conscious than ever before of the advantage of buying American products and when shopping from home has become more popular than ever."

The first edition of the Union Label Shopper features nearly 50 items, each a "proud product" of unions ranging from the Clothing & Textile Workers to the Electrical Workers to the Allied Industrial Workers. The products are offered at a discount of 20 to 30 percent, to help "stretch the hard-earned dollars of union members," said Marc Schechtman, executive vice president of the mail-order company, adding, "our products will be on sale all year round."

Million responses

Schechtman explained that a catalog will be sent to anyone requesting one and noted that many unions had requested bulk quantities to distribute to their members. Mara added that a million catalogs had been mailed to union members in October, and that coupons for the catalogs distributed through the labor press and local central bodies and label councils were being returned at a rate of 1,000 or more a day. A second edition of the catalog set for January will be expanded to 24 pages.

Orders can be made by mail or a toll-free telephone call, and will be filled from a union-operated central warehouse in Springfield, Ill. The shopper service will accept Mastercharge or Visa credit cards as well as checks.

The number of products and manufacturers participating in the shopper will increase as the company determines "what people will buy or want to buy," Schectman said. Current products offered include a "Mr. Coffee" coffeemaker, London Fog rainwear, Helbros watches and Fieldcrest linens.

Schechtman said his interest in the buy-union service grew from his family's involvement in the labor movement—his grandfather was a founding member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and his father worked for that union. The shopper service is a completely union operation, with Schechtman and seven associates new members of Office & Professional Employees Local 37.

The development of the shopping guide follows the recent initiation of the Union Privilege Benefit Programs that is already distributing new, low-cost credit cards to members of AFL-CIO affiliates. It also has started a low-cost legal service for union members and is exploring other benefits that can be made available at advantageous terms to union members.

Meanwhile, Frontlash, the AFL-CIO's youth support group, will sponsor its first "Buy American Day," on Nov. 28, the traditional opening day of the holiday shopping season.

Frontlash volunteers will be encouraging shoppers to buy American as they crowd the nation's shopping malls and department stores.

Pamphlets and flyers endorsing union-made and American-made goods also will be available.

The UNION LABEL SHOPPER

A NEW ALL UNION CATALOG

Please send me a FREE

UNION LABEL SHOPPER DISCOUNT CATALOG:

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/State: _____ Zip: _____

Union: _____ Local No.: _____

Please circle the items you would like to buy from the Catalog:

• Work Clothes • Women's Clothes • Men's Casual Clothes • Shoes • Children's Clothes • Kitchen Appliances

• Radio • Luggage • TV • Sports Equipment • Furniture • Auto Supplies • Tools

Other: _____

Mail this coupon to: UNION LABEL SHOPPER
508 N. Second Street, Fairfield, IA 52556

Football players score twice in drug-test arbitration cases

The National Football League Players Association's back-to-back arbitration wins —both dealing with drug testing—are a "victory for collective bargaining," said NFLPA Executive Director Gene Upshaw.

Arbitrator Richard Kasher ruled that NFL Commissioner Pete Roselle violated the collective bargaining agreement in trying to unilaterally implement a random drug testing program. Arbitrator Sam Kagel ordered five clubs to return fines levied against players who refused to submit to drug testing during a post-season physical.

Kasher's decision reaffirms a 1982 agreement that any changes in the drug testing program require the union's assent, Upshaw said. "It confirms that the clubs cannot have Roselle do independently what they cannot do themselves under the agreement."

Kasher ruled that Roselle's use of random testing is "in conflict with the specific provisions" of the contract and "is therefore superseded" by the agreement. The arbitrator did uphold certain aspects of Roselle's program, including the sending of urinalysis samples to a central testing laboratory, permitting Dr. Forest Tennant (named by Roselle to administer the program) to have a role in the "educational elements" of the NFL drug program, and allowing the clubs to test draft-eligible college seniors at the annual trials.

In the decision by Kagel, five NFL clubs—the New York Jets, St. Louis Cardinals, Tampa Bay Buccaneers, New Orleans Saints and Indianapolis Colts—were given 30 days to return the $1,000 fines imposed on some 200 players who refused to take drug tests during a post-season physical last January.

"I'm glad we won," Upshaw said of the decision. "But the real heroes are the 200 players who refused to allow their clubs to coerce them into doing something that the collective bargaining agreement did not permit. They stood up for their rights and trusted their union to win their money back for them. Now that has happened and our agreement has been preserved."

The NFLPA contract specifies that drug tests can be administered only during the annual pre-season physical and in cases where the team doctor has "reasonable cause" to believe a player has a chemical abuse problem.

Meany fellow finds muscular dystrophy link

Boston—A research scientist who won a fellowship named in honor of late AFL-CIO President George Meany has discovered the leading cause of duchenne muscular dystrophy, the most severe and most common form of the disease.

Louis M. Kunkel began his research effort in 1981, after he won the George Meany Postdoctoral Fellowship—a two-year grant awarded by the Muscular Dystrophy Association. Kunkel led a research team that isolated the gene that, when defective, causes muscles to degenerate.

MDA National Chairman Jerry Lewis recalled that Meany had pledged that the search for a cure for the degenerative disease would "find the American trade union movement right at your side, helping in every way we can."

"It's like George is still watching over us, doing everything he can to help," Lewis observed.

Federal pullout hit

Expanded job service urged for unemployed

The federal-state employment service needs to be strengthened "so that it can do better in helping unemployed workers find jobs," the AFL-CIO urged.

Research Director Rudy Oswald stressed the AFL-CIO's concern over a proposal by the Office of Management & Budget that would loosen federal involvement in the employment service and the unemployment insurance program, shifting financial and administrative responsibility to the states.

Oswald's statement, presented by AFL-CIO economist Markley Roberts at a regional hearing called by the Labor Dept.'s Employment & Training Administration, urged a greater effort to help people find jobs in a period of heavy unemployment.

Shifting more of the burden to the states would result in reduced services, Oswald warned. Instead, Congress should provide the administrative funds to assure prompt payment of unemployment insurance benefits and adequate staffing of the Employment Service.

The AFL-CIO's support for more funds and staff for the Employment Service does not reflect satisfaction with its role, Oswald made clear. He added, "We want the U.S. Employment Service to become the recognized source of free, employment-related service for all workers who need jobs and for all employers who need workers.

"We want the Employment Service to stop its focus on low-wage jobs at the bottom of the job ladder and to start serving all job seekers.

"We urge action to require all employers—except where there are established referral systems—to list all job vacancies with the Employment Service."

Oswald noted that employers with federal contracts of $10,000 or more are required to list job vacancies, but the requirement is "largely ignored."

Mandatory listing of jobs doesn't require mandatory hiring, he stressed. "An employer could still advertise or use private employment agencies. But the Employment Service would have a much better sense of what is actually going on in the local labor market—and might get better attention and respect from jobseeking workers and from employers seeking higher-skill, higher-pay workers."

List job vacancies

The AFL-CIO statement pointed to the need for "a truly national labor exchange . . . capable of operating across the boundaries of regions and states as well as local communities."

Oswald reaffirmed the AFL-CIO's support for the recommendations of the 1980 National Commission on Unemployment Compensation for expanded use of job banks, skill testing, establishment of job seekers' clubs and workshops.

Other labor-backed recommendations included counseling and career guidance for workers who are difficult to place or who face disadvantages.

Aptitude testing is useful when used in conjunction with personal interviews and work history, Oswald said, but should not become the sole factor in job referral. Lack of job referrals for persons who for a variety of reasons score low in tests produces "a permanent jobless underclass which gets no help from the Employment Service," Oswald protested.

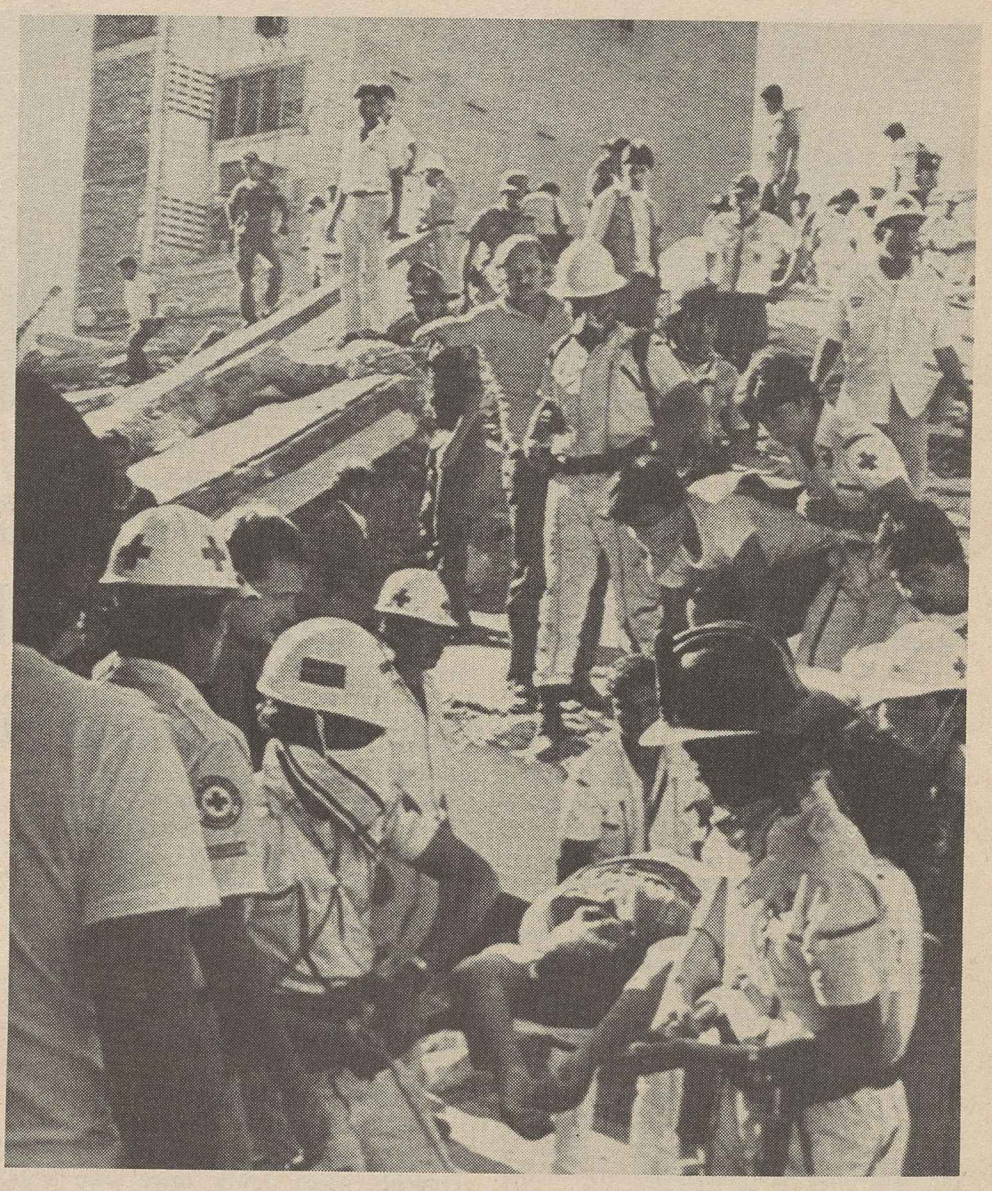
The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) has some accomplishments to its credit, but "simply scratches the surface" in terms of need, Oswald said. "Its funding is totally inadequate."

JTPA can't and shouldn't replace the Employment Service. But "the two systems should work together," Oswald declared.

Anthony Krause dies, headed Rail Carmen

South Holland, Ill.—Anthony L. Krause, retired president of the Railway Carmen, died Sept. 10 after a heart attack. He was 80.

Krause headed the Carmen, which merged with the Railway & Airline Clerks earlier this year, from 1971 to 1976. A 49-year member of the union, Krause also served as vice president and assistant president.



Rescue workers comb through the rubble of collapsed buildings.

Labor dollars and volunteers aid Salvadoran quake victims

Continued from Page 1

process of rebuilding the capital city. And Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte has estimated the earthquake damage will reach $2 billion.

The Ladies' Garment Workers became the first affiliate to join the relief effort, pledging $10,000 to the federation's fund.

Soon after the first tremors hit San Salvador, American labor relief teams were on the scene, helping to locate persons trapped beneath the fallen buildings.

Fire Fighters from Dade County, Fla., arrived less than 24 hours after the earthquake struck, one of several multinational teams—representing Israel, Guatamala, Mexico, Switzerland, France, Japan and the United States—who answered the call for help from the El Salvadoran government and the U.S. State Dept.

IAFF volunteers

The five volunteers from IAFF Local 1403 set up their command post at a four-story mall where more than 100 persons had already been found, but many more were still trapped inside.

Coordinator and IAFF member Doug Jewett organized the six rescue teams assigned to the building and distributed equipment, including radios, chain saws, hydraulic jacks and spreaders. Jewett, a 12-year veteran of disaster missions, has organized a team of Florida-area paramedics who frequently are contacted for help by countries hit by such tragedies. Jewett's team last went into action following the earthquake that devastated Mexico City a year ago.

Joaquin del Cueto, another member of the IAFF relief team, said rescue workers tunneled through the debris, stopping to tap the plumbing and listen for a response. In one room, he reported, after tunneling through a foot-and-a-half of concrete, the rescue unit found six people nearly three days after the earthquake struck. The room had collapsed, and one person was trapped by a desk, another by a toilet.

After five days, cranes and heavy equipment were used to lift the giant concrete slabs covering the building, while rescue workers explored new tunnels.

The IAFF team helped rescue 32 persons although nearly 300 perished in the building's collapse, del Cueto said. In addition to Jewett and del Cueto, the IAFF Local 1403 volunteers include Jimmy Arias, John Carroll and Glen Patton.

Contributions can be sent to the Salvadoran Earthquake Relief Fund, in care of the AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Made in U.S.A.

While the Reagan Administration tramples on legislation to curb the flood of imports, it remains out of step with the American people, who overwhelmingly favor goods made in the U.S.A. to those manufactured abroad.

A survey by Money magazine revealed that 80 percent of the public not only would prefer American-made products if the price is comparable to imports, but 54 percent of them favor import taxes to achieve price parity that would rescue the nation's industries and jobs.

The 262-page national survey also showed that nearly 50 percent said they buy more American-made goods now than they did two to three years ago. Support for domestic products came from half of those earning under $15,000 and a third of those in the $50,000-and-up bracket. Rating highest in preference over their imported counterparts were domestic cars, apparel and entertainment equipment.

How does the Republican Administration's stand on trade and the economy rate with the American people? Pretty bad, the survey said. More people think President Reagan's policies have hurt, rather than helped, them this past year.

As to the economic outlook in 1987, 70 percent think gas and oil prices will increase, 43 percent say inflation will heat up, 39 percent fear a new round of unemployment and 50 percent believe interest rates on mortgages and other loans will rise, the survey showed.

Imports gut jobs, threaten industrial base

Continued from Page 1

99th Congress, the Democratic House passed a tough, labor-backed trade bill cracking down on unfair trade practices and exploitation of foreign workers. But the Republican-controlled Senate refused to act on the measure.

As has been the pattern throughout the Reagan years, the deficit is hitting hardest in the manufacturing sector. In the first nine months of this year, imports of manufactured goods outstripped exports by $107.5 billion—one-third higher than the $80.9-billion manufacturing trade loss for the same period in 1985.

The September figures made clear the widespread impact that foreign trade is having on the economy. The month's imports of $22.7 billion worth of manufactured goods included:

- $3.3 billion in new passenger cars.
- $2.1 billion in clothing and footwear.
- $1.7 billion in electrical machinery.
- $1.7 billion in telecommunications equipment and parts.
- $1.2 billion in office machines and data processing equipment.

And petroleum imports soared to more than $3 billion, attributable to both higher prices and a sharp increase in the number of barrels of oil imported daily.

As usual, the largest single deficit was with Japan, down slightly to $4.1 billion last month, due almost exclusively to a slackening in automobile imports as American dealers struggled to get rid of 1986 cars before new models come off the assembly line.

September's deficit stood at $1.8 billion with Western Europe, $1.5 billion with Canada and $1.5 billion with Taiwan.

America's farmers got the only piece of good news—that the nation rang up a $138-million surplus in agricultural trade following three consecutive months in which U.S. food exports were outdistanced by food imports.

Workers hold key to election victory in close contests

Continued from Page 1

The six-year terms of 34 senators are up this year, 22 Republicans and 12 Democrats. Republicans now hold a 53-47 majority. Democrats need a net gain of four seats to take over the committee chairmanships. A 50-50 tie would leave the GOP in control, since Vice President Bush can break ties in his constitutional role as presiding officer of the Senate.

Worried Republicans enlisted President Reagan for a longer list of campaign stops than the White House had originally scheduled.

In the House, where all seats are up for renewal, Democrats start with a 253-182 advantage, counting vacancies to the party last holding the seat. But the bipartisan division between labor's allies and labor's foes is considerably narrower. A tilt of less than a dozen House seats on Nov. 4 could shift the outcome of close votes.

Thirty-six states will elect governors, most for four-year terms. Twenty-seven of them now have Democratic governors.

Ballot issues are topped by an Idaho referendum on an anti-union "right-to-work" law passed by the legislature over the governor's veto. Idaho's unions mounted a successful petition drive to put the measure to referendum.

Leaders of Chile's free trade unions denounce the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet at a roundtable discussion with AFL-CIO officials at federation headquarters. From left, ORIT Gen.-Sec. Luis A. Anderson, CDT Sec.-Gen. Hernol Flores, CNT President Rodolfo Seguel, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, CDT President Eduardo Rios, CDT Vice President Manuel Bustos and AIFLD Executive Director William Doherty.

Chile's military rule crushes freedom, sows seeds of communist takeover

Although the military regime in Chile has the active support of the Reagan Administration as a self-proclaimed bastion of anti-communism in Latin America, its 13-year record of murder, intimidation and repression makes it "fertile soil" for a far-left takeover, the leaders of Chile's free trade unions warned.

At a seminar at AFL-CIO headquarters, capping two weeks of intensive sessions at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, the Chilean unionists made clear their goal of restoring "democracy without labels," rejecting either the totalitarianism of the right—like the ones in their own country or neighboring Paraguay—or totalitarianism of the left that marks the Cuban and Nicaraguan regimes.

President Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship has produced "hunger, poverty, frustration and pain," since taking power in a military coup that ended more than 160 years of democracy in that small Latin American country, President Eduardo Rios of the Democratic Central Organization of Workers of Chile (CDT), declared.

Under Pinochet's iron-fisted rule, unemployment shot up from 4.5 percent in 1973 to over 29 percent today; more than half of those with jobs earn an average of 20 cents an hour; the housing deficit has almost doubled from 400,000 to 900,000 units, and the national debt has soared from $4.5 billion to $20 billion, with most of the dollars going into the pockets of Pinochet and his cronies, Rios noted.

Workers victimized

Those most victimized by the dictatorship are the workers, he declared. When Pinochet seized power, there were 6,500 unions in Chile representing 950,000 workers—28 percent of the workforce. Today there are only 5,000 unions with 380,000 members—a mere 12 percent of the workforce.

"The people of Chile were born under freedom, they were raised under freedom, and they demand a return of democracy," the CDT president said, and his country's free trade unions look to their brothers and sisters in the federation and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for moral support in their fight to restore democracy in their embattled country.

In welcoming the two dozen Chilean union leaders, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue stressed the federation's long commitment to provide assistance in restoring free trade unionism and "the peaceful return of democracy."

Donahue quoted from the Executive Council's August statement supporting the 21-point accord adopted by the National Civic Assembly composed of Chile's trade unions, civic and church groups and all of the democratic political parties, which, the council said, offers "a reasonable blueprint for a transition to democracy."

Brutal crackdown

But Rodolfo Seguel, president of the National Workers' Command (CNT), one of the founders of the Civic Assembly and former president of the Copper Workers' Confederation, said the Pinochet regime's response has been to accelerate the murder, jailing, exiling and "disappearance" of hundreds of trade unionists.

Unless the military dictatorship clears the way for free, democratic elections, Seguel said, "the country will become radicalized between the extreme left and the extreme right, and the workers and the people of Chile will be the ones who pay the consequences."

He called on the Reagan Administration, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and other public and private lending institutions to deny Pinochet's requests for multi-billion-dollar loans, warning that "none of those dollars will go for housing, for schools, for health or for the aid of the individuals." They would be used instead to solidify Pinochet's grip on the country and assure his re-election in 1989, Seguel predicted.

Hernol Flores, CDT secretary general who succeeded to the presidency of the National Association of Public Employees in 1982 after the brutal assassination of Tucapel Jimenez, branded the promised balloting a "political fraud with the people as the victims."

"There can be no free elections in 1989," Flores said, because the rules are made by "a parliament of four—the chiefs of staff of the army, air force, navy and police—who legislate in secret sessions" and who will make certain that Pinochet or his hand-picked successor will be the only candidate on the ballot.

U.S. firms assailed

American-based multinationals came under strong criticism from Manuel Bustos, vice president of the National Confederation of Textile Workers and, since 1985, vice president of the CNT.

"Their purpose is to make money," Bustos said, "and the Pinochet regime has offered them the opportunity to exploit the Chilean people. These transnationals have put profits above human rights and workers' rights."

Executive Director William C. Doherty of the American Institute for Free Labor Development said there was a faint glimmer of hope that the Reagan Administration may be modifying its attitude on the Pinochet regime. He noted a recent public statement by James Michael, the State Dept.'s deputy assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, in which he branded the Pinochet government as one of the two "totalitarian dictatorships of the right" in this hemisphere.

Doherty noted that the Chilean embassy in Washington filed a formal protest with the State Dept., charging that the two-week training session at the Meany Center was organized to train "communist union leaders" from Chile.

It is this attitude on the part of the Pinochet government of branding all opposition leaders as communists, he said, that undercuts the efforts of the democratic trade unions to restore democracy in Chile.

In a stew

Past complaints from American labor to Chile's President Augusto Pinochet about wholesale violations of workers' rights fell on deaf ears, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue said at a seminar with the leaders of that country's free trade unions.

In 1978, he pointed out, Federation Vice Presidents Sol C. Chaikin and Thomas W. Gleason and Executive Director William C. Doherty of the American Institute for Free Labor Development had a two-hour, face-to-face meeting with Pinochet during which the dictator vehemently denied that either trade union or human rights were violated and sought repeatedly to defend his repressive military regime.

At the end of the session, Donahue recalled, Pinochet asked, "Have I succeeded in convincing you that I'm not the type of person who eats babies for breakfast?"

To which Chaikin replied: "That's not the question. What we want to know is, do you eat trade unionists for lunch?"

HERE offers service crew for embassy

The Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees have offered to come to the aid of beleaguered staff members at the American embassy in Moscow and the consulate in Leningrad, following the Soviet withdrawal of 260 of its nationals from their embassy duties.

The Kremlin's action was part of the escalating round of diplomatic expulsions, triggered by the U.S. ouster of 25 members of the Soviet mission to the United Nations. Moscow responded by expelling five American diplomats and the Administration retaliated by ordering home 55 additional staff members at the Soviet embassy in Washington and its consulate in San Francisco.

After the Soviet government sent five more American diplomats packing and ordered its 260 citizens to stop performing support services for the U.S. diplomatic corps in Moscow and Leningrad, HERE President Edward T. Hanley stepped in to offer a solution to the dilemma—at least as far as cooks, maids and maintenance workers are concerned.

Select team

In a letter to Sec. of State George Shultz, Hanley offered to put together "a carefully selected team of union food preparers and service and housekeeping personnel to provide feeding and housekeeping services" for the diplomats and staff remaining in the Soviet Union.

Noting that HERE represents "the most highly skilled culinary and housekeeping professionals in the world," Hanley expressed the belief that the Americans in Moscow and Leningrad would be "more comfortable with American personnel serving their needs."

Hanley told Shultz that HERE would assume the costs of expenses and transportation for members taking up the overseas assignments and pledged that he would "personally accompany these teams of professionals to ensure that the highest quality of service is provided."

Mine Workers vote to consider merger

Atlanta—The Mine Workers voted to consider merger or affiliation with another union during a special convention called to prepare for upcoming negotiations with the nation's coal operators.

The 1,500 UMW delegates unanimously adopted the merger resolution, part of a package of proposals that lifts the $70 million cap on the strike fund and sets the date of the next convention for 1990, marking the union's 100th anniversary.

UMW President Richard Trumka said merger discussions had not been held, but called the vote a "powerful tool" in negotiating with the coal companies.

The UMW also agreed to "link and share" information with the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers for next year's negotiations with coal conglomerates. Many oil companies—including Chevron Corp. and Standard Oil Co.—are also coal operators.

OCAW President Joseph Misbrener said under the new partnership, the two unions together "will be looking down the gun-barrel at the multinational companies that control the energy sources of this country."

Harvard law students snub union-busting firms

Many of the nation's "best and brightest" law school students are passing up job opportunities with union-busting law firms.

At Harvard, more than 200 students declared their refusal to consider employment with five law firms the AFL-CIO has identified as active participants in management campaigns that prevent workers from organizing unions or scheme to decertify existing unions.

Talent recruiters from the nation's biggest law firms visit Harvard and other high-prestige law schools, and competition for top students is often intense.

A spokesman for the law student boycott, Paul S. Bamberger, stressed the distinction between firms that represent management as part of a normal lawyer-client relationship and those that take on the job of fighting unions.

The AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization & Field Services, which keeps tabs on professional union-busters, had these comments on the firms being shunned by the law students:

Unfair campaigns

Littler, Mendelson, Fastiff & Tichy is a large San Francisco-based firm that has held seminars on how to resist organizing campaigns. It has been reprimanded and fined in federal court for filing a frivolous and harassing lawsuit against Local 3 of the Operating Engineers. Campaigns in which it has been involved have been marked by unfair labor practices.

Morgan, Lewis & Bockius of Philadelphia is described in organizing reports as "the behind-the-scenes director of coercive and intimidating campaigns," including tactics such as management warnings of losses of wages and benefits if workers vote for union representation.

Bond, Schoeneck & King of Syracuse, N.Y., is identified with campaigns that prompt supervisors to warn workers that the only concern of unions "is to get dues money from workers" and that union organization will force a strike or result in the plant being shut down.

Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather & Geraldson of Chicago has actively participated in efforts to decertify unions, and the AFL-CIO's National Organizing Coordinating Committee notes a pattern of strikes following employment of this law firm. Many of these strikes, it says, result from "a management-planned impasse in bargaining, where the strike becomes the weapon of management rather than the union."

Scare tactics

Vedder, Price, Kaufman & Kammholz of Chicago typically "tries to scare the workers to death about the inevitability of strikes and violence," AFL-CIO records show. In a typical campaign in which it is involved, supervisors are told to tell employees that a common way unions "force members to obey union orders" is to "put the member on trial and force the member to pay a fine."

Several of the firms also have offices in cities other than their headquarters location.

Administration waffles on banned job-export scheme

Despite a congressional ban on using taxpayers' dollars to promote the migration of domestic assembly plants abroad, the Commerce Dept. is searching for a way to proceed with a multi-million-dollar "exposition" keyed to luring U.S. plants and jobs to Mexico.

The restrictions against encouraging the relocation of American assembly operations were contained in a bipartisan amendment attached to the half-trillion-dollar federal funding bill that the House and Senate passed, and President Reagan signed into law, in the waning hours of the 99th Congress.

Sponsored by Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio) and Rep. Bob Carr (D-Mich.), the amendment was triggered by revelations that the U.S. Trade Center in Mexico City —which historically has promoted the sale of U.S.-made goods in Mexico—had switched roles and was arranging a trade show designed to encourage American firms to transfer their assembly operations across the border.

Facts demanded

The report that accompanies the massive spending bill directed the Commerce Dept. to report to Congress by Dec. 1 on how many such expositions were staged in the past, how many are planned for the future, and the reasons for encouraging industry to runaway from American workers and exploit what the department's own brochure boasted was "low-cost" labor in the industrial zone that has mushroomed adjacent to the United States.

Regula's office said the department had asked for a letter from the Ohio congressman exempting the planned Acapulco exhibition from the restrictions—a plea that Regula refused. At the Commerce Dept., the request was described in more benign terms—a "clarification" of the intent of Congress as it applies to an exposition that has been in the works since the beginning of the year.

Options explored

Faced with the congressional directive barring the use of fiscal 1987 funds for this purpose, the Commerce Dept. said it was studying whether the cancellation of the exposition would cost the taxpayers more than going ahead with the project and whether "other money" might be available to underwrite the program.

Adis Vila, director of the Office of the Mexican and Caribbean Basin, told the AFL-CIO News that the department is also exploring the possibility of turning the task over to a private contractor—not, she emphasized, to end-run Congress but to fulfill "an obligation" to American business to help it remain competitive in the face of mounting foreign imports.

But the program the Commerce Dept. is promoting seems likely to increase the import pressures on a nation already reeling under a succession of massive trade deficits that began shortly after the Reagan Administration took office.

Auto Workers President Owen Bieber blasted the Administration's scheme to assist U.S. firms to move production to Mexican plants, declaring that it proves "there is no limit to the Reagan Republicans' contempt for workers and their families."

At a time when the record trade deficit continues to wipe out U.S. jobs by the hundreds of thousands, Bieber said, "it is truly shocking to discover the Reagan Administration sponsoring a meeting to help U.S. firms push still more workers onto unemployment lines while taking advantage of exploited Mexican labor."

For nearly six years, the UAW president said, "the working men and women of this country have been given the back of the hand by this Administration through unprecedented trade deficits and through monetary policies that have ravaged basic industries, thrown millions out of good-paying jobs and blighted the hopes of communities large and small" across the nation.

The choice facing American producers, Vila said, is whether American firms should simply go out of business in the face of skyrocketing imports, or whether they should move assembly operations abroad and become part of the foreign competition that has destroyed jobs, industries and communities.

Short commute

If businesses opt for the latter course, Vila said, they face the choice between going to nearby Mexico—just a short commute from the American market—or to the far-away Pacific Rim area. The Commerce Dept. apparently favors the Mexican route.

The scheme being promoted by the U.S. Trade Center focuses on the import laws of both Mexico and the United States, under which Mexico waives any duty on components brought into that country for assembly and the United States imposes a tariff only on the "value added" in Mexico—which usually consists only of wages averaging 30 to 75 cents an hour.

The government has already mailed 120,000 brochures to a wide range of American industries—from makers of automobile and audio-visual equipment to producers of televisions, textiles and typewriters. More than 120 American companies have already signed up to take part in the three-day exposition in December that is designed to encourage the shift of assembly operations south of the border.

Sweatshop conditions

The Commerce Dept.-sponsored event will give American companies an overview of how the Mexican assembly plants—known as maquilladoras or "golden mills" —operate, with particular attention to that country's labor policies. Trade unionism is discouraged in Mexico, and the available workforce consists mainly of women and young girls who labor under sweatshop conditions.

In 1969, the maquilladoras accounted for only 2 percent of American imports of foreign-assembled products. Less than a decade ago, there were only 300 plants just across the Mexican border employing 80,000 workers. Since then, American firms have invested more than $1.9 billion in beefing up these cross-border operations, which now number 760 plants employing a workforce close to 300,000.

Shipbuilders reaffirm call to expand merchant fleet

Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.—President Arthur E. Batson Jr. of the Marine & Shipbuilding Workers and Vice President/Sec.-Treas. Robert W. Pemberton were re-elected to new four-year terms by convention delegates who called for development of a national maritime policy.

Batson defeated challenger Donald Sunkin by better than a 6-to-1 margin, while Pemberton won over Fred Neufeld by 3-to-1. New members elected to the executive board were Lonnie Vick of Baltimore, Joseph Graumann of Camden, N.J., Ronnie Chapa of Mobile, Ala., and Pedro Torrez of New York. Six other board members were re-elected.

Batson reported to the convention that the cutbacks at shipyards around the country have resulted in a loss of members. A major topic of discussion among the 90 delegates was how best to increase the amount of work available at the shipyards.

Merchant fleet needed

The convention adopted a resolution reaffirming the union's call for a "strong, military useful, U.S.-built, operated and crewed merchant fleet supported by an adequate pool of trained labor, funding and government support."

The delegates called on Congress, government agencies, ship operators and builders, and organized labor to formulate "a comprehensive national policy for the revitalization of the U.S. commercial fleet." Failure to do this, the convention warned, could result in the demise of the nation's merchant marine "as a commercial entity and an essential component of our national security."

Another key resolution supported the U.S. Navy's strategic home-porting plan, noting that it will mean job gains and substantial economic benefits for the union's members and their families. The Navy plan, designed to accommodate the additional ships that will enter the fleet as part of its rebuilding program, is aimed at enabling Navy ships to respond quickly to national emergencies.

New ports targeted

The Navy has proposed home-porting for Staten Island, N.Y., Mobile, Ala., Long Beach, Calif., Pensacola, Fla., Gulf Port and Pascagoula, Miss., Lake Charles, La., and San Francisco.

The convention called for port development legislation as part of a national port policy that would assure that the costs of maintaining port channels be the responsibility of the shipper to collect ad valorem fees on cargo and that a "beneficiary test" be included to protect U.S.-flag operators from unwarranted costs.

In other resolutions, the delegates called for legislation to prohibit employers from permanently replacing striking workers, to require advance notice of plant shutdowns, and to amend the Hatch Act prohibitions against political action by public employees. The delegates also opposed any changes in the Walsh-Healey Act, called for broader coverage of workers by the Trade Adjustment Assistance program, and urged a ban on employment screening tests that are an invasion of workers' privacy.

In an address to the convention, arbitrator Lawrence Siebel discussed the use of drug and alcohol testing and concerns about so-called lie detector tests.

Seniors due 1.3% rise in benefits

Senior citizens will have to tighten their belts further in 1987 as the modest 1.3-percent cost-of-living increase in social security benefits will be overwhelmed by rising food and medical costs, while the social security payroll surcharge will rise for workers earning more than $42,000 a year.

The 1.3-percent benefits rise—the lowest since benefits were tied to inflation in 1975—means the average monthly check will rise by only $6 to $488.

Economists predict a 4- to 5-percent rise in food prices in 1987 and an increase of 8 percent in medical costs. This is significant for the elderly who generally spend 15 percent of their income on health care.

The elderly generally do not spend much of their income on gasoline, an area where falling prices have saved many families money. But in two other energy areas —fuel oil and electricity—costs are rising. In September, fuel oil was up 1.1 percent and electricity, four-tenths of 1 percent.

Some 700,000 seniors will be dropped from the tax rolls next year—mainly those relying solely on social security income—as their deductions will keep them at the "no taxable income" level.

Individual workers earning more than $42,000 annually will face a 4.3-percent boost in social security payroll taxes in 1987 as the upper limit stretches from $42,000 to $43,800. The overall tax rate will remain at the current 7.15 percent.

The maximum annual deduction, affecting an estimated 8.5 million workers, will grow by $128.70—increasing to $3,131.70 from $3,003 in 1986.

HRDI—job well done

A House-Senate conference committee singled out the AFL-CIO's Human Resources Development Institute for special praise in a report explaining the provisions of a bill to extend and improve the Rehabilitation Act.

The labor-supported legislation, which has been signed into law, strengthens job opportunities and rights for disabled workers. It also provides increased five-year funding authority for the Dept. of Education's Projects with Industries program, which also funds HRDI activities in this field.

The report clearing the way for final approval by the House and Senate stated that "the conferees wish to recognize and support" HRDI's assistance to persons with disabilities and its efforts "to involve the American trade union movement" in this endeavor.

HRDI efforts are carried out through local demonstration projects in Baltimore, Houston, St. Louis and St. Paul, Minn., which develop jobs for handicapped and disabled workers and helps them find employment. The average wage of those placed in union jobs has been $7.47 an hour.

A fifth local project is being established in Helena, Mont., in cooperation with Montana's unions and the state Rehabilitation Services Division.

HRDI also has recently inaugurated return-to-work services for disabled union members. Started initially in St. Louis, the program helps persons referred by their local unions to go back to work after illness or injury.

Major contract settlements post moderate wage gains

Major collective bargaining settlements reached in the first nine months of 1986 provided average first-year wage increases of 1.3 percent excluding lump-sum bonuses, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

The government's report on collective bargaining found that pay gains in major contracts—those covering 1,000 or more workers—provided increases averaging 1.9 percent a year over the life of the contract, down from the 2.9-percent increase for the same period last year.

The third quarter cumulative report does not include lump-sum bonuses received by more than one-third of the covered workers in lieu of a wage increase, nor does it take into account the benefits of "back-loaded" agreements, affecting 46 percent of the covered workers.

Settlements with lump-sum payments provided average wage increases of eight-tenths of 1 percent in the first contract year and 1.4 percent over the life of the contract. Lump-sum payments were negotiated in the steel, communications, railroads, food store and petroleum refining industries.

"Back-loaded" settlements, in which larger wage increases to into effect at the end of the contract year or period, provided an increase averaging 1.6 percent over the term of the contract, with a first year loss of one-tenth of 1 percent. These settlements were most common in construction, communications, railroads, steel, petroleum refining and electrical and electronic equipment.

BLS is considering ways to include lump-sum compensation in its collective bargaining surveys, the agency said, but data would not be available before the end of 1987.

Of the 1.85 million workers covered by January-September 1986 settlements, 1.3 million won first-year wage increases averaging 3 percent, while 433,000 accepted a wage freeze in the first contract year. About 153,000 workers accepted first-year pay cuts averaging 8.2 percent.

Nearly 400,000 workers in the communications industry won first-year wage gains averaging 2 percent, with a 2.1-percent yearly increase over the life of the contract, while construction workers posted a first-year gain averaging 2.5 percent and a yearly gain of 2.7 percent overall.

Wage settlements for manufacturing workers fell by six-tenths of 1 percent in the first contract year.

Shippers drop demands for ILA givebacks

Some 31,000 Longshoremen from Hampton Roads, Va., to Searsport, Me., moved a step closer to settling contract negotiations for East Coast ports, as a second management group fell into line and agreed to terms paralleling a master agreement agreed to earlier by New York and Boston shipping companies.

The Council of North Atlantic Shipping Associations, whose initial demands for drastic pay cutbacks and a three-tier pay system triggered a three-day strike early in October, backed off and agreed to the ILA proposal freezing the hourly wage for longshoremen handling containerized cargo at $17 for the first two years, rising to $18 in the third year.

That was the same basis on which the union and the New York Shipping Association had reached tentative agreement on a master contract in September.

The CONASA pact also calls for a $16-an-hour wage for the life of the agreement for dockworkers handling such heavy cargo as grain and ore shipments.

With accord reached on the master agreements, the ILA and the shipping associations returned to the bargaining table to work out a number of local issues, the key item being the number of hours' pay to be guaranteed longshoremen.

Currently, ILA members are assured of 2,080 hours' pay annually. Management is pushing for a 15-percent reduction in the guarantee to 1,768 hours—the equivalent of 52 weeks of 34 hours each.

Advertising Corp. put on labor's unfair list

The AFL-CIO has placed the Advertising Corp. of America on labor's unfair list and is asking union members to boycott the company's products because of its refusal to bargain fairly with members of the Electronic Workers.

Members of IUE Local 276 in Holyoke, Mass., were forced to strike on July 21 after the company insisted on steep and unjustified contract concessions, including the elimination of all health care benefits for workers's families and demeaning disciplinary rules. Advertising Corp. has since hired scabs to replace the 110 striking workers.

The AFL-CIO is urging all union members to not buy the pocket calendars and desk diaries made by Advertising Corp. "until the members of IUE Local 276 achieve a decent and equitable contract, end their strike and return to their jobs."

Picture perfect

Laborers Local 362 union hall in Bloomington, Ill., is the showcase for a mural portraying more than 70 years of Illinois labor history. The 12-by-18-foot painting portrays events such as a 1917 visit of Mother Jones supporting a streetcar workers' strike, a Bakery & Confectionery Workers organizing campaign 20 years later, as well as a modern construction site. The mural was painted by local artist Kari Sandhass.

Newspaper Guild denounces jailing, ouster of journalists

The detentions and imprisonment of three foreign journalists by the Immigration & Naturalization Service were strongly protested by the Newspaper Guild, which called for legislation to "bring this disgraceful situation to an end."

The Guild's executive board, meeting in Vancouver, B.C., objected to the INS's actions that have prevented working journalists from entering the United States.

In a related matter, Guild President Charles A. Perlik Jr. in September protested the Soviet Union's detention of Nicholas S. Daniloff, the Moscow correspondent for the U.S. News & World Report, on charges of espionage.

On the INS detentions, the Guild called for passage in the next Congress of a legislative package to repeal the ideological-exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act, bar the denial of passports because of political belief or activity remove barriers to the dissemination of information from abroad.

On Sept. 25, Belgian journalist Tom Ronse, who has worked in the United States for six years, was detained at the Newark, N.J., airport after INS officials discovered booklets and notes on communism in his luggage. When he appeared before INS authorities on Oct. 3 with American Civil Liberties Union lawyer, arranged for by Guild, his passport and papers were returned, along with an apology.

On Oct. 14, INS officials at Kennedy International Airport in New York detained Colombian journalist Patricia Lara, a reporter for the pro-American daily, El Tiempo, and author of a book about three guerilla leaders.

Lara, who vacationed in the United States in March, was held in a maximum security federal prison in Manhattan. INS officials gave no reason for her detention, except that her name is on agency's "lookout" book, which lists persons not to be admitted to the country.

Perlik in a letter to the INS, called Lara's detention "outrageous," stressing that "the exclusion of anyone for their ideas is abhorrent to American principles."

On Oct. 26, INS officials at Miami International Airport detained Colombian author Olga Behar, who has written a book on the guerilla movement and worked in the print and electronic media. She stopped at Miami to visit a relative while on her return to Colombia from Europe. After being held overnight, she was allowed to visit her relative and then leave the country.

Rising prices cancel modest pay increases

Continued from Page 1

tirement benefits that will show up in end-of-the-year checks.

Spurring the CPI rise, the cost of gasoline and home heating oil moved upward in September. But fuel prices were still far below their September 1985 levels.

In medical care, there was new evidence that tough cost containment policies are necessary to keep services within reach of the family budget. They rose six-tenths of 1 percent in September and were up 7.6 percent over the same month last year.

In other economic developments:

- New orders for American-made machine tools—a harbinger of how industry views the economy in the months ahead—nosedived 12.7 percent in September, reflecting what analysts called "flat capital spending plans." New orders dropped to $134.7 million from August's $154.3-million level.
- Although Candidate Ronald Reagan pledged in 1980 that he would achieve a balanced budget three years after taking office, the fiscal 1986 federal deficit hit $220.7 billion, the highest in history.

The new record was set despite wholesale cuts in funding domestic programs that the President engineered as his supposed solution to deficit spending. But these reductions were more than offset by ballooning Pentagon spending. It marked the apparently unending series of record high deficits that have been the hallmarks of the Reagan presidency—$212.3 billion in fiscal 1985, $185.3 billion in 1984 and $207.8 billion in 1983.

Before adjourning, Congress voted to raise the national debt limit to $2.3 trillion—more than 130 percent higher than it was when Reagan took office—and the government estimated it will reach that level by May 1987.

- Orders for durable goods such as heavy machinery, aircraft and transportation equipment, rose 4.9 percent in September. It was the largest increase in nearly two years. In dollar terms, orders rose $5.1 billion to $109 billion last month.
- Hindered by slow economic growth and intense foreign competition, third-quarter corporate profits were only slightly above last year's, based on earnings reported by most of the nation's largest firms.

"Over all, profits were mediocre, not dreadfully bad and not wonderfully good," said David Levy, senior economist at Levy Economic Forecasts. He blamed the flat profit picture on "the continuous drain from the trade deficit."

Over-zealous collection techniques harass jobless

Continued from Page 1

But the focus of the Unemployment Insurance Program letter sent to state agencies by ETA's administrator for regional management is recovering "overpayments" of unemployment insurance benefits.

The Labor Dept. letter offering the cassettes to the states enclosed a training program guide prepared by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Unemployment Compensation. It is intended to reinforce the "lessons" of the video lecture on telephone debt collection techniques.

Its thrust is that a good telephone debt collector isn't fazed by the excuses that people give, such as the person who explains he can't pay back the money the unemployment insurance office says he owes because he's still out of work.

Here are some recommended responses:

"Where does your spouse work?"

"Who supports your family?"

"Which of your friends and relatives could help you pay back this overpayment?"

Illness is "a common excuse," but the efficient telephone collector doesn't extend best wishes for recovery and hang up. Instead, he wants to know the nature of the illness, the names of doctors and hospitals and the amounts owed to them. Here, too, the question is, "Which of your friends and relatives could help you repay this overpayment?"

Someone who is in school and has no income will be prodded with questions such as "Where do you get your spending money from?"

After listening to the excuses given by "an overpaid person," the goal of the collector is "to circumvent the individual's response and collect maximum dollars in minimum time."

Toward that end, the instruction is to "Ask for payment in full today. Create a sense of urgency." Get across the idea that "nothing less" will do.

Monthly payments will be reluctantly accepted only if the collector is "convinced that payment in full is impossible."

Some 23 states had requested the video cassettes at last count, but not all are necessarily using them to train employees in commercial debt collection techniques.

Labor Dept. officials involved in the program, and state agencies adopting the recommended program, argue an obligation by government to use the most efficient techniques to recover overpayments of benefits from workers and collect unemployment insurance taxes from delinquent employers.

Wrong emphasis

James N. Ellenberger, who deals with unemployment insurance issues as an assistant director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, looks at it differently.

Ellenberger questions the emphasis and diversion of understaffed state unemployment insurance offices for what amounts to harassment of individuals.

The "overpayments," he suggests, most often result from disqualification from unemployment insurance benefits for a week on technical grounds such as failure to complete work search requirements in circumstances where jobs were clearly not available.

Labor Dept. data, although skimpy since state laws and definitions differ, indicate that three-fourths of the "overpayments" to individuals do not involve fraudulent attempts to deceive the government.

The unemployment compensation system's glaring weakness isn't debt collection, Ellenberger stresses. Rather it is the steady erosion of coverage—in part because of tightened state eligibility standards—so that less than 30 percent of the nation's jobless currently receive unemployment insurance payments.

To Ellenberger, the high-pressure dunning policy is "another step in a long series of actions by the Administration to focus on ways to reduce payments of benefits to the unemployed."

The Labor Dept. points to $637 million in overpayments and nearly twice that amount in tax delinquencies to indicate the magnitude of the problem and the need for more aggressive collection techniques. But the figures are suspect, since some states carry on their books debts dating back to the early years of the unemployment insurance system. Others have differing statutes of limitation.

More meaningful figures obtained from the Labor Dept. show that in the 12 months through last March, state unemployment insurance offices identified benefit overpayments totaling $190 million, after exclusion of relatively small sums resulting from administrative errors for which restitution was not sought.

But during that same period, state agencies recovered $136.5 million in overpayments, leaving a shortfall of only $53.5 million spread among the 50 states and three other jurisdictions administering the unemployment insurance program.

ETA's Seattle regional office apparently came up with the plan to use a video of Hardesty's telephone technique lecture to train employees of state agencies to emulate professional debt collectors. It contracted for the Washington state employment security division, which has video facilities, to film Hardesty's monologue.

Arm-twisters

A 1984 news feature in Time magazine noted the success of Payco's "posse of 1,000 bill collectors." It became the nation's largest collection agency, the story observed, by hiring "collectors who are adept at twisting arms over the telephone."

The Education Dept. contract, Time reported, helped boost Payco's earnings 35 percent the first year and triple the value of its stock.

The initial contract to Payco, which let it keep 38 cents of each dollar it collected, was based on specifications drawn up by an Education Dept. official who several months later left government and went to work for Payco. But he denied any connection, assuring reporters at the time that the granting of the contract was "100 percent pure."

EDITORIALS

Defying Congress

LABOR'S OUTRAGE at efforts by an agency of the U.S. Dept. of Commerce to encourage American firms to move jobs across the Mexican border is fortunately shared by members of Congress from both parties.

One of the final acts of the 99th Congress was to include in the continuing appropriations bill a restriction on funds allocated to the Commerce Dept. that was about as unequivocal as legislative language can be.

It prohibited use of any taxpayer funds "for activities associated with conferences, trade shows, expositions and/or seminars which feature or convey the advantages of relocating U.S. industries, manufacturing and/or assembly plants, or companies in a foreign country."

That wasn't all.

To reinforce the point, the House-Senate conferees wrote into the report on the appropriations bill their "complete discontent" with Commerce Dept. sponsorship of an exposition scheduled to be held this December in Acapulco, Mexico, to encourage the transfer of jobs out of the United States.

THE REASON for the discontent was obvious. The taxpayer-paid brochures the Commerce Dept. sent to American companies touted the advantage of "utilizing the low-cost foreign labor in assembly of products for re-export to the United States."

The unequivocal repudiation by Congress should have ended the matter, with a hearty "thanks" from American workers.

But as the story on Page 5 of this issue reveals, the Commerce Dept. is still looking for a way to circumvent the clear directive of Congress.

It must be that unemployment is not sufficiently high or that a trade deficit that has grown to astronomical figures is still too low. Why else would an agency of the United States government be so anxious to wipe out American jobs?

Life or Death

A NEWSLETTER published by the Service Employees is titled "Politics Is Union Business" and an article in its current issue demonstrates convincingly why this is so.

It traces the union's successful campaign to require the Environmental Protection Agency to set standards for detection of deteriorating asbestos insulation in the nation's schools and safe removal by certified contractors.

The campaign began three years ago when the union learned that some of its members employed in school boiler rooms were afflicted with asbestos-induced diseases, including cancer. Studies by the union and EPA identified the scope of the problem. But as the newsletter notes, "studies so not solve problems nor do they save lives."

The first step was to work with a coalition of concerned organizations to achieve passage of a grant-and-loan program to help schools detect and remove asbestos. But in the absence of EPA standards, the removal often compounded the problem, spreading deadly asbestos fibers in its wake.

AS IN THE earlier campaign, the union called on its local and state legislative action committees to set up meetings with members of Congress from their home districts to explain the problem and solicit the support. The special emphasis was on the congressional committees and committee chairmen crucial to the legislative process.

In moving the legislation through Congress, the newsletter noted, "we were backed by lobbying by other AFL-CIO unions."

The legislation is now law and fewer persons will die of an avoidable occupational hazard because politics is part of the trade union movement's agenda.

Sometimes the ability of unions to represent their members effectively in Congress and the legislature can be a life-or-death matter, literally.

Washington Window

Tax reform bill evolved from flawed Reagan plan

By Press Associates Inc.

President John F. Kennedy used to have a favorite saying, "Success has many fathers; failure is an orphan."

There is plenty of credit to go around for the passage of the Tax Reform Act of 1986. The tax reform issue seems to have had more than nine lives as Democratic and Republican leaders and key legislators refused to let it die and President Reagan pulled along reluctant conservatives in support.

Organized labor and the more enlightened business elements supported the final tax reform bill, though labor felt the bill's tax rates should have been more faithful to the progressive principle of ability to pay.

The tax reform law has much to commend it. It represents the biggest overhaul of the tax system in 40 years, closing many of the worst loopholes that had crept in over the years. No one really knows how it ultimately will affect the economy. It helps low-income families by removing some 6 million working poor from the tax rolls. It imposes a minimum tax on those profitable corporations and wealthy individuals who had escaped the tax collector. The tax cuts are modest, for example, providing a cut of only $4 a week to those in the income range of $20,000 to $30,000 a year. Overall, the tax bill shifts $119 billion from individuals to corporations, reversing a decades-long trend.

Question of fatherhood

Unfortunately, some politicians are now grossly distorting their role in "fathering" tax reform.

The measure enjoyed broad bipartisan support, yet Reagan and Republican officials moved quickly to try to portray the GOP as the party of fairness and shake off its reputation as a tool of big business and the rich.

Ironically, the tax reform bill which Reagan hailed in the signing was not the one he proposed to Congress.

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) was one of the first to tackle tax reform, introducing a "fair tax" plan in 1982; Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) was cosponsor on the House side. After that, others climbed on the bandwagon.

Reagan sent Congress his tax reform plan in 1985 and it was a scandal in disguise. Under the Reagan plan, taxpayers with incomes above $200,000 a year—who make up less than 1 percent of all taxpayers—would have received nearly one-third of the total $119 billion in tax cuts for individuals. The wealthiest 5 percent of taxpayers, those with incomes of $75,000 or more, would have received almost half of the $119 billion. Reagan's tax reform for the rich was revealed in a recent analysis by the nonprofit Center on Budget & Policy Priorities, based on data from the congressional Joint Committee on Taxation.

Congressional action

The center said congressional action reduced the tax cut share for the very rich to just 9.3 percent, less than a third of the 31 percent Reagan sought. It also shrunk the tax cut share for the rich—the over $75,000 a year group—to 15 percent, about a third of what Reagan sought.

Thanks to Congress, those with incomes between $20,000 and $75,000 a year will receive 55 percent of the $119 billion a year in tax cuts.

Congress also provided a much larger tax cut for the working poor than Reagan proposed.

Congress improved the final tax bill, in labor's view, on two other counts. It continued the tax exclusion for employer-paid benefits such as health insurance which Reagan wanted to tax, and it saved the deduction for state and local income and property taxes which Reagan sought to repeal.

Now that tax reform is law, the nation faces the formidable problem of Reagan's soaring federal budget deficit. A Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll shows that voters believe it to be the nation's most important problem. Higher taxes lie ahead, and business lobbyists already are touting regressive national sales taxes or a European-style value added tax. Working people would do well to keep their hands on their wallets.

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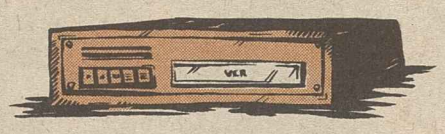
FREE TRADE FAIRY TALES

Other Countries Play by Their Own Golden Rules ⁘ Americans Are Losing Their Ability to Play at All

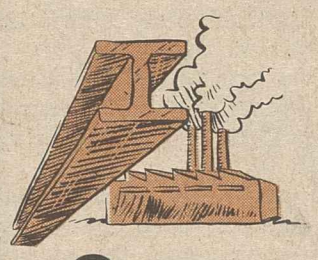
FIBER OPTICS

In the far away land of Japan, the golden rule is to ensure that all fiber optics are Made In Japan—no matter what the costs. The Japanese sell fiber optics to their home market at a rate that's three times the world price. And they keep it that way by not letting any others in. But to sell in other countries, the Japanese will charge a much lower price than at home. For the Japanese golden rule strictly states: "Don't confuse your markets. We play with one rule at home and another rule abroad because a closed market at home lets you undercut prices abroad."



VCRs

In the far away land of France, the golden rule is to have one customs office checking all Japanese VCRs arriving in French ports. Some months, the customs agent is very, very productive and many, many Japanese VCRs enter France. Some months, the customs agent is not so productive and no Japanese VCRs enter France. But the golden rule is: "Good month or bad, at the end of the year the customs agent has miraculously let in the exact number of Japanese VCRs that the French government dictates."

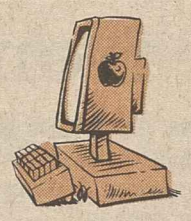


STEEL

In the far away land of Korea, fairy godmother has taken on a new meaning. You see, once upon a time, the United States government wanted to help its friend. So, its Export-Import Bank gave money to finance the sale of components to build nice, new and large steel mills in Korea. Soon, Korean steel began flowing freely into the United States, leaving American steel producers in a bind. But it was their own fairy godmother who gave low-cost loans to Korea. So, the Korean golden rule is: "Don't blame us. It was your fairy godmother who cast the spell."

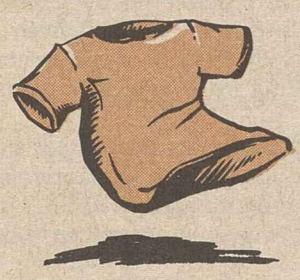
ALUMINUM BATS

In the far away land of Japan, little Casey is up to bat. Here's the pitch—called strike! The second pitch is fouled off! The tension mounts on the third pitch—swing and a miss, strike three. Little Japanese Casey hangs his head in shame. "If only I had an aluminum bat like my friend Mike in the U.S." But, alas, poor little Casey will not get his American aluminum bat. It seems that American aluminum bats have been thrown a curve ball in Japan. For the Japanese golden rule is: "American aluminum bats strike out."



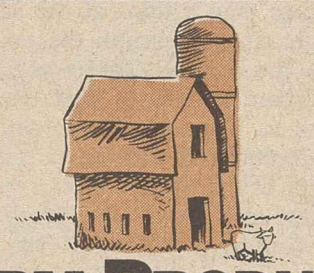
COMPUTERS

In the far away land of Brazil, a man named Adam lived in a beautiful Brazilian garden. He and his wife Eve spent many happy years in the garden. But, after a while, Adam became bored. "I wish I had a computer to play with," he sighed. When Adam went walking, Eve thought, "What we need is an Apple Computer. But Apple computers don't grow on trees and apples are a real touchy subject with Adam." So, Eve secretly contacted the local contraband agent because U.S. computers are not allowed in Brazil. A few weeks later, an Apple computer arrived. Eve couldn't wait to give it to Adam. And we all know what happened when Adam touched the first key. Remember the Brazilian golden rule: "You can live in Paradise as long as you don't have an Apple . . . or any other American computer."



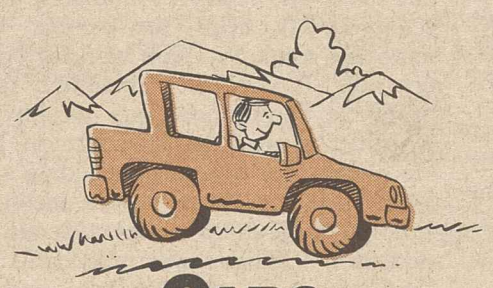
TEXTILES

In the far away land of Turkey, a "stitch in time doesn't always save nine"—or ten for that matter. It seems that the European Commission didn't like the growing number of Turkish textiles entering such countries as West Germany and France. After several rounds of threadbare talks, the European Commission resorted to the course of action it knew would work—limit the imports of clothing from Turkey. Because the European Commission's golden rule is: "You can't flood our market because we will build a dam."



FARM PRODUCTS

In the far away land of Argentina, one "Fairy Farm Mother" watches over farm products. Now, this "Fairy Farm Mother" has very, very big eyes. She can see farm prices for miles and miles. When this "Fairy Farm Mother" sees American farm products priced below Argentine prices anywhere in the world, she lowers the Argentine prices. She does not look for freshness or cost of production. No, this careful lady only looks at prices. For the golden rule of Argentina in selling farm products is what the leader of their farmers told the leader of American farmers: "No matter what you charge, we'll charge less."



CARS

In the far away land of Japan, car makers study their latest models trying to understand the problem. "Why aren't the Italians importing more of our cars? We know that we're selling a lot of cars in the United States. Do the Italians not like the size? The color?" In the far away land of Italy, there is a customs agent who doesn't really care about size or color. Because he knows exactly what his job is. He enforces the golden rule. And in Italy, the golden rule is: "Only 2,200 Japanese cars can enter Italy each year."

AIRPLANES

In the far away land of Brazil, Brazilians have made their skies friendly, much to the chagrin of the United States. For years, the U.S. had supplied Brazil, which had virtually no aircraft industry, with most of its airplanes. Then, one day, Brazilians became quite upset about having no aircraft industry. They put their heads together and decided to force U.S. companies to build commuter planes in Brazil if the U.S. wanted to sell in Brazil. And lo and behold, today airplanes made in Brazil are sold in the United States. For the Brazilian golden rule is: "Our skies are friendly, but only to us."

TOYS, CLOTHING, ELECTRONIC CHIPS

In many far away lands, little boys and little girls of 8 and 11 years of age are forced to work from sun up to sundown. Their little hands make articles like toys, clothing and even electronic chips. Their world has no fairy godmother. There are no magic wands allowing them to play or go to school or just be children. They have never heard of the golden rule.

While other countries play by their own rules, Americans are increasingly losing their ability to play at all. And this is no fairy tale.

We have been unable to change our foreign competitors' rules. The U.S. can no longer pretend that rules don't matter. The time has come for a trade bill that forces a reduction in the U.S. trade deficit; provides that goods freely entering the U.S. market are produced by people who have basic worker rights and decent conditions; and updates U.S. trade law to correct injury from imports and effectively offset unfair trading practices.

So all Americans can have the chance to live happily ever after . . .

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AFL-CIO news

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Voters repudiate Reagan agenda, elect change-of-course Congress

COPE-backed Barbara Mikulski is Maryland's senator-elect—one of nine Democrats to capture GOP-held seats in retaking control of the Senate.

Resurging Democrats attain Senate majority

55-45 edge rebuff to Reagan's 'last hurrah'

By Gene Zack

In a rising tide of protest against Reagan Administration policies, the American voters swept the Republicans out of control of the Senate they held for six years, giving the Democratic Party a mandate to reverse the nation's economic and domestic course.

Outspent as much as five-to-one by the Republican National Committee, business political action groups and right-wing organizations, but never outgunned where it counted—in the polling places—the Democrats scored a net gain of eight seats to take control of the new Senate with a solid 55-45 margin.

Sharp turnover

The Republicans went into the election with a 53-47 majority. The voters turned the GOP out of nine of their 22 seats that were at stake. By contrast, the Democrats held onto 11 of the 12 seats they were defending—losing only Missouri's open seat where Sen. Thomas Eagleton retired.

In a campaign tour billed by the White House as his "last hurrah," Ronald Reagan stumped through 22 states, urging the voters to "win one more for the Gipper." But he was more adept at raising money—$33 million, according to the latest count—then he was in convincing voters to keep his party in control of the Senate.

So "the Gipper" will go into the final quarter of his presidency facing a resurgent Democratic party and having to play "catch-up ball."

Six years ago, when he was first elected, Reagan had coattails that carried 16 Republican senators to victory. But that effect was noticeably absent this time, as his party lost seven of those first-termers.

Exit polls made clear that, while Reagan retained his personal popularity with the electorate, his programs were out of favor. In a year in which the Republicans ducked any national theme—and with some can-

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Trade and budget reforms high on legislative calendar

By David L. Perlman

America's voters chose a Congress that is likely to be more receptive to the concerns of America's workers and less reluctant to challenge the Reagan Administration on trade issues, budget priorities and judicial appointments.

A bigger-than-expected turnover of Senate seats wiped out the Republican majority elected with Reagan six years ago. Despite the President's heavy personal campaigning, a 53-47 Republican majority will be transformed into 55-45 Democratic control when the 100th Congress convenes in January.

A comprehensive trade bill will be high on the Senate agenda in the new Congress, Senate Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd pledged. In the last Congress, a House-passed trade bill was bottled up by Senate Republicans.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland welcomed the election outcome and said labor "looks forward to working with a Senate leadership that can join the House in developing an agenda that will address the needs of all working people." He saw the new Senate as a "wholesome control" on the excesses of the political right-wing.

Kirkland and COPE Director John Perkins strongly praised the election role of AFL-CIO state federations and the tens of thousands of union volunteers who helped get out the vote for labor-endorsed candidates.

In party lineup, the House was little changed by the election as Democrats built on an already solid majority. With constituent service and local concerns often dominant, all but a handful of incumbents of both parties were re-elected.

The House had already established its dissent from much of President Reagan's self-styled "revolution" and the single-digit Democratic pickup will reinforce its position.

Republicans took solace in their gubernatorial gains, a net increase of eight state houses. Democrats had held 27 of the 36 governorships up for election this year.

A strong effort by Idaho unions to prevent imposition of a right-to-work law passed by the legislature over the governor's veto fell short. Kirkland termed the ban on union shop agreements a setback for free collective bargaining but stressed the AFL-CIO's continued commitment to the struggle for industrial democracy.

Reagan fizzle

The big uncertainty in the campaign's final days was whether the President could salvage Republican control of the Senate by a heavy round of campaigning. But eight of the nine Senate candidates he sought to help went down to defeat.

The Democratic pickup came despite being heavily outspent by an estimated five-to-one ratio on both Senate campaigns and get-out-the-vote drives aimed at likely supporters.

Reagan insisted in a pep talk to disheartened White House aides that "the country is still with us" and he said he will continue to seek such measures as a balanced

Continued on Page 3

House gets more liberal tone as conservative ranks shrink

The House of Representatives will be only marginally changed when the 100th Congress convenes in January, but the slight tilt adds up to a clear plus for labor's legislative priorities.

Labor's presumed allies—incumbents and challengers who earned COPE endorsement—appear to have won at least 248 of the 435 House seats. That's 13 more than in the 99th Congress.

The conservative coalition that dominated the House in the first two years of the Reagan presidency remains a significant force. But its influence has clearly shrunk with the election returns.

In strictly party terms, the tilt is even less. Democrats went into the election with a 253-182 majority, counting vacancies to the party last holding the seat.

With some contests still undecided, Democrats had a net gain of five seats. That's a smaller change than the pattern for an off-year election.

As is usually the case, open seats without an incumbent on the ballot proved

Continued on Page 9

COPE scores 66% winning margin

Election night was a good one for organized labor as union members and their families helped provide the winning margins for its friends running for federal and state offices.

Two-thirds of the COPE-endorsed candidates won their congressional and gubernatorial races—the best showing for labor-backed office seekers since a similar 66-percent victory margin in 1978.

COPE Director John Perkins attributed the victory at the polls to labor's campaign in "getting the records of candidates and their position on the issues into the hands of our members, so that they could make an informed decision."

Workers and their families mounted an intensive voter registration and get-out-the-vote drive, Perkins said, "and that obviously made the difference in a number of closely fought races."

Trade unionists can be "proud of what they accomplished on Election Day," he added. "Their efforts and their votes produced results that are good for workers and good for America."

The percentage of COPE-backed candidates who won election or re-election this year compares with a 62.5-percent record in 1984, 64.5 percent in 1982 and 59.5 percent in 1980, when the Reagan coattails were long enough to provide narrow victories for many of his party's candidates, particularly in Senate races.

This year, labor regained the initiative and helped turn a number of members of the Senate class of 1980 out of office. Labor endorsed 27 Democratic candidates and 19 of them won—a 70-percent victory margin.

Of the 362 Democrats and nine Republicans who ran

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11/8/86

New Histadrut leader

Making his first visit to the United States since his election as secretary-general of Histadrut, Israel Kessar, right, reaffirmed the ties between the Israeli trade union movement and the AFL-CIO at a Washington luncheon in his honor. With him, from left, are Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, President Lane Kirkland and International Affairs Director Thomas Kahn.

2-to-1 margin

UTU raid repulsed by Amtrak workers

Beating back a raiding effort by the unaffiliated United Transportation Union, three AFL-CIO unions have retained bargaining rights for units totalling 2,400 "on-board" Amtrak employees which include cooks, waiters and porters.

The 2-to-1 victory margin was chalked up by the Railway & Airline Clerks, the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees and the Transport Workers, linked together under the banner of the Amtrak Service Workers Council.

The balloting brought to an end a two-year struggle that reached its peak when the UTU—then a member of the AFL-CIO—was cited by an Executive Council subcommittee in March 1986 for being in non-compliance with the decision of an impartial umpire under the federation's Article XX internal dispute procedures and subject to sanctions under the AFL-CIO Constitution.

Within weeks after that finding, the UTU disaffiliated—the first union to break its ties with the federation in two decades. In doing so, it cited the imposition of sanctions as one of five reasons for withdrawing, contending that sanctions were tantamount to "expulsion" from the AFL-CIO.

At the time the UTU seceded, President Lane Kirkland made clear that no union had ever been expelled for Article XX violations, even though 18 affiliates, including five railway unions, had come under sanctions at one time or another in the past quarter-century.

BRAC President Richard I. Kilroy—who currently is serving as chairman of the Amtrak council under a system which rotates that position among the leaders of the three unions—hailed the overwhelming victory, declaring:

"This 2-to-1 vote in favor of the Amtrak Service Workers Council reflects our members' awareness that labor unity in these difficult times is an essential factor in maintaining our strength at the bargaining table and in the halls of Congress. We cannot afford to be divided."

The dispute dates back to 1984 when a rump group of stewards started a drive to wrest recognition from the ASCW. When that campaign failed to produce a sufficient number of cards to trigger a National Mediation Board election in July 1985, the rump group affiliated with the UTU in order to continue the recognition battle. That move set the stage for the Article XX finding by the Executive Council subcommittee and UTU's subsequent decision to disaffiliate.

VDT study comes under fire for minimizing exposure risk

The Service Employees and the Auto Workers, whose members participated in a study of video display terminal hazards relating to pregnancy, expressed concern that the preliminary findings minimize the risk of low- and moderate-level VDT use.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney and President Karen Nussbaum of SEIU District 925 stressed in a joint statement that the study, done by the University of Michigan's School of Public Health, does not address the risks faced by workers in automated offices who experience constant daily exposure to VDT's.

Sweeney and Nussbaum, who is also director of 9to5 National Association of Working Women, detailed the limitations of the Michigan study and said, "dismissing concerns about even low- and moderate-level VDT use would be premature and potentially misleading."

Their concerns are that:

- While the researchers claim to focus on the correlation between women working up to 20 hours a week on VDTs and adverse pregnancy outcomes, the pregnant workers who were studied were more likely to work at a VDT less than five hours a week.
- The researchers did not interview a sufficient number of frequent VDT users to draw any conclusions about this group. Only one keypunch operator and eight word processors, working 100 percent and 75 percent of their time respectively, were included in the study.
- Although the researchers say there is only a 5-percent added risk among frequent VDT users compared to non-users, this difference actually means frequent users have a 25-percent greater risk of stillbirths and abortions than non-users.
- The study is limited in its ability to detect all but large increases in adverse pregnancy outcomes because the pool of VDT operators was less than planned. Even a 50 percent increase in stillbirths or abortions could not be detected.
- The role of work-related stress and musculoskeletal problems on pregnancies of VDT operators has not been examined.
- The researchers conclusion that the risk of adverse pregnancy outcomes associated with alcohol use and cigarette smoking are greater than the risk of VDT use is a "diversionary tactic" because potential jobsite hazards are not within the control of workers.

Dr. Franklin Mirer, director of health and safety for the Auto Workers, stressed that the preliminary findings may provide "some reassurance" to VDT users, but "more work needs to be done with the data collected in this investigation to examine several indications of potentially serious adverse affects."

In addition, other groups exposed to VDTs must be studied before conclusions can be drawn, he said. Meanwhile, efforts to alleviate the well-known problems with vision and job stress caused by VDT use must be continued, Mirer added.

"There will be a tendency among management and some of the public to rely on newspaper headlines on giving VDTs a clean bill of health," Mirer said. "Such views are not supported by the data in this study or the rest of the scientific literature on VDTs."

Rehiring rights of strikers upheld

A federal appeals court decision upholding the re-employment rights of strikers became final when the Supreme Court refused an employer's petition for review.

The outcome upheld a National Labor Relations Board ruling and was a victory for the Ladies' Garment Workers in a case stemming from a 1981 hotel strike in Hot Springs, Ark.

At issue was whether strikers who make an unconditional offer to return to work, as was the case here after a two-day strike for union recognition, must be considered for all openings for which they are qualified if the employer has filled their former job with a "permanent replacement."

The ILGWU, representing 25 employees who were not taken back, won an NLRB ruling that the failure to consider them for other jobs was an unfair labor practice. "It is well established that strikers have a right not to be discriminated against in any manner," the NLRB said in its brief opposing Supreme Court review.

In another area, the Supreme Court refused a Reagan Administration attempt to challenge a 1983 federal district court ruling blocking the Social Security Administration's program of dunning needy, blind and disabled beneficiaries to recover alleged overpayments of supplemental social security (SSI) benefits.

Union investment in Housing Trust hits $154 million

Investments by unions and pension funds in the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust have reached the $154-million mark, a jump of 46 percent over the past two years.

Floyd H. Hyde, HIT's chief executive officer, reported the gain in assets during a meeting of the fund's board of trustees in Washington. The 15-member board has seven members representing labor and seven from management with one neutral trustee.

The trust was established by the AFL-CIO in 1983 as a vehicle for safe and profitable investment of union pension funds in the construction and financing of union-built homes, health care facilities and retirement centers and in long-term government-guaranteed mortgages.

Board members also discussed plans to broaden the trust's investment opportunities.

About 166 labor unions, pension plans and health and welfare funds participate in the trust, holding 142,160 shares as of the end of September. A plan that automatically reinvests earnings is used by shareholders who control nearly two-thirds of the outstanding shares.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, a board trustee, said the fund is achieving a "two-fold service," operating as a "low-risk investment channel for unions and pension funds and as a financial stimulus to the union sector of the construction and other industries."

"The progress made by the HIT in the past two years clearly justifies the AFL-CIO's confidence in this investment project," Kirkland concluded.

Improved retirement plans aim of landmark labor study

The AFL-CIO and 15 affiliates are participating in a landmark study of union retirees and retirement programs being conducted by the National Institute for Work & Learning.

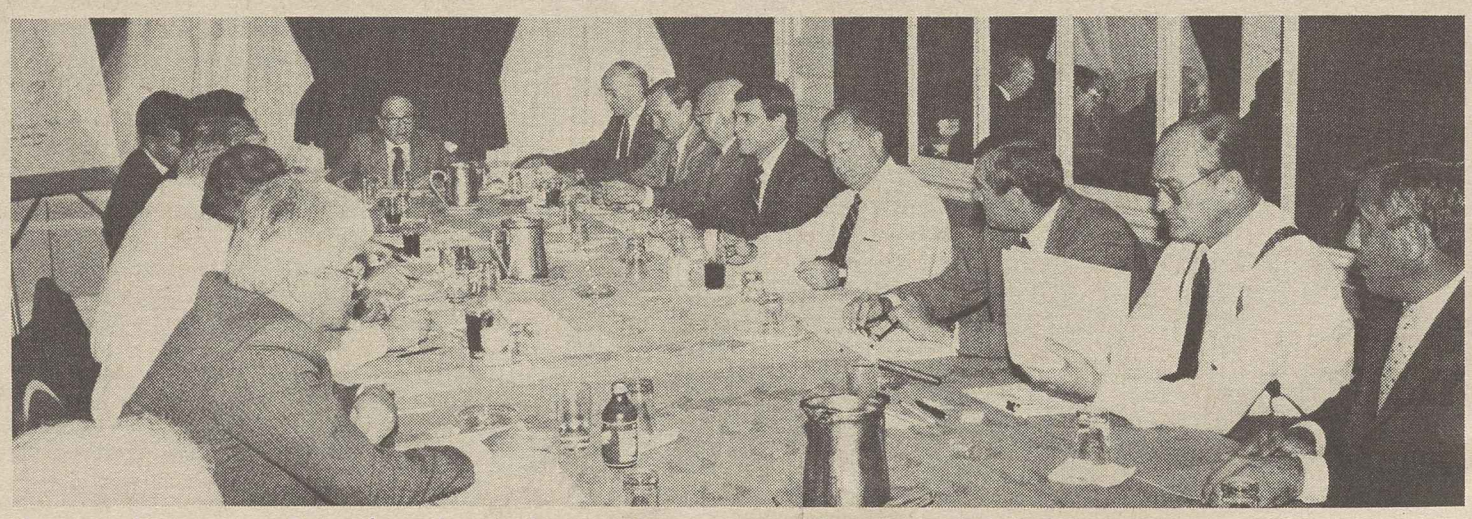
The 20-month project is designed to provide information on union retirees and retirement programs to aid organized labor in helping retirees and near-retirement workers plan their futures, providing programs and services to improve the quality of their lives, and developing linkages among retiree, unions and community organizations.

NIWL will survey 15,000 retirees from the 15 unions to determine their needs, interests and activities, including participation in retiree clubs, use of union and community services, need for additional services and attitudes on retirement and other issues.

Researchers also will examine union retirement and pre-retirement programs and services, looking at program objectives and activities, the number of participants and ties to other community resources for retirees. Case studies of five communities will develop detailed information about the operation of retirement programs, identifying common elements and innovative approaches in an effort to make recommendations on improving existing programs.

Unions participating in the project are: Clothing & Textile Workers, Electrical Workers, Communications Workers, Carpenters, Bricklayers, Steelworkers, Food & Commercial Workers, Machinists, Service Employees, Auto Workers, Longshoremen, Electronic Workers, Operating Engineers, State, County & Municipal Employees and Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers.

Researchers will be aided by an advisory group consisting of key officials from the AFL-CIO, the 15 unions and the National Council of Senior Citizens. Funding is being provided by the federation and its participating affiliates, the Labor Dept., the Villers Foundation and American Income Life Insurance Co.



Housing Investment Trust board members review report of increased investment.

Voters signal repudiation of Reaganomics

Continued from Page 1

budget constitutional amendment and line-item veto power.

Realistically, however, the President's big weapon in dealing with the 100th Congress will be his veto power.

It takes a two-thirds vote of the House and Senate to override a presidential veto, which means that Democrats trying to reverse Reagan policies must look to a bloc of moderate Republicans for support. But the other side of the coin is that Reagan will now have to persuade a Democratic Senate as well as a Democratic House to go along with his proposals.

Some of the new Senate committee chairmen will be on similar ideological wave lengths to the Republicans they replace. But others will be poles apart.

As the senior Democrat on two committees, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.) will have his choice of chairing the Labor & Human Resources Committee, now headed by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) or the Judiciary Committee, whose chairman is now Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.). If he takes the Judiciary Committee, the Labor Committee chairmanship will go to Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio).

Both Democrats have COPE records of more than 90 percent right votes, compared with Hatch's voting record of only 11 percent right.

As in most off-year elections, fewer than 40 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls. But in contrast to some primary campaigns, voter apathy did not allow candidates identified as followers of political extremist Lyndon LaRouche to make any headway.

In Illinois and several other states, LaRouche cultists had won Democratic nominations for an assortment of offices. The AFL-CIO and other organizations mounted campaigns to expose LaRouche front groups and identify their candidates. The result was apparent at the polls.

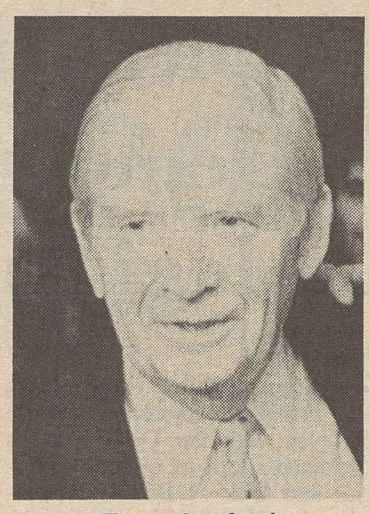
Telegraph Workers merge with CWA

The Telegraph Workers affiliated with the Communications Workers, completing one of a pair of merger actions involving the CWA. Typographical Union members are currently voting on a merger proposal with CWA.

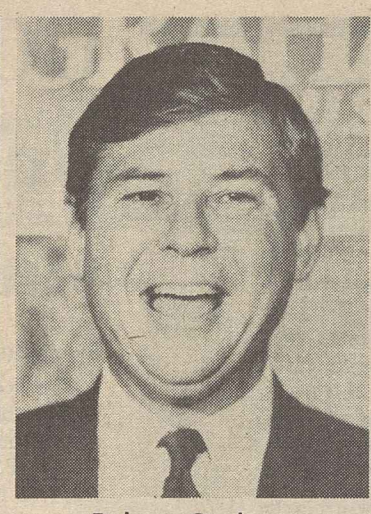
The UTW affiliation agreement was signed by the two unions Oct. 17, a week after delegates to a special UTW convention approved the action. The Telegraph Workers will remain an autonomous group with a charter from CWA, keeping its own officers and headquarters in Rockville, Md.

UTW President Dan Beckstead, who was elected last April, will serve as head of the 5,800-member affiliate until the next convention in 1989. A previous 58-57 vote on merger was contested in federal court. The October vote for merger with CWA was by a 3-to-1 margin.

Meanwhile, votes of ITU members will be counted Nov. 25 and that merger will be effective 15 days after the vote results are certified. Under that agreement, ITU will become the Printing, Publishing & Media Workers division of CWA.



Terry Sanford



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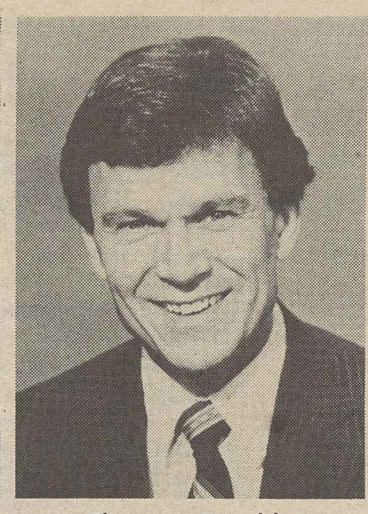

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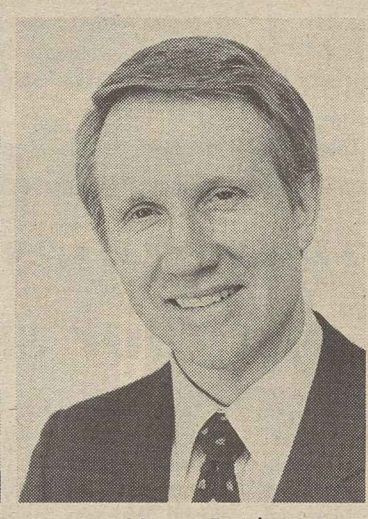
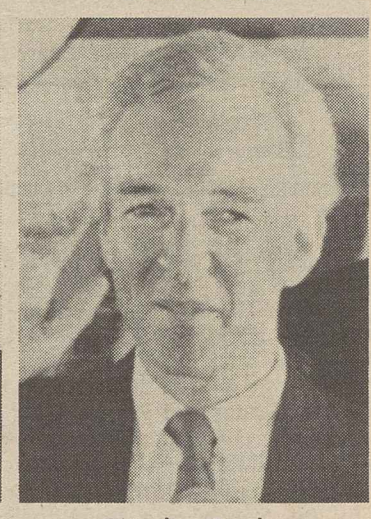
Richard Shelby

Timothy Wirth



Harry Reid



Wyche Fowler

Democrats rout GOP in Senate races

Reagan stumps 22 states—reaps many dollars, but few votes

Continued from Page 1

didates openly disavowing Reaganomics—the American people provided their own agenda: perk up the stagnant economy.

Voter discontent was in evidence in almost every sector of the nation.

In the textile import-battered Deep South, four incumbent Republicans were turned out of office in Alabama, Florida, Georgia and North Carolina.

In the Midwest, where farmers face failure and foreclosure, Republicans were sent packing in both North and South Dakota.

In the Far West, long regarded as "Reagan country," Republicans not only lost the seats they had held in Nevada and Washington, but failed in their massive attempt to wrest from the Democrats the California and Colorado seats that were on the top of the GOP "hit list."

In the industrial Northeast, already heavily Democratic, the Republicans lost the Maryland seat left vacant by the retirement of Charles McC. Mathias.

Here's a state-by-state rundown on what the American voters did on election day:

Alabama—It was, as expected, a squeaker. But Rep. Richard Shelby (D) hung on to defeat first-termer Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R) by a whisker.

Alaska—To no one's surprise, Sen. Frank Murkowski (R), another 1980 Reagan coattail rider, turned back the challenge of Glen Olds (D).

Arizona—The Republicans held onto the seat vacated by retiring Sen. Barry Goldwater, as Rep. John McCain piled up a 61-39 victory margin over former Corporation Commissioner Richard Kimball (D).

Arkansas—No contest. Incumbent Sen. Dale Bumpers (D) overwhelmed Asa Hutchinson (R) with 63 percent of the vote.

California—Although Reagan visited the state repeatedly on behalf of Rep. Edwin Zschau (R), his candidate went down to defeat at the hands of veteran Sen. Alan Cranston (D). The margin: 51-49 percent.

Colorado—The seat left vacant by the retirement of Sen. Gary Hart remained in the Democratic column as Rep. Timothy Wirth (D) won 51 percent of the vote over GOP challenger Ken Kramer—again despite Reagan's all-out effort.

Connecticut—Sen. Christopher Dodd (D) coasted to victory over Roger Eddy (R).

Florida—The voters rang down the curtain on freshman GOP Sen. Paula Hawkins (R), giving 55 percent of their vote to Gov. Robert Graham (D).

Georgia—Rep. Wyche Fowler (D) ousted another GOP first-termer, Sen. Mack Mattingly (R).

Hawaii—It was never close. Democratic Sen. Daniel K. Inouye trampled Republican Frank Hutchinson.

Idaho—Reagan's visit to the state was credited with saving freshman Sen. Steve Symms, who won 52 percent of the vote over popular Democratic Gov. John Evans.

Illinois—An easy 2-to-1 victory for Sen. Alan Dixon (D) over State Rep. Judy Koehler (R).

Indiana—First-term Sen. Dan Quayle (R), as expected, won handily over Valparaiso City Councilwoman Jill Long (D).

Iowa—In a race considered safely Republican all the way, Sen. Charles Grassley won easily over John Roehrick (D).

Kansas—It was a night of good news and bad for Sen. Robert Dole (R). He retained his seat with 70 percent of the vote over challenger Guy McDonald (D). But with the switch in Senate control, Dole lost his job as Majority Leader.

Kentucky—Never in doubt. Sen. Wendell Ford (D) was returned to office by a 3-to-1 margin over Jackson Andrews (R).

Louisiana—In a contest the Republicans thought they would win, and that turned into an almost deadheat in the final polls, Democratic Rep. John Breaux scored a 53-47 victory over Rep. Henson Moore (R) for the seat vacated by retiring Sen. Russell Long (D).

Maryland—Rep. Barbara Mikulski (D) won 61 percent of the vote and captured Mathias's vacant seat, trouncing ex-Democrat and former Reagan White House aide Linda Chavez (R).

Missouri—Eagleton's seat moved into the Republican column as former Gov. Christopher "Kit" Bond edged past Lt. Gov. Harriett Woods (D).

Nevada—An embarrassment to retiring Sen. Paul Laxalt (R), who has a yen to run for president in 1988. The candidate he hand-picked as his successor, former Democratic Rep. Jim Santini, lost to Rep. Harry Reid (D).

New Hampshire—A safe Republican seat all the way as freshman Sen. Warren Rudman scored a 2-to-1 victory over former Massachusetts Gov. Endicott (Chubb) Peabody (D).

New York—Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R) won as expected over Democratic challenger Mark Green.

North Carolina—In a major upset, former Democratic Gov. Terry Sanford came from far behind to oust Sen. James T. Broyhill (R), another of Reagan's favorites. Broyhill appeared to have an edge after being appointed to succeed the late Sen. John P. East (R).

North Dakota—Given only an outside chance, State Tax Commissioner Kent Conrad (D) proved the pundits wrong, winning by a scant 2,300 votes to deny Sen. Mark Andrews (R) a second term.

Ohio—No surprise. Incumbent Sen. John Glenn (D) won by a 3-to-1 landslide over challenger Rep. Tom Kindness (R).

Oklahoma—GOP freshman Sen. Don Nickles won 54 percent of the vote to defeat Rep. Jim Jones (D), former House Budget Committee chairman.

Oregon—By a 3-to-2 margin, Sen. Bob Packwood (R) won over State Rep. Rick Bauman (D) in a contest always considered safely Republican.

Pennsylvania—Sen. Arlen Specter (R), who broke with the White House to champion labor's cause on the vital trade issue, won with 57 percent of the vote over Democratic Rep. Bob Edgar.

South Carolina—As expected, Democratic Sen. Ernest Hollings had no trouble piling up a 2-to-1 victory margin over former U.S. Atty. Henry McMaster (R).

South Dakota—Rep. Thomas Daschle (D) dashed first-term Republican Sen. James Abdnor's bid for re-election, riding the wave of farmer discontent over Reagan's policies to win with 52 percent.

Utah—Sen. Jake Garn (R) did the expected, winning by a 3-to-1 edge over Craig Oliver (D).

Vermont—It was an easy victory for Sen. Patrick Leahy (D) who amassed 64 percent of the vote to crush former Gov. Richard Snelling (R).

Washington—Former Transportation Sec. Brock Adams (D) edged out first-term Sen. Slade Gorton (R). The incumbent was involved in a cynical vote switch on a Reagan appointment to the federal bench. The judicial nominee made it; Gorton didn't.

Wisconsin—Sen. Robert Kasten (R), who won by a nose six years ago, again had the fight of his life before defeating State Deputy Atty. Gen. Ed Garvey (D), former executive director of the National Football League Players Association by a 52-48 percent margin.

Senators elected

Alabama—Richard Shelby (D)†
Alaska—Frank Murkowski (R)*
Arizona—John McCain (R)
Arkansas—Dale Bumpers (D)*
California—Alan Cranston (D)*
Colorado—Timothy Wirth (D)
Connecticut—Christopher Dodd (D)*
Florida—Robert Graham (D)†
Georgia—Wyche Fowler (D)†
Hawaii—Daniel Inouye (D)*
Idaho—Steve Symms (R)*
Illinois—Alan Dixon (D)*
Indiana—Dan Quayle (R)*
Iowa—Charles Grassley (R)*
Kansas—Robert Dole (R)*
Kentucky—Wendell Ford (D)*
Louisiana—John Breaux (D)
Maryland—Barbara Mikulski (D)†
Missouri—Christopher Bond (R)†
Nevada—Harry Reid (D)†
New Hampshire—Warren Rudman (R)*
New York—Alfonse D'Amato (R)*
North Carolina—Terry Sanford (D)†
North Dakota—Kent Conrad (D)†
Ohio—John Glenn (D)*
Oklahoma—Don Nickles (R)*
Oregon—Bob Packwood (R)*
Pennsylvania—Arlen Specter (R)*
South Carolina—Ernest Hollings (D)*
South Dakota—Thomas Daschle (D)†
Utah—Jake Garn (R)*
Vermont—Patrick Leahy (D)*
Washington—Brock Adams (D)†
Wisconsin—Robert Kasten (R)*

*** incumbent** **† party change**

Governors elected

Alabama—Guy Hunt (R)†
Alaska—Steve Cowper (D)
Arizona—Evan Mecham (R)†
Arkansas—Bill Clinton (D)*
California—George Deukmejian (R)*
Colorado—Roy Romer (D)
Connecticut—William O'Neill (D)*
Florida—Bob Martinez (R)†
Georgia—Joe Frank Harris (D)*
Hawaii—John Waihee (D)
Idaho—Cecil Andrus (D)
Illinois—James R. Thompson (R)*
Iowa—Terry E. Branstad (R)*
Kansas—Mike Hayden (R)†
Maine—John R. McKernan Jr. (R)†
Maryland—William D. Schaefer (D)
Massachusetts—Michael Dukakis (D)*
Michigan—James J. Blanchard (D)*
Minnesota—Rudy Perpich (D)*
Nebraska—Kay A. Orr (R)†
Nevada—Richard Bryan (D)*
New Hampshire—John H. Sununu (R)*
New Mexico—Garrey Carruthers (R)†
New York—Mario Cuomo (D)*
Ohio—Richard Celeste (D)*
Oklahoma—Henry Bellmon (R)†
Oregon—Neil Goldschmidt (D)†
Pennsylvania—Robert P. Casey (D)†
Rhode Island—Edward DiPrete (R)*
South Carolina—Carroll Campbell Jr. (R)†
South Dakota—George Mickelson (R)
Tennessee—Ned Ray McWherter (D)†
Texas—William Clements (R)†
Vermont—Madeleine Kunin (D)*‡
Wisconsin—Tommy G. Thompson (R)†
Wyoming—Mike Sullivan (D)

* incumbent † party change
‡ Kunin leads four-way race that will be decided by the Vermont legislature.

GOP picks up governors, but Democrats expand state legislature control

By Arlee C. Green

The Republicans captured enough seats in the three dozen gubernatorial races to nearly pull even with the Democrats, as the GOP retained six of its nine governorships at risk and took 11 from the Democrats, raising the GOP total by eight to 24.

The shift in governorships will likely mean tougher fights will be needed to gain legislation beneficial to workers in states where Republicans gained control, but significant Democratic pickups in the state legislatures will make it easier in other states to pass labor-backed measures.

Democrats took control of four more state legislative chambers, gained ties in two others and are awaiting possible recounts that could affect control of two others. Of 98 state legislative chambers (excluding Nebraska's unicameral legislature), the Democrats controlled 63 prior to the election.

In states wholly controlled by one political party, the Democrats upped their tally from 26 to 29, while the GOP saw its sum drop from 11 to nine. (A complete roundup of state legislative election results will be reported in the Nov. 15 issue of the AFL-CIO News.)

GOP gain

The pickup of Republican seats was not unexpected with the Democrats holding 27 of the 36 governorships up for election. Incumbents fared well as all five GOP governors and 10 of 12 Democrats seeking reelection retained their seats. Eight of those Democrats drew more than 60 percent of the vote.

Three open seats vacated by Republican governors fell to the Democrats as Neil Goldschmidt won in Oregon, Ned Ray McWherter triumphed in Tennessee, and Robert Casey took Pennsylvania.

Democratic Governors Mark White of Texas and Anthony Earl of Wisconsin each lost by identical margins of 53-47 percent. White, burdened by high unemployment and falling revenues—both related to the slump in oil prices—fell to former GOP Gov. William Clements. Earl, who had erased his state's sizable deficit by raising taxes, lost in a see-saw race to state House Minority Leader Tommy Thompson.

In the first ever all-female gubernatorial race, Nebraska State Treas. Kay A. Orr (R) defeated Democrat Helen Boosalis, the former mayor of Lincoln.

Four other Republican female campaigners were defeated: Connecticut Rep. Julie Belaga, who lost to Democratic incumbent William O'Neill; Alaska State Rep. Arliss Sturgulewski, beaten by Democratic State Rep. Steve Cowper; Oregon's former secretary of state, Norma Paulus, who lost to Neil Goldschmidt; and Nevada Treas. Patricia Cafferata, bested by incumbent Richard Bryan.

In other races featuring women, Arizona Democrat Carolyn Warner and Maine independent candidate Sherry Huber were defeated. Warner was beaten in a three-way race, won by Republican Evan Mecham. Huber lost in a four-way race that Republican John McKernan Jr. won.

The most lop-sided contest was in the Democratic stronghold of Maryland, where popular Baltimore Mayor William Schaefer tallied 82 percent of the vote to 18 percent for GOP state delegate Thomas Mooney.

Fifty-six percent of the COPE-endorsed candidates won their contests.

In other key statehouse races:

California—GOP incumbent George Deukmejian defeated Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley in a rematch of their 1982 competition. This was one of only two contests where Republicans garnered better than 60 percent of the vote.

Alabama—Republican Guy Hunt, a former probate judge and Amway salesman, was the beneficiary of a prolonged Democratic squabble that gave Alabama its first Republican governor since the Civil War.

Pennsylvania—Democrat Robert Casey, a former state auditor, beat back the campaign of Lt. Gov. William Scranton III to fill the seat held by Republican Gov. Richard Thornburgh.

Illinois—GOP incumbent James R. Thompson, the COPE-endorsed candidate, defeated Adlai Stevenson III, who ran on the newly created Solidarity Party ticket after giving up the Democratic nomination that had him paired with two Lyndon LaRouche followers. The Democrats did not field a gubernatorial candidate.

Michigan—Incumbent Democratic Gov. James Blanchard scored a 2-1 victory over Wayne County executive William Lucas, a recent GOP convert who had hoped to become the nation's first black governor since Reconstruction.

Rhode Island—Incumbent GOP Gov. Edward DiPrete captured two-thirds of the vote in defeating Democratic businessman Bruce Sundlun.

Vermont split

One governor's race remains to be decided. In the four-way contest in Vermont, Democratic incumbent Madeleine Kunin was the top vote-getter, but failed to gain the majority required by the state constituion and the legislature will decide the victor in when it reconvenes in January. Kunin got 47 percent of the vote, compared to Republican Peter Smith's 38 percent, Independent candidate Bernie Sanders's 15 perccent, and Liberty Union Party challenger Richard Gottlieb's less than 1 percent.

In similar past election results, the legislature has traditionally chosen the leading candidate. The Vermont House is controlled by the Republicans and the State Senate by the Democrats, and that makeup will continue in the next session.

Smithsonian readies salute to century of labor struggle

"A Century of Struggle," a series of programs commemorating the heritage and accomplishments of American workers over the past 100 years, will be presented by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History and the AFL-CIO on Nov. 14-16.

The events, open to the public, include a conference on American labor history, demonstrations of craft and work skills by union members, concerts and special film and video presentations. In addition, a new display will highlight recent acquisitions to the museum's labor history collection.

More than a dozen unions will participate in the craft skill demonstration from noon to 4 p.m., each day at the museum.

The unions participating and their events are: Flint Glass Workers, glass etching; Musicians, labor songs, lore and narrative; Graphic Communications Union, printing and papermaking; Service Employees, hospital and medical skills; Teachers, theatrical craft skills; Clothing & Textile Workers, industrial textile processes; Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers and Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees, confectionery skills and food preparation; Seafarers, maritime skills; Communications Workers, old telephone-switching techniques and modern fiber-optic splicing, and Postal Workers, mailing and postal skills.

A series of consecutive concerts will be held Nov. 15 and 16 in the Museum's Hall of Musical Instruments. The musical programs are sponsored in part by the Music Performance Trust Fund and are coordinated by the Labor Heritage Foundation.

Labor seminars

The labor history conference, scheduled for Carmichael Auditorium on Nov. 15-16, will focus on "Organized Labor & American Society," "Technology & Labor," "Public Perception of Labor History," and "The Presentation of Labor History."

A film and video festival will be held in the museum's Presidential Reception Suite on Nov. 15-16. Viewers will see "The Killing Floor," about the Chicago stockyards during World War I; "Women of Steel," about three women steelworkers; "Salt of the Earth," about the strike by Mexican-American zinc miners; "With Babes and Banners," illuminating the women's role in the 1937 General Motors sit-down strike, and "I Am Somebody," a documentary about black hospital workers organizing a union in 1969.

The Labor Institute of Public Affairs will present "America Works," a series that examines the role of unions in contemporary American society. LIPA will produce a television documentary of the weekend events. Daniel Zwerdling of National Public Radio will host the show.

The museum's regular film series, America on Film, will present a special edition of the 1979 film, "Norma Rae," a 1936 Charlie Chaplin film, "Modern Times" and the 1980 comedy, "9 to 5."

More information is available from the Smithsonian's Office of Public Affairs, (202) 357-2700.

Economy spurts as business seeks to beat tax reform

The index of economic indicators rose a modest four-tenths of 1 percent in September and factory orders climbed 3.4 percent, the Commerce Dept. reported.

But economists cautioned that the general advance may be a one-time phenomenon, triggered by a final burst of buying before the new tax law—with less-generous depreciation allowance and repeal of sales tax deductions—goes into effect.

Meanwhile, the Labor Dept. reported that in 20 states, unemployment in August exceeded the level for the same month a year ago. The highest rates were in Mississippi, 12.7 percent; Louisiana, 12.3 percent; West Virginia, 11.6 percent; Alaska, 10.2 percent, and Alabama, 10.1 percent.

Higher jobless rates

Other states posting jobless rates above their August 1985 levels were Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin and Wyoming. In Arizona, Massachusetts and the District of Columbia, the rate was unchanged.

In other economic news:

- Construction spending rose a healthy 1.4 percent in September, the sharpest advance since April, as both residential and nonresidential building increased.
- Productivity during the third quarter rose at a seasonally adjusted 4.2-percent rate in manufacturing, as output rose 3.4 percent and hours of all persons decreased eight-tenths of 1 percent.

During the July-August period, the Labor Dept. said, a 2.7-percent increase in hourly compensation for manufacturing workers was all but eaten up by rising prices. After factoring in the consumer price index, the wage increase was a scant one-tenth of 1 percent.

Smithsonian Institution curator Harry Rubenstein at new labor history display.

A 1919 gathering of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Local 16 members in Great Falls, Mont.

The AFL-CIO American

Federationist

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Worker Rights & FOREIGN TRADE

On Oct. 8, 1986, Jorge Millan, president of the Chile Laboratory Workers Union, was picked up in Santiago by persons in plainclothes identifying themselves as agents of the National Investigation Central (CNI). He was forced into a van and driven around for hours. With the drive came intensive interrogation about a labor training course he was about to attend in the United States, sponsored by the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development. Agents remained with his family too, interrogating them. During his trip, the agents discussed in front of him how they were going to kill him. One suggested that they hang him. Another proposed that they slit his throat. At the end of the trip one of them put a gun to Millan's head and pulled the trigger three times. The empty barrel clicked and he was released.

Millan has been trying to organize a free trade union in Chile for years. Yet workers in Chile, as in many other countries, are denied the basic right to organize freely into trade unions of their choosing and to bargain for better wages and working conditions free from government intimidation.

The American labor movement has long held that the denial of trade union rights in any part of the world affects the security of worker freedom everywhere. It is this belief that was behind American labor's involvement in international labor rights causes dating to the Mexican Revolution. It helps explain why American unions provided aid to European trade unionists anxious to preserve their democracies during and after World War II; why U.S. labor leaders helped them defeat Soviet-supported efforts to scuttle the Marshall Plan; why in the 1960s the AFL-CIO founded three regional labor institutes to work with free trade unionists in the developing regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America; and why today the AFL-CIO supports legislation to insure that trade benefits are withheld from countries who deny their workers fundamental trade union freedoms.

American labor's involvement in formalizing such pressure dates back to 1919, when the president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, helped draft the documents at Versailles that were the basis for the formation of the International Labor Organization (ILO). Today the ILO is a tripartite body that brings together representatives of business, labor and government from 150 countries to devise standards for work including worker health and safety, child labor and wages. Among the ILO's historic achievements are the most important pieces of international labor legislation in the world—those guaranteeing freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively and the right to work free from government coercion and an absence of any form of forced labor.

These ILO conventions, as they are called, offer free labor unions worldwide a standard against which to measure their own advances. And while the ILO standards themselves bear improving, for many they present the only internationally recognized basis for judging what is free and what is fair to trade unions. They insist that workers have the right to create and join unions, draw up their own union rules, elect their own leaders, develop their own programs, make their own affiliations with national or international union organizations if they so wish. Current ILO standards also call for a 40-hour week, generally set the age limits of child labor at 15 and provide for extensive recommendations on mechanisms for preventing work place accidents and work-related illnesses.

As important as these ILO standards are, the ILO ultimately has little in the way of mechanisms to enforce their application. Thus, for the AFL-CIO, tying trade union rights to trade has become a creative approach to insuring that fair treatment becomes a reality for oppressed workers in countries around the globe.

American labor therefore argues that if there is to be fair competition, it cannot be based upon the exploitation of workers. For decades products made by slave or penal labor have been legally banned from international trade, as well as interstate commerce. Now the AFL-CIO is working to extend the scope of the idea to include related basic workers' rights.

The AFL-CIO proposals, supported in Congress by Rep. Don J. Pease (D-Ohio), were incorporated into the 1984 amendments to the Generalized System of Preferences section of the Tariff Act and in the 1985 legislation governing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and, in more modest form, in regulations governing the Caribbean Basin Initiative. They were also included in the Trade Bill passed by the House in May 1986.

The Chile of Jorge Millan currently benefits from the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), a mechanism provided for in the U.S. Trade & Tariff Act. The GSP preference goes to qualifying products from countries judged to be "developing." There are 140 countries that reap such benefits for the sale of thousands of products here. The value of these products has steadily grown since the GSP was created, from $3.2 billion in 1976 to $13.3 billion in 1985.

The AFL-CIO has urged that such trade benefits be treated as privileges, demanding civilized democratic behavior in return. In this context the AFL-CIO has participated in the U.S. government's review process by providing up-to-date information on the status of workers in critical countries, hoping that a good faith effort to review *both* the laws *and* the practices of countries will contribute to a better future for the workers who live in them.

Beginning in 1985, at administrative hearings on GSP, the AFL-CIO called for the denial of GSP benefits to ten of the most egregious offenders of workers' rights: Chile, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, The Philippines, Romania, South Korea, Suriname, and Taiwan. In future years it may target more.

Its charges were built on provisions in the law saying that:

> ". . . the President shall not designate any country a beneficiary developing country under this section . . . if such country has not taken or is not taking steps to afford international recognized workers' rights to workers in the country (including any designated zone in that country)."

Further, the law defines "internationally recognized worker rights" to include:

(A) The right of association;

(B) The right to organize and bargain collectively;

(C) A prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labor;

(D) A minimum age for employment of children; and

(E) Acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work and occupational safety and health.

This article was prepared by the Free Trade Union Institute for the AFL-CIO Dept. of International Affairs.

Under the law the U.S. government is thus obligated to remove countries who deny worker rights from the list of those countries receiving special duty-free benefits under GSP. That review process began in June 1985, with public hearings, and will be completed by the end of 1986. Because a country judged in violation loses benefits for *all* products with GSP status, these first interpretations will set important precedents.

As the U.S. government considers taking countries off the list of GSP beneficiaries, a number of thorny interpretive disputes have emerged. One has to do with whether worker rights standards should be relative to the particular development level of the country at issue. Another is the question of what constitutes a fair definition of "taking steps" toward improvement.

Some relative judgments are inevitable. The AFL-CIO would not argue, for example, that a country should be denied GSP benefits simply because its labor standards do not precisely match our own. Few countries have established the level of benefits and protection that obtain in the United States. Yet, the notion that the right to organize or negotiate, or withhold work should somehow vary with a country's level of economic development reflects thinking more attuned to the enemies of democratic freedoms than the values of our own society.

As for "steps," they must clearly amount to more than promises and must involve fundamental change.

In making the labor rights case against GSP trade benefits (others have been made elsewhere), the AFL-CIO has adhered strictly to labor rights criteria. Some countries whose GSP status was challenged have minimal trade with the United States; others are among the top GSP beneficiaries.

In the course of this review some specious Administration arguments have emerged aimed at softening interpretations of compliance. Some maintain that freedom of association extends no further than traditional bread and butter issues, urging that political rights and activities have no place on union agendas. Others, acknowledging that labor rights are violated in some countries, say that the labor rights provisions of the law should simply be bypassed, and an "economic waiver" granted if the labor evidence is disquieting. (The law has a loophole for such side-stepping if the President determines that keeping a country on the list "will be in the national economic interest.") A third argument accepts at face value the promises of reform offered by some notoriously two-faced governments, as sufficient evidence that "steps" are being taken.

In answering these, the AFL-CIO first maintains that the right of unions to be involved in elections, to engage in get-out-the-vote drives and to speak out on issues debated by executives and legislators are functions inherent to worker representation. Second, American labor is unlikely to be sympathetic to a U.S. government claim that trade with any of these "developing" countries is essential to the "national economic interest." The notion that we are helping those supposedly in need simply does not mix credibly with the idea that our own economic health is at stake. Third, the track record of some of these countries in making promises is notorious. It is practice, not promises, that should be judged. In short, all three types of arguments reflect a distorted interpretation of the law and fly in the face of congressional intent.

It must also be pointed out that it is the American labor movement that is engaged in this process and is responsible for the material presented. These are the positions of the AFL-CIO. While the unions in the individual countries discussed here know of the AFL-CIO's interest, and generally appreciate our efforts to ameliorate their condition, they are not responsible for American labor's arguments and should suffer no consequences from their governments because of them.

The cases made below have been updated since their original presentation in June 1985. In practically every instance, the governments in the countries charged, smarting from the AFL-CIO's critique, have tried to respond. In three cases—those of Guatemala, Haiti and the Philippines—governments have recently changed. And while fair labor postures are not yet in place there, the beginnings of improvement warrant a delay in the decisions on these countries.

So, for these three the AFL-CIO recommends that the decision on their status be postponed. The others should be removed from the GSP preferential list immediately.

CHILE

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☑

Postpone decision pending further review ☐

The current dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, in power since 1973, is one of the most blatant and crude opponents of democratic trade unions in Latin America. The Pinochet regime's long history of terror against democratic unions includes endless examples of violent intimidation. Chilean law itself does not camouflage restrictions designed to prevent the development of representative worker organizations. The record of the Chilean government clearly violates the fundamental trade union rights of freedom of association, and to organize and bargain collectively.

In 1979 the Pinochet regime put in place a Labor Plan which fragments and weakens the labor movement. Though its provisions were superficially modified in 1984 and 1985, basic restrictions on collective bargaining, dues checkoff, political activity and the establishment of union federations and confederations continue to take a heavy toll.

Many brave union leaders have suffered the consequences of the Chilean government's fear of democracy, some even with their lives. In 1982, days after he issued a call for trade union unity, Tucapel Jimenez, president of the National Federation of Government Employees, was found lying on the roadside, his throat cut, shot in the head twice.

Similar incidents are not hard to document. In November of 1984, following a successful national strike, the government banned union meetings, censored the press and monitored phone conversations and correspondence. (Such practices are legal under a "state of siege," three of which have been declared since Pinochet took office.) A number of trade unionists were arrested, two were assassinated, and two union offices were wrecked. On Mar. 29, 1985, Manuel Guerrero, president of the Metropolitan Council of Chile's National Association of Teachers, was kidnapped and murdered, just after the teachers' association headquarters had been forcibly entered, files and equipment destroyed, and five people arrested.

After a general strike on July 2 and 3, 1986, 15 civic leaders including some unionists, were arrested, and a state of siege declared once again. In mid-September shots were fired at a car driven by the son of Hernol Flores, secretary general of the Confederation of Democratic Workers (CDT)*, presumably aimed at Flores himself. While no one can specifically pin murders and attempted murders on the government, the failure of the government to arrest or prosecute suspects in these incidents is noteworthy.

As for Chilean labor law, the AFL-CIO finds the following to be intolerable:

- Provisions preventing union organizing, including government power to: interfere in union elections, deny union recognition, restrict the number of trade union officers, inspect internal union records, including finances, prevent the unionization of civil servants, and prohibit collective bargaining in state administrations, selected public utilities and other companies.
- Restrictions on establishment of federations and confederations for multi-plant collective bargaining purposes.
- Prohibitions against trade union participation in political activity.
- Restrictions on the right to strike in "strategic industries," including public utilities and selected copper petroleum enterprises. Employees striking more than 60 days lose their jobs.

No significant changes have occurred to warrant a judgment that Chile has anything but a repressive posture toward democratic unions. In June 1986, a mission of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which included AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, called the Pinochet stance "disgusting" and "intolerable." The government's behavior warrants its removal from the GSP list.

*Acronyms designating unions are based on the language of origin.

Young Filipino women work long hours for meager pay on assembly lines of today's electronic sweatshops. Ousted Marcos government collaborated with employers to stifle organizing efforts of unions in the Philippines.

GUATEMALA

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☐

Postpone decision pending further review ☑

Circumstances in Guatemala have changed markedly since the AFL-CIO first indicated that this country should be removed from the GSP list. A military regime has been replaced by elected civilian officials.

A two-round democratic election was held in the fall of 1985, resulting in the Presidency of Vinicio Cerezo and a victory for Guatemala's Christian Democratic Party. Since then, constitutional changes have gone into effect which allow for trade unions to engage in political activity. Reforms of the labor code are being considered which could result in the easing of restrictive legislation that has historically governed the right to strike and has inhibited unionization of some sectors of the economy.

While these changes and the hopes for more are pluses, there are also some disturbing signs that the government's party has plans to take over the union movement. The new Guatemalan president is building a base for his Christian Democratic Party, and a party-subordinate union seems to be part of that strategy. Leaders of the independent Confederation of Trade Union Unity of Guatemala (CUSG) have charged that some workers have been told that if they hope to keep their jobs they should join the party-controlled union, the General Coordinator of Workers. Conversely, some who are already members of the CUSG have been warned that unless they quit the union they may lose their jobs.

Supplementing this pressure has been the government's employment of workers whose assignment is to recruit members of the party union. For example, a memorandum distributed by the Guatemalan Institute of Social Formation, a private institute headed by the leader of the party-dominated union, announces that the Ministry of Development has employed special activists to recruit agricultural workers for the new union.

In recent weeks the Ministry of Labor instructed the Congress to table a labor law proposed by the Public Employees Federation of Guatemala designed to expand public employee rights to organize, indicating that only its own, as yet unannounced, plan should be considered. Government measures to correct labor practices have thus taken a back seat to party organization, and party organi-

zation is becoming the occasion for denying labor rights. It is too soon to make a clear judgment about Guatemala's labor rights policies. Its status on the GSP list should remain under review.

HAITI

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☐

Postpone decision pending further review ☑

Possibilities for the development of a free and democratic trade union in Haiti have taken on new life since the fall of the corrupt authoritarian dictator, Jean-Claude Duvalier, in January 1986. While labor organizing is increasing under the current military junta, the country faces chaos, poverty and strife that make the prospect for a vibrant free trade union movement tenuous at best. There is little there in the way of unions to begin with, owing to a series of repressive moves begun in 1979-80 by the deposed dictator. Few labor agreements have been signed even since Duvalier left, simply because there aren't many unions well enough organized to win them.

While today is better than yesterday for trade unions in Haiti, the future they face is by no means rosy. Just recently more than 200 workers were summarily fired for organizing by a number of different companies, and the government has not yet reacted to these violations of the labor code. Some labor leaders who have come to Washington to study at the George Meany Labor Studies Center have also been fired without cause upon their return. Labor law reform has been promised (under the Duvalier regime, the government prescribed specific conditions for organizing, maintained broad supervisory powers and could invoke compulsory arbitration in strike situations), but as yet circumstances are too chaotic for any progress to have been made.

The AFL-CIO is aware that the provisional government of Haiti has called for a constitutional assembly and a future democratic course but these goals are not yet realized. Until such time as they are, the Haitian case should be under constant review until the future course of Haiti becomes clear.

NICARAGUA

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☑

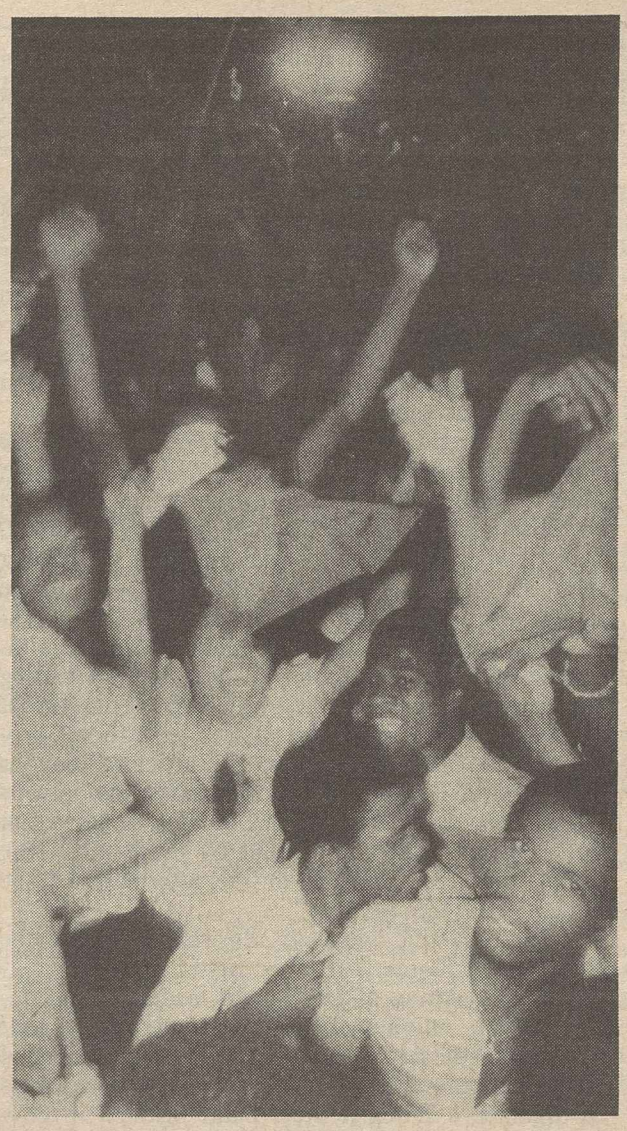
Postpone decision pending further review ☐

While Nicaragua is on the Generalized System of Preferences trade list, currently no trade is taking place with that country because of the U.S. government's imposition of economic sanctions. The AFL-CIO wants Nicaragua off the list whether or not other judgments have brought trade to a halt. Nicaragua's record on labor rights puts it in violation of the U.S. trade law, and now is as good a time as any for that judgment to be made.

Since the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, the government has insisted that all trade unions belong to one official labor center, the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores (CST). Various forms of interference in all types of union activities —elections, affiliations, finances—have been used to shore up the CST and eliminate most democratic opposition. Beyond this, the Sandinistas have resorted to arrests, layoffs, jailings, and the occupation of independent union offices. Two small and struggling unions have managed to survive despite these extensive pressures, the Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS) and the Christian Democratic oriented union, the Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers.

The list of specific repressive incidents the AFL-CIO presented in 1985 was a long one. It included specific examples with names and dates of: forcible occupations of union offices, which include shooting them up, rifling files, destruction of furniture, stealing funds and mob attacks; arrests, interrogations and indefinite detention of union leaders, including bombing the homes of some; the invalidation of union elections where non-Sandinista candidates won; mob attacks at independent union events and ceremonies; denial of travel permits and the confiscation of passports of union leaders; and police stoppage of peaceful demonstrations.

There has been no letup to these repressions. Recently the AFL-CIO has been supplied with an up-to-date list of repressive acts, including the arrest



Haitians rejoice following the ouster of the dictator, Jean-Claude Duvalier. But the outlook for workers in Haiti is by no means rosy.

and detention, without charge, of five members of the Peasant Union of Posoltega, Chinandega. They have been accused of criminal acts, but no proof has been submitted. The monthly publication of the CUS, Solidaridad, has been indefinitely suspended by the Ministry of the Interior since last year and 200 workers from La Prensa have been laid off because of the government's closure of that newspaper.

Government actions to deny independent trade unions the right to function come against a backdrop of an economy in chaos, where disproportionate amounts of public money go to shore up the maintenance of a large military force, where poverty is pervasive and few health and safety measures exist to protect workers. Child labor is widespread.

Nicaragua should come off the GSP list because of its labor practices, whether or not there is ever again reason to resume trade on other grounds.

PARAGUAY

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☑

Postpone decision pending further review ☐

There is only one legally recognized union central in the Paraguay of Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, the longest reigning dictator in the hemisphere. The Confederation of Paraguayan Workers (CPT) serves the Stroessner regime, but has few members and does not engage in real trade union activity. Strikes are illegal and attempts to organize unions outside the official CPT structure are constantly thwarted. A pattern of refusal to recognize democratic unions persists and often workers who attempt to organize them are usually fired.

The government's successful control strategy includes not only a bogus union and government agencies responsible for labor affairs, but also a labor section of the police affiliated to the military intelligence apparatus. The "policia obrera" can easily deny a fledgling union the right to meet, or break up a meeting if things get that far, although union leaders are frequently arrested before meetings even occur. The last two years have brought such arrests in the transport, steel, construction, agriculture and commercial sectors. Mass firings have been instigated by the Ministry of Justice and Labor, a practice used recently in the textile, glass, bankworkers, woodworkers and beverages sectors. This same ministry can also deny union registration and the official credentials that companies can require of a union before they negotiate. Only pro-government CPT leaders get such credentials.

Public employees have no right to organize. Special conditions apply to other sectors, severely circumscribing the right to strike in "strategic" industries, for example. No legal strike has taken place in Paraguay since 1958. Legal minimum labor standards for hours of work, wages, social security, etc. are broadly ignored.

Trying to compete with the CPT, is the Movemiento Inter-Sindical de Trajadores (MIT)—an independent union that has been harassed every step of the way. A number of affiliates the MIT tried to organize recently were denied legal recognition by the government. Its May Day 1986 demonstration was violently stopped by the pro-Stroessner Colorado Party's urban guards who beat and gassed demonstrators and arrested a number of leaders.

The government of Paraguay is reportedly now talking up various promises to loosen current anti-labor practices, though apparently the form some of this takes is hardly serious. While any response at all may be a sign that foreign pressure is embarrassing the government into some kind of stopgap reaction, no moves have been made yet, and even those contemplated sound meaningless. Paraguay should be removed from the GSP list.

PHILIPPINES

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☐

Postpone decision pending further review ☑

While hopes that the new Aquino government will foster basic trade union rights have risen dramatically in The Philippines since the AFL-CIO first testified on this question in June 1985, serious problems remain. The new government is developing a legal framework for fairer worker representation, but not all of its steps are consistent with a pro-labor philosophy.

For example, as promised, the Aquino government has announced new guidelines for labor relations that greatly improve upon the restrictive measures supported by the Marcos regime. Among the pluses are:

- Revocation of measures that had allowed management to replace striking workers who defy return-to-work orders.
- Alteration of the old rule requiring two-thirds for a strike vote in favor of a simple majority.
- A reduction in the percentage of workers needed to petition for a recognition election from 30 percent to 20 percent.

The recently drafted Philippine Constitution has provisions for the right to strike and grants public employees the right to organize. But the Constitution still must be accepted by referendum and there are still other negatives to be corrected. One unfortunate holdover from the Marcos Administration is the Labor Ministry's right to grant exceptions to minimum wage requirements.

Strides have clearly been made of late in the Philippines, enough so that it would be unfair to argue for that nation's immediate exclusion from the GSP list. But it is too early to tell if new-found trade union rights will survive and if new regulations will be administered fairly. Besides, there are rights that remain to be granted. Retention of the Philippines on the GSP list should not constitute a final judgement on the matter. Its case should be left open pending further review.

ROMANIA

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☑

Postpone decision pending further review ☐

The Romanian government and its ruling party totally dominate the life of that country's labor organizations. Together they have snuffed out nascent efforts to organize independent unions, and then falsely denied their actions.

In its original case against Romania, the AFL-CIO argued that government and party control of the trade union movement constitutes denial of the basic trade union rights of freedom of association and the right to organize and bargain collectively. The AFL-CIO also pointed out that work is not a matter of choice in Romania but is a constitutional "duty"; moreover, the nation's "parasitism" laws make it a crime to be unemployed. The AFL-CIO arguments are largely supported by documentation from the International Labor Organization's (ILO) Committee of Experts on the Application of Con-

ventions & Recommendations, and its Freedom of Association Committee, among others.

The most dramatic historic example of the suffocating effects of this control is the suppression of an effort to organize the Free Trade Union of Workers in Romania (SLOMR) in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The ILO chronicles an endless series of failures on the part of the Romanian government to respond to requests for information on the SLOMR trade union case, particularly with respect to the charge that union leaders and members had been beaten, arrested, exiled, interned in psychiatric hospitals and issued summary sentences. Only after the ILO committee urged that a direct-contact mission go into Romania to investigate did the Romanian government bother even to respond.

The response was predictable—that 99 percent of the workers are in an official union; that few of the alleged organizers of SLOMR could be found; that the charges about individual arrests and jailings were inaccurate; and that to the extent that SLOMR existed at all, it functioned as a human rights committee and not a trade union.

Romania has offered an equally defensive explanation to the U.S. government's GSP review team. It also dismissed the fate of SLOMR by deliberately misrepresenting conclusions of the ILO's Committee on Freedom of Association.

Despite Romania's promises to the ILO that new labor legislation is in the offing, the situation has actually deteriorated. In September of 1985 a new law was promulgated extending compulsory labor provisions beyond the earlier limit of 50 for women and 55 for men to cover workers of all ages. "Working people's control teams," an institutionalized system of amateur informants and investigators who cooperate with the state security personnel, have been revived and now engage in intensified surveillance. New efforts at resistance have brought additional repression. Protests and demonstrations toward the end of 1985 resulted in the arrest of many who were supporting a reduced work week, a minimum wage and the elimination of compulsory labor.

The government of Romania is an unrepentant trade union rights violator richly deserving of removal from the preferential trade list. Any fair reading of the new provision of the U.S. trade law would mandate that this be done immediately.

SOUTH KOREA

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☑

Postpone decision pending further review ☐

Today South Korea has a growing economy, a foreign trade surplus, a soaring export market and is now among the world's top trading nations. Yet recent outbursts of political dissent indicate that the sacrifices in political freedom and standards of living for the masses may not be tolerated forever. The government of Chun Doo-hwan continues to insist, contrary to the facts, that basic freedoms exist and that unions are able to play a truly representative role.

Despite its claims to the contrary, the "economic miracle" of the Republic of Korea has been built on the backs of men and women working among the longest hours in the world, workers who suffer increasingly from work-related diseases. Although labor laws purport to permit free and independent unions, in reality the labor relations system is dominated by the government. Unions play a role closely monitored and controlled by official watch dogs.

Although current constitutional guarantees purport to grant the basic right of association and collective bargaining, in reality labor practices work to the detriment of workers and the organizations trying to represent them. All unions within a sector are required to affiliate to a single federation. Sixteen federations form the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), a centralized organization constantly scrutinized by government. When they seek to act as genuine advocates for workers, local unions can be disbanded or taken over by companies while government looks the other way. The constitutional guarantees, such as they are, do not cover public employees, or those in defense-related industries, public utilities and other select industries "that exercise great influence on the national economy."

Private goon squads and security forces generally have free rein to harass workers. Government intelligence agents are also given to intimidation and bribery. Supposedly neutral labor committees and theoretically representative management councils are under the government's thumb. Job actions, strikes and demonstrations can result in jailing and violence. Wage guidelines are government-set. There is no minimum wage. The work week, even by the government's own reports, averages 54.4 hours in the manufacturing sector. The law requiring overtime pay is not enforced. Occupation-related diseases and accidents are on the rise.

Since the labor law revisions of 1980, labor organizations have faced additional curtailments resulting from intensified government pressure. Numerous top leaders have been forced to resign their positions because of government hostility to their tactical positions. Hundreds of union activists have been expelled from union membership or lost their jobs. Others have been blacklisted.

Strikes might as well be illegal because of the impossible bureaucratic process required to gain official approval. Unions can operate only in establishments of more than 30 workers. With 80 percent of Korean workplaces operating with fewer than 30 workers, union membership is therefore illegal for most. With few exceptions, only plant-by-plant collective bargaining is allowed, thus minimizing organizational consolidation and preventing company-wide or industry-wide representation at the table. In fact, a "third party intervention" prohibition explicitly formalizes this structure. Unions cannot give funds to political parties (employers' associations can). With all this, it is no surprise that union membership plummeted by more than 300,000 (nearly 30 percent) in the aftermath of the 1980 "labor law revision."

Several specific incidents illustrate just how the Republic of Korea is a labor rights violator:

- In the spring of 1985 eight leaders of a Daewoo Motor union were arrested and put on trial for their leadership of a strike. Some who protested the arrest were also seized. Efforts of metal workers to organize a Dong-Il Steel plant resulted in government refusal in 1985 to certify the registration papers. More than ten similar cases are well known.
- The Chongkye Garments Workers Union, attempting to represent workers in workplaces with less than 30 employees, has experienced serious government resistance for a decade. The Chongkye union has now been denied recognition. In another instance, workers of the Daewoo Apparel Union were ambushed and beaten upon their return to work after a difficult negotiated settlement was reached. A subsequent sit-in at Daiwoo to protest the arrest of union leaders resulted in the arrest of 18 additional workers. In the spring of 1985, 368 workers were dismissed following additional sit-ins.
- Attempting to legitimize its actions with anti-Communist rhetoric, in July of this year the National Police Headquarters organized a special department to investigate "radical" labor leaders and students. Press reports indicate that it will deploy 1,300 police experts.

As the heavy evidence of its labor rights record accumulates, the government of the Republic of South Korea is once again resorting to a familiar tactic. In the final stages of the GSP general review, it has begun to give heavy lip service to promised labor law reforms. Trade unionists have heard these promises before (a minimum wage has been promised since 1983). South Korea should be off the GSP list until its promises are kept and other fundamental rights granted.

SURINAME

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☑

Postpone decision pending further review ☐

Little has changed with respect to trade union rights in Suriname since the AFL-CIO originally testified in 1984 against this country's GSP beneficiary status. If anything, the situation is worse, as there is now new evidence that the government is trying to gain control over what has been an independent union, De Moederbond.

Trade union freedom in Suriname has been virtually non-existent since the murder of Cyril Daal, president of De Moederbond, in 1982. Daal had called for the democratic elections that had been promised by the country's leader, Desi Bouterse, who took over the country by coup d'etat on Feb. 25, 1980. In December 1982, Daal and 14 other union leaders were beaten, tortured and shot at close range. According to reliable accounts Daal was killed by the dictator Bouterse himself.

It is thus hardly surprising that what remains of independent trade unionism (many legitimate leaders fled the country) may be caving in under government pressure. Trade union activity is paralyzed and the climate of government-induced violence has been pervasive. In this context De Moederbond, along with three other major labor groupings in the country, has joined the government's high council, an official committee that purports to include representatives of various sectors of society. In one recent decision of this committee, a bauxite union strike was condemned by three unions simply because of government declarations that it was endangering the economy.

With what little is left of an independent national labor organization mouthing the government line, and given the murderous history of trade union suppression in Suriname, there can be little reason to overlook its blatant violation of the trade union rights provisions of the GSP law. It should be removed from the preferential list.

TAIWAN

The AFL-CIO says:

Remove from GSP list ☑

Postpone decision pending further review ☐

While numerous statements have been made by the Taiwan government attesting to its intentions to modify existing labor laws, fundamental alterations allowing for greater union freedoms have yet to be realized. While some labor changes have been declared recently, implementation of even these awaits better enforcement mechanisms, stiffer penalties against employers, and uniform application that would include export processing zones. Hopefully the recent announcement that martial law will be lifted presents new promise that change will come.

While uncertainty marks the long-term future of both the economy and the Chinese Federation of Labor because of the ongoing political standoff with claims of the People's Republic of China, the Taiwan government and its ruling party, the Kuomintang, have misused the supposed threat of war as a pretext for 37 years of martial law including tight control over the trade union movement. The government's own Dept. of Labor is in reality a part of the Ministry of the Interior, the government agency housing the security police.

The existing martial law means that the government can suspend the right of unions to exist at any time. Operating under the continuing threat of possible extinction puts a permanent damper on the ability of union organizations to function. While approximately 22 percent of Taiwan's work force is organized, few have comprehensive collective bargaining agreements. Instead, issue-by-issue protocols are agreed to in piecemeal fashion. The right to strike is virtually nonexistent and it is illegal to strike for increases in wages. The government keeps a tight hold on the inner workings of unions, forbidding union presidents to run for more than two terms and severely limiting the amount of per capita dues that can go to the national trade union center or to either provincial or industry federations. Workers who serve the government, educational organizations or "munitions" industries cannot join unions.

The Chinese Federation of Labor (CFL) is thus hampered because many of its leaders are preoccupied with maintaining the approval of the KMT, the government and employers. Compounding this weakness is the fact that only those industries that were organized prior to 1949 have nationwide federations because of continuing insistence that any federation must represent workers on the mainland as well as those in Taiwan.

Among the most pressing examples of Taiwan's continuing hostile labor posture is its ongoing refusal to sign a collective bargaining agreement with the Chinese Federation of Postal Workers (for more than 20 years) and recent mine disasters (at least four in the last two years) which killed more than 277 miners. The Taiwanese mines have a fatality rate more than twice that of the United States and its mines are in long-standing violation of fundamental safety regulations. As a consequence of the accidents, the government closed down most of the coal mines, provided special grants to assist miners who wished to be transferred to other employment, and initiated a special safety insurance program for the coal miners. The Chinese Federation of Labor also decided in August 1985 to establish a "labor safety fund" for the benefit of workers in distress.

The government of Taiwan has indicated it may ease up on the regulation of union dues collection and the restrictions on leadership terms of office partly in response to labor reform proposals made in January 1986 by the CFL. But these measures have not yet been taken and many more are necessary. Taiwan has proclaimed its intent to at last lift martial law, but what this will mean for unions remains unclear. Taiwan should be removed from the preferential trade list until promises are kept and major reforms are made.

Tax and safety gains offset by Idaho RTW vote

By Candice Johnson

State labor federations, keeping a close eye on scores of ballot measures, led voters in repudiating destructive tax-cutting proposals in a number of states and winning new safeguards for workers and communities.

But organized labor suffered a disappointing setback when Idaho voters approved a ballot question to retain the compulsory open-shop law passed by the state legislature in 1985 over the veto of Democratic Gov. John V. Evans.

The initiative was approved by a 54-to-46 percent margin despite a major drive mounted by the Idaho AFL-CIO, with volunteers ringing doorbells, stuffing envelopes and passing out leaflets urging voters to say no to the "right-to-work" campaign.

With just 30,000 union members in a state population of about a million, the Idaho AFL-CIO kept the heat on for nearly two years, gaining more than double the required signatures to put the measure on the 1986 ballot and challenging the decision of the state supreme court in February that allowed the law to go into effect prior to the referendum.

Newspaper polls conducted the week before the election showed voters split down the middle over the issue, with a less than 10 percent undecided vote. The final tally showed 207,919 in favor of the initiative to ban the union shop, with 177,405 opposed.

The Idaho Freedom to Work Committee led the campaign for the ballot proposal, calling on well-known Republicans to carry the anti-union message. Actor Charlton Heston solicited voters to join the "right-to-work" camp, but Screen Actors Guild President Patty Duke countered his arguments in a visit to Boise.

Other ballot questions were presented to voters in 43 states on 226 issues ranging from toxic substances to taxes to voter registration by mail.

In California, voters agreed with the State AFL-CIO's support of a measure that bans the discharge of cancer-causing and other toxic chemicals into drinking water and requires industries to issue warnings of possible exposure to the chemical hazards.

LaRouche scheme dumped

California voters spurned the so-called "LaRouche initiative" which called for mandatory quarantine of victims of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, or AIDS virus, and would have barred AIDS victims from working in a number of occupations.

A measure restricting the authority of local governments and districts to raise tax revenue was approved, however, over the opposition of the State AFL-CIO. The so-called "Jarvis initiative," named after the late Howard Jarvis who set off a destructive state tax-cutting spree in 1978, requires voter approval of all tax increases. But a proposition to limit the salaries of public officials and employees, also opposed by the state federation, was rejected by the voters.

California voters also approved a measure designating English as the state's official language. That issue passed despite opposition from organized labor.

In Massachusetts, the State AFL-CIO successfully opposed a measure that would have used state funds to aid private schools. That proposal was defeated by a two-to-one margin. A measure that places a cap on the amount of revenue the state can raise through taxes—tied to a three-year average of wage and salary increases in the state—was approved by a slight margin, however, over the opposition of the state federation.

Also rejected was a measure to allow voter registration by mail, a plan endorsed by the State AFL-CIO. A non-binding referendum that calls on the state legislature to support a system of national health care passed overwhelmingly, with strong support from organized labor.

Oregon voters were faced with 16 ballot questions, the most of any state. There, organized labor helped defeat a measure that could have slashed local revenues by limiting the state property tax to 1.5 percent per $1,000 of value. Also rejected overwhelmingly, with the state federation's assistance, were proposals for a 5-percent sales tax and suspension of operations of all nuclear power plants in the state until a site is confirmed for disposal of their hazardous wastes.

In a sampling of other ballot issues decided around the country:

- In Montana, the State AFL-CIO's opposition helped defeat a scheme to abolish state property taxes. The measure would have cost the state and localities nearly $600 million in revenues. Over the opposition of the state federation, however, voters approved a freeze on property tax rates and authorized the state legislature to cap jury awards in personal injury lawsuits.
- Colorado voters spurned a ballot measure that would have barred state or local tax increases unless approved by the voters during the general election. The measure was opposed by the Colorado AFL-CIO.

A second Colorado initiative, supported by the state federation, would have improved collective bargaining rights for public employees by eliminating the state's personnel board. That measure was defeated.

- Voters in New Jersey and New York approved bond measures for environmental cleanup and toxic waste disposal.
- In a close contest, Vermont voters turned down an equal rights amendment to the state constitution.

Democrats widen solid majority in House

Continued from Page 1

most vulnerable to party change. Democrats took 13 House districts previously represented by Republicans, ousting five incumbents. Republicans unseated only one Democratic incumbent and took over seven previously Democratic open seats.

These are the states where House seats switched parties or where endangered seats were retained:

California—Incumbents proved firmly entrenched in the nation's most populous state. Democrats retained their 27-18 advantage.

Colorado—Democrats gained a seat as labor-backed Ben Nighthorse Campbell defeated incumbent Republican Mike Strang. On COPE's tally, Strang voted in line with the AFL-CIO position on only two of 30 key votes during his one term in the House. Campbell, a state legislator of Indian descent, is an Olympic gold medal winner and former U.S. judo champion who won a seat the GOP had counted on keeping.

Democrats also held on to the seat Tim Wirth gave up for his successful Senate bid as David E. Skaggs edged out a heavily financed Republican who started out a clear favorite.

Hawaii—Republicans gained an open formerly Democratic seat with Patricia Saiki, a former state GOP chairman. A divisive primary campaign had left Democrat Mufi Hannemann the underdog.

Idaho—Democrat Richard H. Stallings narrowly kept the seat he won by only 170 votes two years ago in a conservative Republican district. Credit constituent service and hard work.

Illinois—Both parties had opportunities, but no switches assuming that the apparent re-election of Democrat Melvin Price holds up. Price, 81, has represented the East St. Louis district for 40 years.

Indiana—Steelworkers and UAW volunteers helped State Sen. Jim Jontz (D) win the 5th District seat left open by the retirement of eight-term Republican Elwood Hillis. The GOP candidate was identified with the religious right political movement. Still in doubt is the 3rd District contest. Democrat Thomas W. Ward, a 37-year-old lawyer who started the campaign as a political unknown, was in a virtual tie with Republican incumbent John Hiler. Hiler's COPE record for three terms in the House was 5 right, 91 wrong votes.

Iowa—Two open seats switched parties for a political standoff. In the 3rd District, former state Democratic Chairman Dave Nagle won the seat of retiring three-term Republican Cooper Evans. But in the 6th District, the seat held by retiring six-term Democrat Berkley Bedell was won by Republican Fred Grandy, who played the character of Gopher Smith on the Love Boat TV series. Grandy, 38, went from prep school to Harvard, had few ties to the Sioux City district, but proved an adept campaigner.

Louisiana—Republican Clyde Holloway took the normally Democratic 8th District where Cathy Long is retiring. The COPE-backed Democratic candidate was Faye Williams, a liberal black woman who ran a strong campaign in a predominantly white district.

Maine—The seat that Republican John McKernan Jr. gave up to run successfully for governor was taken as expected by the retiring governor, Democrat Joseph E. Brennan.

Maryland—Two open seats proved vulnerable. In the 4th District, where Republican Marjorie Holt is retiring after seven terms, Democrat Tom McMillan led on the final tally, with absentee ballots still to be counted. He's a former college and professional basketball star. In the 8th District, where Democrat Michael D. Barnes gave up sure re-election to run unsuccessfully in the Senate primary, moderate Republican Constance A. Morella won the seat. Media attention focused on the 2nd District, where Republican Helen Delich Bentley turned back the uphill challenge of Kathleen Kennedy Townsend.

Minnesota—Still undecided is the re-election bid of five-term Republican incumbent Arlan Stangeland, who has a COPE record of 20 right, 156 wrong votes. Two years ago, he easily beat Democrat Collin C. Peterson in the largely rural 7th District. This time it's hairsbreadth close.

Mississippi—In the past two elections, Republican Webb Franklin narrowly defeated black Democrats in the racially divided, economically depressed 2nd District. He was beaten this year by Democrat Mike Espy, a black candidate with an effective biracial campaign organization.

Missouri—Republicans scored a gain with an upset victory by Jack Buechner in the suburban St. Louis 2nd District over five-term Democrat Robert A. Young, the only Democratic incumbent to lose.

New York—A net gain for the Democrats despite the expected victory of wealthy Republican Amory Houghton Jr., who heads the Corning Glass Co., in the 34th District seat that Democrat Stan Lundine gave up to become the state's lieutenant governor.

Democrat George Hochbrueckner won the previously Republican 1st District seat on Long Island. In the Rochester area 30th District, Democrat Louise Slaughter defeated Republican incumbent Fred J. Eckert, who had the poorest COPE record in the state delegation during his one term in the House. The other hope for a Democratic pickup was in the Syracuse 29th District. Democrat Rosemary Pooler, the state public service commissioner was close to even with three-term incumbent George C. Wortley, with a recount possible.

North Carolina—Republicans lost at least two of the three House seats they gained in the 1984 Reagan sweep. In the 2nd District, Duke University Prof. David Price soundly defeated incumbent Republican Bill Cobey. Former Congressman James Clarke reclaimed the 11th District seat he had lost to Republican Bill Hendon two years ago. And Robin Britt, another Democrat seeking to recapture his congressional seat, trailed incumbent Howard Coble by less than 100 votes in an undecided contest.

Democrat Mike Espy will be Mississippi's first black congressman.

Joseph P. Kennedy II thanks supporters in winning the Massachusetts seat that retiring House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill held for 34 years.

Ohio—Republicans ran big-money campaigns to oust labor-backed Democratic incumbents but lost them all.

Oklahoma—When seven-term Democrat Jim Jones gave up his 1st District seat, Republican James M. Inhofe, former Tulsa mayor, took it over as anticipated.

Pennsylvania—Threatened incumbents of both parties kept their seats. But the normally Republican 7th District that Democrat Bob Edgar gave up to run for the Senate was taken as anticipated by Republican Curt Weldon.

South Carolina—Democrat Elizabeth Patterson won the 4th District open seat previously held for four terms by Republican Carroll Campbell Jr., who went on to win the governorship.

Texas—Incumbents of both parties prevailed.

Utah—Democrat Wayne Owens, a former congressman, took over the 2nd District seat. Republican incumbent David Monson didn't try for a second term.

Virginia—In the Norfolk area 2nd District, Democrat Owen Pickett won the seat opened by the retirement of nine-term Republican G. William Whitehurst.

THE MELLON QUESTION

Would You Want This Bank To Be Your Neighbor?

Mellon Bank is alleged to be one of the most successful institutions in our country. Indeed it's growing and expanding in Pennsylvania and Maryland. And its advertising slogan, "A Neighbor You Can Count On," conjures up an image of solidarity and social concern.

But what's the real truth behind Mellon Bank?

For instance, why would a bank that is solid, successful and socially concerned allow the pay of the janitors who clean its headquarters buildings to be cut down to $38 a week?

Last February, that's just what this financial giant effectively did to 80 of us who clean two of Mellon's largest office buildings in Pittsburgh, including the one which houses the offices of David Barnes, Chief Executive Officer of the Bank.

How could this happen to people who have spent as much as 15, 20 and 30 years cleaning Mellon's buildings?

It happened when Mellon and its wholly owned subsidiary Realty Operating Co., which once bargained directly with our union and in fact signed union contracts, replaced our union contractor with a non-union firm which cut our wages and hours to the point where we're now averaging only $38 a week.

And that's not all. Our health insurance and pension plans have been eliminated. For many of us who are older workers between the ages of 40 and 70, the impact has been, to say the least, devastating. Many of us have been forced on to the unemployment compensation rolls despite the fact that we continue to work in the Mellon Bank buildings.

But that's not the whole story. This new contractor, a company called Arcade Maintenance*, which Mellon claims is an independent entity, was incorporated only several weeks before assuming the Mellon contract and received nearly all of its financing from the Bank itself.

Is this the way a neighbor should act?

We think not. And that's why we have taken our case to the National Labor Relations Board and filed suit under both labor and antitrust laws in Federal District Court. We have also filed formal charges alleging age discrimination.

Unfortunately legal avenues take time and for working people who must support their families, time is a commodity in short supply.

We need your help. We need some **real neighbors** to lend us a hand. Write David Barnes at Three Mellon Square, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and remind him about the people who clean **his** office late at night. Tell him that your city or town doesn't need anymore "good neighbors" like Mellon Bank.

*Not to be confused with: Arcade Cleaning Contractors, Inc. New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia

Support the
MELLON BANK JANITORS
LOCAL 29
SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION
AFL-CIO, CLC

Wall Street Journal ad

Ads put spotlight on Mellon Bank union-busting rap

A union concerned about a raw deal given to 80 cleaning workers in Pittsburgh has turned a searing spotlight on the Mellon Bank and its union-busting tactics.

The union is the Service Employees, whose Local 29 has run advertisements in the Wall Street Journal and other publications to tell the story of Mellon's treatment of the janitors who clean two large Mellon-owned office buildings in Pittsburgh, the bank's headquarters city.

Mellon replaced its union cleaning contractor soon after a new contract had been negotiated with a nonunion firm that hired part-time workers at cut-rate wages. Janitors who had cleaned Mellon buildings for up to 30 years found their paychecks averaging $38 a week.

The SEIU advertisements are alerting depositors and community leaders in localities where Mellon is trying to expand of the festering labor dispute involving a company that wraps itself around a slogan of "a neighbor you can count on."

The message from the SEIU janitors is that communities where Mellon is expanding through acquisitions of local banks should take a look at the record before putting out a welcome mat.

AFSCME warns of tax dollar waste in contracting out of public services

Higher costs, lower quality of services and the "age-old problem of corruption" are the inevitable byproducts of contracting-out public services to private, profit-making enterprises, the State, County & Municipal Employees charged.

The union dubbed such contracts "black holes" because, it said, "money is constantly poured into them and no one knows where it goes."

In a study titled, "Private Profit, Public Risk," AFSCME blamed the Reagan Administration's constant emphasis on "privatization" for the accelerated pace at which state and local governments have turned over to the private sector work historically performed by public employees.

The union cited Reagan's oft-repeated statement that "the best government is no government at all" and a similar propaganda campaign by the right-wing Heritage Foundation as the justification used by some politicians for spending taxpayers dollars for the privatization of government functions.

AFSCME listed these other reasons for the resurgence of contracting-out:

- "Greed for increased political contributions" from the private firms which land lucrative government projects.
- A desire by some state and local governmental managers to "weaken or bust public employee unions."
- Fiscal squeezes on state and local governments.
- Government hiring freezes.

Although advocates claim contracting-out produces "savings," the AFSCME study said, these economies are largely illusory, because they often result in increased costs for preparing and negotiating these agreements, overseeing private contractors, training personnel, and cost overruns. And, it added, privatization "frequently results in a lower quality, and often a lesser quantity, of professional services."

Hidden costs

There are other hidden costs, too, including unemployment compensation benefits and placement programs for laid-off public workers and the loss of tax revenue when public employees are replaced by low-wage earners in the private sector. And when other public employees fear their jobs may be the next to go on the auction block, their morale is weakened and productivity nosedives.

Moreover, the union pointed out, contracting government work to private enterprise can defeat such social goals as the employment of women and minorities.

AFSCME pointed to a 1985 report by the Joint Center for Political Studies, a think-tank specializing in issues of special concern to black Americans, which emphasized that the opportunities for minority economic advancement are "heavily concentrated in the public sector," and that minority municipal workers are generally harmed by the contracting-out practice.

Hitting hard at the corruption issue, AFSCME charged that the practice leads to "bribery, kickbacks, collusive bidding, conflicts of interest and charges for work never performed." The contracts, it asserted, "often become vehicles for political patronage to reward cronies and campaign supporters," and lead to "revolving-door abuses when government officials leave public service to go back to lobby their former employers for contracts."

Design for disaster

Contracting out is a "design for disaster," the study said, citing these instances of the flawed privatization drive:

- In New York City, ten major engineering consulting firms rake in some $30 million a year through contracts with various city agencies, and this flow of money continues although "studies have shown in-house engineers do a better job at less cost."

The engineering firm of Singstad, Hurka & Associates, for example, won a $200,000 contract with the city to prepare an "engineering analysis" and provide "expert testimony" when the city was being sued by a contractor for work done on a subway station, although Singstad had worked on another section of the subway line, "raising the possibility of a conflict of interest," and despite the fact that Singstad had been cited for "unsatisfactory performance" for the $1 million it had received for working on the same subway station.

- The collapse of a nearly completed housing unit in Brooklyn because the Housing Authority left project monitoring to a consultant.
- The citing of a consulting company by New York City's Dept. of Environmental Protection for "work so sloppy" that the agency would not recommend the firm for future contract. The department then rehired the firm for three more projects totalling nearly $300,000.
- Cost overruns of $112 million—235 percent above the original estimates—on nine New York construction projects as the result of "poor planning . . . and unrealistic estimates." The city paid $108 million, or 7.5 percent above what it should have cost, on 7,200 contracts due to consultants' "errors and omissions."
- New Jersey's $6.5-million, no-bid contract to the giant accounting firm of Price Waterhouse to operate its computer system for motor vehicle registrations. The state ended up paying $160,000 a month for in-house overtime to handle a backlog of 1.4 million unrecorded registrations while thousands of motorists were being ticketed by police for failing to have proper registration documents.
- Philadelphia's Dept. of Revenue no-bid contract to a private firm—UNICOLL—to collect user and occupancy taxes. Each year, AFSCME said, the costs of the contract mounted until officials determined that the municipal government could save $1.5 million annually by bringing the service back in-house.
- Pennsylvania Treasury Dept.'s award of a no-bid, $5.4-million contract which ultimately led to guilty pleas to bribery charges by two officers of the California-based consulting firm of Computer Technology Associates and a former Dept. of Labor & Industries employee—the latter admitting he had received stocks and was offered a Swiss bank account to steer the contract to CTA. Two other defendants were convicted of bribery and received prison sentences and fines.

The case is not over. During the trial, a government witness testified that CTA offered an illegal $300,000 political contribution to State Treas. R. Budd Dwyer (R) in return for another contract, and both Dwyer and Robert Asher, chairman of the Montgomery County Republican Committee and former Pennsylvania GOP chairman, were indicted last May on charges of conspiracy, perjury, racketeering and mail fraud and are now awaiting trial.

The union study focused on a number of cases involving Datacom Systems Corp., a prospering subsidiary of the Lockheed Corp., including a corruption scandal over $1.6 million in alleged payoffs to New York City public officials for contracts from the Parking Violations Bureau.

AFSCME said that "in every case in which contracting out has failed, in every case where the quality and efficiency of a public service that has deteriorated and the cost increased, where control over public services has diminished or where corruption has occurred, the public endures the consequences and the public pays the bills."

66% COPE margin best since '78 election

Continued from Page 1

for the House with COPE backing, 239 Democrats and all of the GOP candidates won, for a 67-percent score.

At the gubernatorial level, labor gave its endorsement to 31 Democrats and one Republican. When the ballots were tallied, labor had a 56-percent winning record as 17 Democrats and the Republican won their governors' mansions.

Perkins emphasized that COPE endorsements at the state and congressional district levels were made by AFL-CIO state federations, based on the records of the incumbents and the positions taken by challengers for the various seats.

Schedule of Labor Studies Center courses

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies will offer 11 workshops during November and December. The schedule:

Contract Administration: Life Without Arbitration, Nov. 2-6—A program to explore alternatives to traditional arbitration focusing on promptness, clarity and lower costs. Grievance mediation will be discussed.

Arbitration Techniques: Preparation & Presentation, Nov. 2-7—A workshop on presenting mock cases before professional arbitrators. Participants will see themselves on videotape.

Using Micro Computers in Negotiations, Nov. 16-21—Workshop for union staff or officers on use of small computers in contract negotiations with emphasis on spreadsheet software for costing out contracts and weighing management proposals. Previous knowledge of computers not required.

Speed Reading & More Effective Report Writing, Nov. 23-26—A class in how to read faster, increase concentration and comprehension and improve report-writing skills.

Opinion Polling for Organizers, Nov. 23-26—A workshop on the use of opinion polls in campaigns, developing questionnaires, samples and analyses of poll results.

New Staff, Dec. 1-12—A two-week orientation to help newly elected officers and staff appointees make the transition from on-the-job activities to full-time representatives.

TV: The Cool Medium, Dec. 7-10—Three days of coaching for union officers on facing television camers and working with video reporters.

NLRB Representation Procedures, Dec. 7-12—An institute of basic Labor Board rules and decisions on jurisdiction, appropriate units, election bars, and other issues. A simulated hearing covers preparation and cross examination.

Public Communications: Working with the Media, originally scheduled for Nov. 2-6, has been rescheduled for Dec. 14-18—A workshop for local business representatives and union officers on use of radio, television and newspapers to improve labor's image.

Alcohol & Drugs: Discipline & Discharge, Dec. 14-18—A class focusing on "just cause" in discipline and discharge, proof and evidence, alcohol-related misconduct, off-duty misconduct and assistance programs.

Organizing in the Construction Industry, Dec. 14-19—A workshop that trains organizers in the building trades, in oral, written communications, regional survey and targeting techniques, on-site recruitment and labor law.

AFL-CIO affiliates using the campus in November for staff training programs are: Government Employees, Nov. 30-Dec. 5; Teachers, Nov. 9-14, and State, County & Municipal Employees, Nov. 16-21.

Other groups using the center include American Institute for Free Labor Development, Oct. 12-Nov. 14; American Council on Germany, Nov. 4-7; Food & Allied Service Trades Dept., Nov. 10; Dept. of Information & National Press Foundation, Nov. 16-19; Frontlash, Nov. 16-21 and Nov. 23-26, and Labor's Council on Higher Education, Nov. 24-25.

More information about labor studies programs is available from Robert Pleasure, executive director, George Meany Center, 10000 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md. 20903. Telephone 301/431-6400.

Service Employees strike Kaiser health centers

San Francisco—Bargaining demands by Kaiser Permanente, the nation's largest and oldest health maintenance organization, forced 9,000 Service Employees to strike 26 Kaiser hospitals and clinics in northern California. But in the southern part of the state, Steelworkers Local 7600 signed a new three-year contract covering 1,700 workers at Kaiser facilities.

SEIU Local 250 rejected Kaiser's proposal for a three-year wage freeze and a two-tier pay system, noting that new employees outside the San Francisco Bay area would be paid 30 percent less than current workers. Kaiser employees earn between $9 and $14 an hour.

The SEIU members voted to strike when the contract expired Oct. 27, following three months of fruitless bargaining.

The USWA contract covers clerical, technical, and maintenance workers at the Kaiser Medical Center in Fontana, Calif., and medical clinics in Ontario, Riverside, San Bernardino, Colton and Imperial. In exchange for a pay freeze and two-tier pay scales, workers will receive, at a minimum, lump-sum payments of $350 the first year, $450 the second and $550 the final year.

EDITORIALS

Another Chance

ALL THOSE who worked so hard to make this election meaningful have earned the right to bask for a moment in the satisfaction of a job well done. And that goes for supporters of losing candidates as well as winners.

The process works. It's not perfect and none of us can take pride in the fact that most voting-age Americans don't bother to go to the polls. But it's better than any alternative our planet has seen.

In some past elections, when the outcome was less satisfactory, we took consolation in the fact that in a democracy, there is always another chance. That's the reminder that AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland stressed last month in an appeal to union members and their families to participate and make their opinions felt in this election.

Those who took part in the process, however they voted, deserve the nation's thanks. They made democracy work.

Top of the Agenda

PERHAPS THE best post-election news is the pledge of leading Senate Democrats to put trade legislation high on the agenda of the 100th Congress.

It's not and should not be a partisan issue. States represented by Republican senators as well as those who sent Democrats to the Senate are suffering from the loss of jobs inevitable in a one-way flow of trade.

As the outgoing Senate majority leader, Robert Dole, acknowledged in an election night interview, "there's a lot of pressure out there" to deal with the trade deficit. Sen. Dole, who in deference to the President's objections helped sidetracked a House-passed trade bill until the 99th Congress adjourned, will be the minority leader in the new Senate.

There just may be a connection.

EVEN IN the outgoing Congress, a bipartisan consensus was able to overcome White House resistance.

Bipartisan pressure from Congress compelled President Reagan to sign into law a veto-threatened expansion of the Superfund program to clean up toxic wastes.

Earlier, bipartisan support for sanctions to prod the South African government towards a multiracial democracy produced the two-thirds majorities in the House and Senate needed to override a presidential veto.

Members of Congress from both parties who have faced the electorate know that, in Dole's words, "there's a lot of pressure out there" to do something to bring down the trade deficit and keep Americans working.

If Republicans as well as Democrats respond to this demand, legislation will be enacted into law—whether with the President's cooperation or over his veto.

The cost of continued inaction is more than the nation can afford.

Helping America

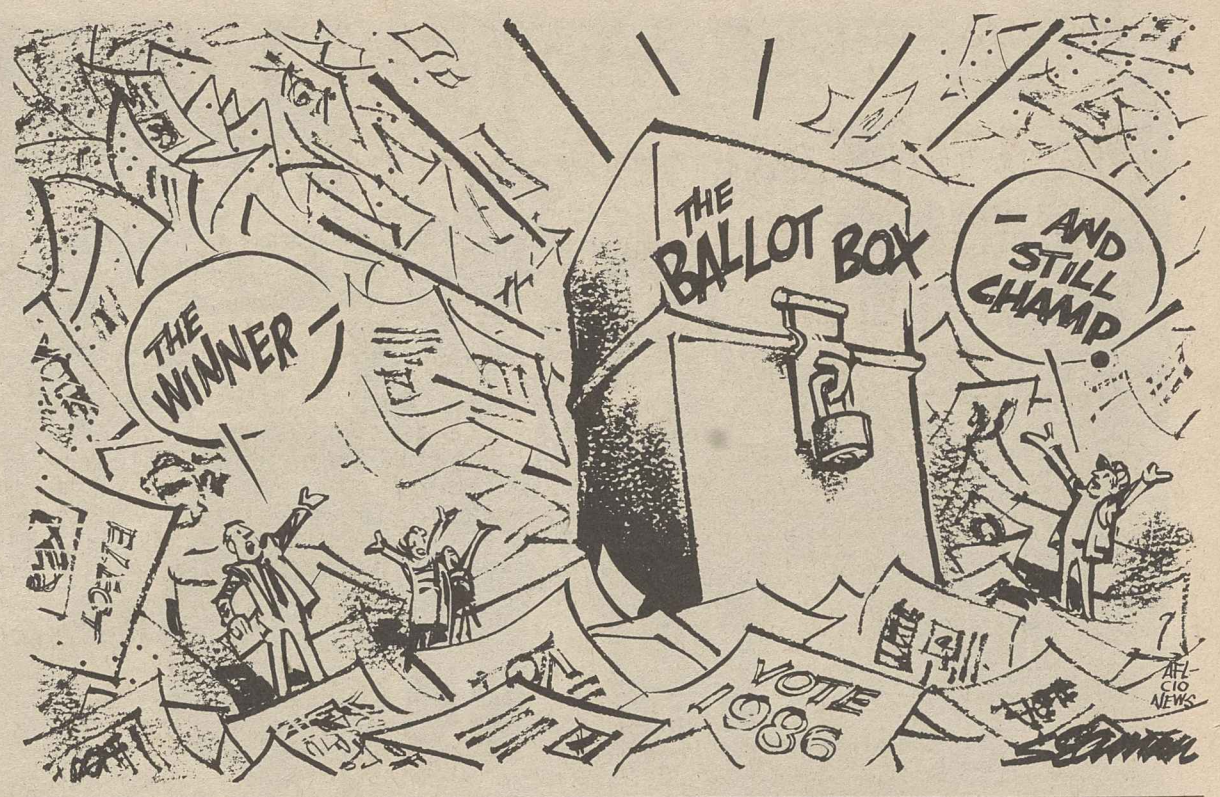
JUDGING BY some recent television commercials, there are encouraging signs that American manufacturers are starting to realize that they have a sales advantage in being able to promote products as "Made in the U.S.A."

On the Friday after Thanksgiving, the traditional start of the Christmas season shopping period, Frontlash volunteers from schools and workplaces will be at stores and shopping malls to promote Buy American Day and union-made products.

These young people, allied with the labor movement, helped register voters and get them to the polls on Election Day. Now they're asking Americans to vote with their pocketbooks, a lesson all union families should surely take to heart.

And if working families have any trouble identifying union-made goods, the new Union Label Shopper catalogue should help.

As the AFL-CIO Union Label & Service Trades Dept. noted when it was issued last month, it can help consumers save money as well as help workers save jobs.



Washington Window

Consumers held captive by natural gas industry

By Press Associates Inc.

This year's dramatic decline in world energy prices has brought some welcome relief. But homeowners and other small consumers of natural gas have not benefited from the price drop.

While lower producer, or wholesale, prices of gasoline and home heating oil have been passed on to both large and small consumers, almost all the benefits of lower natural gas prices have gone to large industrial and electric utility consumers. In 12 states, natural gas charges actually went up for residential customers.

Small gas users like homes, schools, farmers, small businesses and municipalities "have been denied systematically more than $3 billion in benefits from falling gas prices," according to a report by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition. Called "First to Pay, Last to Gain," the report is based on data published by the Energy Information Administration of the Dept. of Energy.

This occurred because of gas industry monopolies and ineffective regulation at the state and federal levels, the report concluded. "Interstate pipeline companies and local gas utility companies are overcharging and discriminating against residential and other captive consumers," it said.

Lack of incentive

These low-use customers are captive because they can't shop around for a better deal. They are unable to switch suppliers because the local gas company has a monopoly franchise. Most can't afford the cost of switching to another form of heating or the cost of adding a second heating system to their home or business. As a result, the local gas utility doesn't have to worry about competition in serving these customers and has little incentive to keep rates down.

Large gas customers can shop around. Most can switch to another fuel and thus play off the gas company against the oil company. Or large gas customers may be able to get around the local gas company by buying gas directly from the pipeline company or gas producer.

Regulation of gas and other utility firms is supposed to ensure that rates to all customers are set on the basis of what the rates would be if all customers were in a competitive situation. But "in state after state, regulatory commissions that are supposed to protect residential and other small gas consumers from monopoly pricing by local utilities have failed to do their job."

"These commissions, under heavy pressure from both utilities and large industrial customers, have allowed utilities to charge competitive prices to their large customers and anti-competitive prices to their captive customers," said the Coalition's Edwin Rothschild. He called it "a national outrage."

Monopoly ripoff

At the national level, the report said the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) shares the blame for the price discrimination. FERC allowed interstate pipeline companies to delay implementation of its nondiscriminatory rule, forcing most local gas companies to buy expensive gas at a time when lower-cost gas is available, the report said.

The result of state and federal acquiescence to monopoly gas pricing, the report said, has been this: While the average price U.S. producers charge for natural gas dropped 24 percent from the first half of 1984 to the first half of 1986, average residential rates declined only 3 percent during the same period. By contrast, prices to large industries were slashed 21 percent.

The 12 states where gas prices actually increased for residential users are Arkansas, by 14 percent; Oklahoma, 12 percent; Delaware, 8 percent; Georgia, 7 percent; West Virginia, 7 percent; Connecticut, 4 percent; Rhode Island, 3 percent; New Hampshire, 2 percent; and Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and North Carolina, all by 1 percent.

To invert an old adage, residential consumers are faced with not having their cake and not eating it, too. To end this "national outrage," pressure must be brought to bear on state and federal regulators to do their job.

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Steelworkers and supporters march with the "Grim Reaper" in Lorain, Ohio.

Indiana rebuffs USX

Steelworkers win jobless benefits

The Steelworkers won a big victory in Indiana as a referee for the state Employment Security Division ruled that workers locked out by USX Corp. since Aug. 1 are entitled to unemployment benefits.

Nearly 5,200 USWA members at the giant Gary Works will receive weekly benefits ranging from $96 to $161, retroactive to Aug. 8.

USX has asked the Indiana agency to reconsider its decision, and plans to appeal the ruling. Workers at USX plants in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas and Minnesota earlier won jobless benefits as employment commissions ruled the dispute a lockout. In Alabama, workers laid off just prior to the Aug. 1 lockout were also awarded benefits. But Illinois and Utah rejected workers' claims and the USWA is appealing those decisions.

At a meeting of the Steelworkers Support Committee, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland called the USX campaign "a test of the resolve of the entire labor movement" that "Reagan-backed union-bashing" employers across the country would be watching.

Donations to the committee's defense fund have reached $224,430 as the committee continues its activities in support of the locked-out steelworkers.

Negotiations are continuing between the giant steelmaker and the USWA on a day-to-day basis.

Armco agreement

In separate negotiations, the USWA reached a tentative agreement with Armco Inc., the nation's fifth largest steelmaker. The accord is subject to ratification by members of the six Armco local unions.

Terms of the settlement vary among the Armco plants, but overall the agreements call for a freeze or slight reduction in wages and benefits in exchange for job security provisions and firm restrictions on Armco's contracting out of work to non-union companies. The Armco pact covers about 6,800 workers at active facilities in Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri and shutdown supply plants in California and Texas. If ratified, the new agreement will expire Aug. 1, 1989.

USWA District Director James Bowen, who headed the union's negotiating committee, called the agreement "a fair compromise, but not a cure-all in dealing with the profitability and job security problems of the depressed steel industry."

The tentative agreement with Armco leaves USX as the only major steel producer that has failed to reach a settlement with the USWA.

Trades link job deaths to fund cutback

Denver—Cutbacks in federal funding for safety programs and high unemployment rates that encourage employers to impose corner-cutting procedures on workers fearful of losing their jobs have been blamed for a sharp increase in the number of construction fatalities in Colorado.

Officials of the Occupational Safety & Health Administration are investigating the 26th construction death so far this year. In all of 1985, there were 18 such fatalities in the state.

John J. Donlan, business manager of the Colorado Building & Construction Trades Council, said workers are "worried about being laid off" in a period of high unemployment, making them fair game for employers who "push them to do things they shouldn't do," and leave them "less inclined to report safety violations."

OSHA has contributed to the problem, Donlan said, because of Reagan Administration budget cuts that have bitten deep into the agency's enforcement program. Employers now realize that "the odds of being inspected aren't as great as they used to be," he continued, and therefore they lean on construction workers and expose them to greater on-the-job risks.

Donlan noted that the council formerly employed a full-time safety director, a position partially funded by OSHA. But the post had to be eliminated when OSHA cancelled the grant after the Administration reduced overall agency funding.

Pattern sought

The work-related casualties recorded this year ranged from electrocutions and trench cave-ins to fatal accidents with trucks and other equipment. OSHA officials said they could find no "pattern" to explain the sharp increase in the number of deaths over the 1985 level.

But Donlan saw one key factor. Most of the fatalities, he said, involve new workers who are more susceptible to management pressures, more fearful of putting their jobs at risk than they are of risking an accident, and more reluctant to report management's safety violations.

Running dry

The AFL-CIO Steelworkers Support Committee has designated Nov. 22 as "Marathon Oil Information Day," and is urging union members to join informational picket lines at Marathon service stations in at least five states.

Local central bodies in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan are distributing leaflets and information on the Marathon campaign. The committee stressed that picketing was "informational only," to advise consumers of the link between Marathon and USX Corp.

Other Marathon-owned gasoline stations targeted for picketing include Bonded, Speedway, Gastown, Cheker, Ecol, Value and Port.

OSHA faces deadline on toxic waste rules

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration should issue a strong, comprehensive interim standard to protect all workers involved in hazardous waste operations, the AFL-CIO said, citing the agency's legislative mandate to do so within 60 days.

The Superfund reauthorization measure, signed by President Reagan on Oct. 17, requires OSHA to issue an interim rule by Dec. 17 and a final rule within a year. The agency said it will issue the interim rule by the deadline and simultaneously issued a proposed final rule, which will be subject to public comment.

Federation safety specialist Margaret Seminario termed passage of the Superfund bill a "real victory for the labor movement" and said organized labor is "glad to see OSHA moving forward on this." She stressed, however, that workers need a "comprehensive rule that protects all workers in hazardous waste sites."

The Superfund law is "very specific" about who should be covered, Seminario said. "The intent of Congress is clear in the language and in previous testimony that all workers at hazardous waste operations be covered."

Broadened coverage

"This goes beyond just workers at the Superfund cleanup sites," she emphasized. "Some of the most hazardous sites for workers are at managed sites where waste chemicals are handled, processed or buried."

Seminario observed that OSHA's proposed standard should set specific exposure limits for the chemicals that workers may be exposed to in waste operations, using both short-term limits and permissible exposure levels averaged over a workday when both are needed.

"It will depend on the type of operation and the chemicals involved," she pointed out.

The Superfund legislation also authorizes the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences to fund university-based programs on health-effects research and on worker training.

Seminario pointed out that the NIEHS training program and the OSHA standard on toxic waste sites are "very interrelated," adding that she hoped that the training programs developed are consistent with the OSHA requirements. A key to the effectiveness of the NIEHS worker training program will be making sure the Environmental Protection Agency earmarks the $10 million a year required to fund the operation.

Reagan vetoes clean water bill, shipbuilding aid

President Reagan waited until after the election to veto a clean water bill that authorized a larger-scaled program of federal grants for construction of sewage treatment plants than the Administration supports.

Earlier Reagan pocket-vetoed a seemingly noncontroversial maritime authorization bill to serve notice that he is determined to end a long-established loan guarantee program that encourages the building of American-flag merchant ships in U.S. shipyards.

Because Congress has adjourned, the veto cannot be overridden. But the President's attempt to scuttle the loan guarantee program will be one of the issues facing the newly elected Congress in January.

Reagan also pocket-vetoed a union-supported airline safety bill he complained was too costly and a bill to establish energy efficiency standards for home appliances.

On the clean water measure, environmental groups had charged that Reagan was intentionally holding off the veto of a politically popular bill until after the election so as not to hurt the chances of Republican senator.

Both the House and Senate had voted overwhelmingly for the bill, which would have extended the provisions of the Clean Water Act through 1994 and helped fund local sewage treatment and other anti-pollution projects.

It also would have authorized several new programs for curbing water pollution, including for the first time controls on run-off from farms and from city streets.

Roberta Savage, director of an association of state water pollution control administrators, termed the veto "a tremendous setback to the nation's goal of fishable and swimmable waters."

Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) told a news conference that if the President had signed the measure, recognizing its strong bipartisan support, it would have been viewed as a "first gesture of cooperation" with the new Congress.

Instead, it is likely to be one of the first issues of confrontation between the 100th Congress and the White House.

Reagan's veto messages stressed the Administration's ideological opposition to government interference with the marketplace.

The President complained that shipbuilding loan guarantees amount to "federal intervention" in private credit markets. He said requiring energy conservation standards for appliances "intrudes unduly on the free market" and limits the "freedom of choice" for consumers.

Reagan struck at the shipbuilding assistance program by vetoing a seemingly noncontroversial bill authorizing funds for the Maritime Administration, which is part of the Transportation Dept. and administers the loan guarantee program, and the Federal Maritime Commission, an independent regulatory agency.

Shipbuilding and maritime unions strongly support the loan guarantee program, which enables ship owners who "build American" to obtain government insurance through the Maritime Administration for 75 percent of the construction loans they obtain from private lenders.

The veto does not directly affect the loan guarantee program, which has been law for half a century—Title XI of the Merchant Marine Act. And funding for the two maritime agencies is covered by the continuing appropriations resolution Congress passed and the President signed into law.

In the first year of his Administration, Reagan eliminated funding for the construction subsidies that were the mainstay of U.S. shipyards. His goal now is to deal the same fate to the loan guarantee program by getting Congress to abolish it.

Administration gives private firm job-export role

By Gene Zack

Faced with a congressional order to stop using tax dollars to lure American assembly plants to Mexico, the Reagan Administration formally abandoned sponsorship of a controversial and lavish "exposition" to be held held next month in Acapulco.

But the show will still go on, the only difference being that Commerce Dept. officials who were to attend and advise U.S. firms about the "extraordinary business opportunities" and "benefits" of migrating across the border will be conspicuously absent.

It will be a "distinction without a difference," one congressional source said. Although the government gave the project to a private public relations firm, it also handed over a list of more than 300 U.S. companies that have already agreed to pay $325 each to participate.

The advance registrations came in response to three mass mailings of 120,000 brochures made with federal funds earlier this year, touting the Mexican connection as a chance for American firms to make "more lucrative manufacturing arrangements."

Far from satisfied with the Commerce Dept.'s formal pullout, a House Banking subcommittee is digging further into the scheme in an effort to discover why the Administration got involved in the first place and why it so blatantly promoted the migration of U.S. plants and the accompanying export of jobs during a period of high unemployment caused by a continuing surge of imports.

Chairman John J. LaFalce (D-N.Y.) of the Economic Stabilization Subcommittee has scheduled hearings on Nov. 25—a week before the exposition opens amid the posh surroundings of the Mexican resort city—to grill Commerce Dept. officials about their activities.

The subcommittee will also hear from officials of the Auto Workers and the Clothing & Textile Workers and has invited a spokesman from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to present the business community's reactions. At least one local chamber, a subcommittee staff member said, has reportedly registered strong opposition to the job-export plan.

At the same time, Rep. James J. Florio (D-N.J.), chairman of a House Energy & Commerce subcommittee, has asked the General Accounting Office to conduct an investigation into how many taxpayers' dollars have already been spent on the exposition—and why.

Florio said it was "highly inappropriate" for a federal agency to be promoting the move of any jobs out of the country, and Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio), sponsor of the ban on the use of federal funds for this purpose, said that "we have enough diffi-

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AFL-CIO news

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Sticking with the union

Pittsburgh trade unionists join building trades workers in mass protest against open-shop construction. Shouting "we want work," more than 45,000 members of the Teachers, Communications Workers, Transit Union, and building trades unions joined the march past several nonunion renovation projects, including the old Pennsylvania Railroad Station. The Pittsburgh Building & Construction Trades Council said the demonstrations will continue as labor "takes on the open shop."

Job gains confined to part-time hiring

Tilt to service economy continues

Unemployment stagnated at the 7-percent level in October, unchanged from the previous month, as the shift from an industrial to a service economy became more pronounced.

Although 350,000 new jobs were created during the month, the Labor Dept. said, all of them were in part-time employment. In an economy that found more than 110 million people on the job last month, more than 20 million were part-time workers.

The government reported 8.2 million officially listed as unemployed, 1.2 million more who have given up hope of finding jobs that aren't there and another 5.8 million working part-time because they can't find full-time employment—a total of 15.2 million Americans facing economic hardship because the job market remains stuck at recession levels.

Failure of Reaganomics

The number of Americans without jobs but looking for work has averaged more than 9 million a month during Ronald Reagan's presidency, compared with a monthly average of 6.7 million during Jimmy Carter's term in office.

Aggravating the economic picture further, less than 2.2 million workers—only about one-quarter of all the jobless—were drawing unemployment compensation benefits. The other 75 percent either have exhausted their benefits or aren't eligible because of more stringent eligibility requirements imposed since the Reagan Administration took office.

And if there's a "recovery" from the Reagan Recession, as the White House continues to insist, it has yet to be felt in the import-weakened industrial sector. There are more than 1 million fewer manufacturing jobs today than there were in 1981, and 393,000 fewer jobs in the mining, oil and gas industry.

By contrast, the service sector has added 4.7 million jobs in the past five years, wholesale and retail employment is up 3.4

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Kirkland elected TUAC president

Paris—AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was elected president of the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development—the first American union leader ever to head the committee.

Kirkland, who has long been a TUAC vice president, succeeded David Basnett, retired general counsel of the British Trades Union Congress.

During his four-year term as head of TUAC, Kirkland will be involved in the council's development of labor's economic policy recommendations to the OECD and will take part in consultations with the representatives of the 24 industrialized countries that make up that body.

TUAC evolved out of organized labor's active participation in the Marshall Plan, which helped restore the war-battered economies and rebuild the shattered industrial base in Western Europe in the aftermath of World War II.

Democrats post state gains, prospects for labor mixed

By David L. Perlman

Democrats came out ahead in a nationwide tally of state legislature elections, but reports from AFL-CIO state central bodies were mixed in terms of the outlook for labor-sought programs.

An AFL-CIO News survey found most state federations hopeful of modest advances in the 1987 sessions of their legislatures and optimistic that serious attacks on worker protections could be resisted. But there was concern in several states at the election of new Republican governors whose campaigns reflected hostility to labor's positions.

In some states, such as Arizona and Kansas, Democratic governors had provided the checks and balances to Republican-controlled legislatures. Both states now have GOP governors as well. But there were turnabouts the other way, such as Oregon, where for the first time in eight years, Democrats will control both the legislature and the governorship.

Party lines no guide

As the reports from state AFL-CIO leaders point out, party lines are an unreliable indicator of labor support in many instances. A number of Democratic-controlled legislatures, especially in southern and border states, are hostile to labor's concerns. And several state legislative bodies with Republican control have bipartisan majorities in tune with worker concerns.

Four states—Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey and Virginia—had no legislative elections this year. These are some of the

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Party realignment in Senate shifts top committee chairs

When the Senate's new Democratic majority takes over in January, Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) will replace Orrin H. Hatch (R-Utah) as chairman of the Labor & Human Resources Committee.

In another 180-degree ideological turnabout on the same committee, Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) will be in line to replace Don Nickles (R-Okla.) as chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor.

The two worker-supporting Democrats have a combined COPE voting record of 242 right votes and 33 wrong votes. In sharp contrast, the career voting records of the two conservative Republicans on the AFL-CIO scorecard is 21 right votes and 264 wrong votes.

In the outgoing Congress, with moderate Republicans as the swing votes, the Labor & Human Resources Committee was evenly divided on several key issues despite a 9-7 GOP majority. The committee membership in the new Congress won't be firmly set until January but the expectation is for a dependably progressive majority on the panel.

Kennedy passed up the opportunity to head the Senate Judiciary Committee, where he is also the senior Democrat.

The Labor & Human Resources chairmanship will better enable him "to advance the causes that I care deeply about in public life," Kennedy said at a news conference. He recalled that his brothers, John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy,

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Hospital pacts boost pay for 44,000 in N.Y.

New York—Some 44,000 members of Local 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union ratified new three-year contracts with 56 hospitals and nursing homes that provide a lump sum of 5 percent of wages, retroactive to August 1984, and pay increases totaling 13 percent.

The largest contract, covering 43 private hospitals and nine non-profit nursing homes, is with the League of Voluntary Hospitals. The 5-percent retroactive pay will be available to those members who have worked since Aug. 28, 1984, up to the time the agreement was ratified.

"The contract we won represents a tremendous victory," Local 1199 President Georgianna Johnson said. "Despite the adamant stance of the League, the hospitals got nothing that would weaken our job security rights. They got nothing to enable them to increase subcontracting or to make greater use of part-time workers."

The previous accord with the league was never implemented even though the employers had agreed to 5 percent annual pay raises. The lump-sum payment is a compromise that will partially restore workers' pay for that period, the local said.

Local 1199 members received a 4 percent increase on Nov. 1 and will get a similar raise next July 1, followed by a 5 percent pay hike on July 1, 1988. Minimum pay scales were also increased by 4 percent on Nov. 1 and will be raised 5 percent on July 1, 1988.

Pension improved

The union also won a 10 percent increase in pension benefits for current retirees, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1985. Health and medical benefits will be maintained at current levels, and some direct costs to members will be reduced through a variety of cost-saving measures.

The union staved off an attack by the League on key contract provisions. The employers had sought a longer workweek with no extra pay, the right to subcontract jobs at will, elimination of daily overtime provisions, and reduction in pension and training fund contributions. Due to surpluses in the two funds, the union granted a reduction in employer pension payments from 8 percent to 7 percent and in the training fund contribution from 1 percent to one-half percent.

Local 1199 signed similar contracts for 3,500 members at four Catholic hospitals—St. Vincent's, St. Clare's, Terence Cardinal Cooke and Cabrini Medical Center.

RWDSU Local 1199 members hail the settlement of a new contract with 52 New York City area hospitals and nursing homes. They had been without an agreement since 1984.

Union conference will emphasize job-training goals

Union achievements in skill training and retraining, upgrading, apprenticeship and basic education will be the focus of a four-day conference in Baltimore, Dec. 2-5.

Sponsored jointly by three AFL-CIO departments—Economic Research, Education and Community Services—and the Human Resources Development Institute, the conference will lay the groundwork for developing an information exchange network to meet the training and education needs of union members and potential members.

Speakers will include AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, President Robert A. Georgine of the Building & Construction Trades Dept., Vice President Joyce Miller of the Clothing & Textile Workers, Former Labor Sec. Ray Marshall, Assistant Labor Sec. Roger Semerad, Chairman Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) of the House Education & Labor Committee, William Kolberg of the National Alliance of Business, and Anthony Carnevale of the American Society for Training & Development.

Workshops will cover such subjects as determining training needs, collective bargaining for effective training, implementing successful training, and training for the unemployed through the use of federal programs established under the Job Training Partnership Act and the Trade Adjustment Assistance Act.

A registration form for the conference is reproduced in adjacent columns.

House panels push probes of Mexican job-raid scheme

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culty with jobs going overseas without the government being party to this."

The Administration's role in the scheme was engineered by the U.S. Trade Center in Mexico, whose job was supposed to be the promotion of the sale of American-made goods in Mexico but which switched sides to tout the advantage of moving U.S. assembly plants into that country.

The three-day exposition will feature exhibits from the Mexican states along the U.S. border so that—as the Commerce Dept. brochures trumpeted—"the entrepreneur, the financial visionary, the forward-thinking businessman" can learn how to duck both Mexican and U.S. import duties by setting up shop in the mushrooming industrial zone just across the border.

The firms were told that by converting U.S. assembly plants into Mexican "maquilladoras"—or "golden mills"—they could send raw materials across the border freely, paying an American duty only on the value added in Mexico. The Commerce Dept. said that would amount to nothing more than the "low-cost" labor involved.

Among the seminars and panels scheduled during the exposition will be ones showing how firms can maximize profits by taking advantage of Mexico's pro-management labor relations policies. Mexico discourages trade unions and closes its eyes to the sweatshop conditions under which a workforce consisting mainly of women and young girls earn between 30 and 75 cents an hour.

Bowing to the mandate to get out of the job-export business, Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige notified Congress that the government's sponsorship was being withdrawn. But he continued to defend his department's role in supporting the maquilladora system.

"Our conviction (is) that the competitive position of many U.S. companies has been helped through this mechanism," Baldrige's letter to Capitol Hill insisted.

And the Commerce Dept. told LaFalce's subcommittee that the congressional restrictions on staging trade shows and expositions was drawn so narrowly that it will not inhibit the department from continuing to send American firms brochures prepared by the Mexican government promoting the same subject.

The maquilladora scheme was launched in the 1960s in response to action by Congress to end the bracero program—an arrangement that had permitted Mexicans to enter this country to guarantee a cheap workforce for the huge corporate agricultural industry in the Southwest.

Growing market share

At the outset, the "golden mills" accounted for only 2 percent of this country's imports of foreign-assembled products. Today, they command a 45-percent share of such imports, produced by more than 750 firms—most of them offshoots of U.S. companies. Among the companies that have invested nearly $2 billion on these operations are such giants as RCA, General Electric, General Motors, Zenith, Ford and Johnson & Johnson.

The maquilladora workforce has nearly quadrupled in that time—from 80,000 workers to nearly 300,000. The UAW estimates that for every 2.5 jobs created in one of the Mexican assembly plants, one American job is wiped out. So the increase in the past decade alone has driven nearly 90,000 U.S. workers into unemployment.

In promoting the Mexican connection for subassembly operations, the Commerce Dept. targeted small as well as big companies in industries ranging from automobile and audio-visual equipment to televisions, textiles and typewriters.

Airline unions press plan for Eastern buyout

Miami—Charging that Texas Air is trying to acquire Eastern Airlines at "a fire sale price," 44,000 members of three unions went to court to block the takeover and clear the way for Eastern's employees to buy the financially troubled carrier.

The suit was filed in U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida by the Machinists, Transport Workers and Air Line Pilots on behalf of the newly formed Eastern Airlines Employees' Coalition. It asks for a preliminary injunction to prevent a scheduled Nov. 25 stockholders' meeting that is supposed to ratify the Texas Air acquisition.

The coalition, whose members now own some 25 percent of Eastern's stock, said an injunction would clear the way for stockholders to consider its formal tender of $10.25 per share of common stock—compared with Texas Air's offer of $6.25 in cash and $3.75 in the form of a yet-to-be-issued "junior preferred" Eastern stock. The present arrangement with Texas Air is a "lock-up" agreement that precludes Eastern from considering alternative acquisition bids.

In the court suit, the unions charged that Eastern and Texas Air entered into an "unfair" arrangement that involved a series of improprieties—including "sweetheart deals" with Eastern board members, a $20-million "inducement fee" that "virtually gave away 18.5 percent" of Eastern stock to Texas Air, and "golden parachutes" running as high as $684,000 for 21 Eastern officers as termination bonuses.

Noting that the 44,000 Eastern employees acquired their stock in collective bargaining as part of a package that included wage givebacks, the council said the union members "have invested their own sweat, not to mention more than $900 million in wage and other concessions over the past decade" to help keep Eastern flying.

Job gains limited to part-time work

Continued from Page 1

million and the finance, insurance and real estate field added 1.1 million jobs.

Although trades and services "comprise only 40 percent of payroll jobs," the Labor Dept. said, "they have accounted for 70 percent of the 2.3 million" jobs added to the economy thus far this year.

Janet Norwood, chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, conceded that the 5.8 million workers forced to accept low-paying part-time jobs in lieu of better-paying full-time employment was "a rather high number for this stage of a recovery." And she told Congress that "almost all" of the 350,000 new part-time jobs generated last month went to women and teenagers.

The October jobless rates for most categories of Americans showed little or no change from the September figures—6.2 percent for adult males, 6.1 percent for adult women, 14.4 percent for blacks, 10.5 percent for Hispanics and 17.6 percent for teenagers.

Black teenagers had a staggering unemployment rate of 34.8 percent, down from September's 38.3-percent level. The decline apparently reflects the increase in part-time work in services.

■ Registration Form—AFL-CIO Training & Education Conference, *Dec. 3 - 5, 1986*

Fill out and mail to:
AFL-CIO Economic Research Department., 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Name _____ *Phone* _____

Union _____ *Title with Union* _____

Address _____

■ $50 per person registration fee enclosed ☐
Will pay at conference ☐

■ Make checks payable to "Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO."

■ If additional members from your organization will attend the conference, attach a separate sheet with their names and titles and registration fees.

■ Please indicate on reverse, your workshop selections.

Labor assesses changes in legislatures

Continued from Page 1

states where legislative elections of special interest took place:

Alabama—The combination of a new Republican governor and a legislature more closely attuned to business concerns than workers puts labor on the defensive, State AFL-CIO President A.G. Trammel reports. He predicts attempts to weaken unemployment insurance and make the state's "right-to-work" law part of the Alabama constitution. Chances of advancing labor's legislative goals appear "extremely remote." The best chance of blocking attacks on labor is the state Senate, where 18 of the 35 members were elected with COPE endorsement. Only a minority of the big Democratic majority in the House earned labor's endorsement.

Arizona—Republicans retained control of both houses of the legislature. The addition of a right-wing Republican governor "makes the prospects of legislation harmful to workers greater than at any time since statehood," Arizona AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Darwin Aycock reports. Of interest is the fact that the new minority leader of the state Senate, Democrat Alan Stephens, is a former state director of Frontlash, the labor-allied youth group.

Arkansas—Conservative Democrats continue to control the legislature, but labor was heartened by the re-election of Gov. Bill Clinton (D) on a platform of improved education and jobs. The previous two-year term of the governor is now four years.

California—Little change occurred with a continued Democratic legislature and Republican governor.

Connecticut—Legislative control shifted from solidly Republican to strongly Democratic in both the Assembly and the House. In the 151-member House, 69 Democrats and nine Republicans were COPE-supported. Of the 35 senators, 22 Democrats and three Republicans were labor-backed. With a Democratic governor re-elected, State AFL-CIO President Betty L. Tianti is optimistic. "We had a good relationship with the previous state legislature, where key measures were passed. But we expect even greater gains for workers and consumers in 1987," she said.

Illinois—No change resulted from the election, with a Democratic legislature and labor-endorsed Republican governor.

Kansas—The state now has a Republican governor to go with continued Republican control of both houses of the legislature. "The outlook is bleak for at least the next two years," the State AFL-CIO says.

Maine—Democrats kept control of both houses of the legislature. A Republican governor replaced a Democrat, but the State AFL-CIO sees little change. Labor remains concerned over attempts to weaken the state's workers' compensation law.

Michigan—Democrats added to their House majority, but the Senate stays Republican. With the re-election of a Democratic governor, the State AFL-CIO sees the outlook for labor's program as "marginally better."

Minnesota—Democratic gains turned a 69-65 Republican majority in the House to a 63-47 Democratic majority and strengthened Democratic control of the Senate. The Democratic governor was re-elected.

Missouri—The outlook for labor legislation is "fairly good," the State AFL-CIO says, with the legislature staying Democratic and the governor a Republican.

Montana—Legislative changes point to "a very difficult session," Montana AFL-CIO Executive Sec. James W. Murry notes. Two years ago, the House was divided 50-50 by party, with 40 of the 100 members COPE-endorsed. The new lineup is a 51-49 Republican majority, still with 40 members COPE-endorsed. In the Senate, there had been a 28-22 Democratic majority. The new Senate will have a 25-25 party split, with the number carrying COPE endorsement down from 23 to 21. The incumbent governor is a Democrat. "Montana is now surrounded by right-to-work states and states that do not have the worker protection laws we have," the State AFL-CIO notes.

Nebraska—The governorship switched to Republican, and the nation's only single-chamber legislature tilted conservative. The officially non-partisan body was unofficially made up of 24 Democrats, 24 Republicans and one independent before the election. Afterwards, it was 25 Republicans, 23 Democrats and one independent. State AFL-CIO President Gordon L. McDonald sees it "more resistive" to progressive legislation.

Nevada—Party control changed in the lower house from a 25-17 Republican majority to a 29-13 Democratic majority, and the Senate went from 11-10 Democratic control to a 12-9 Republican majority. But three of the Senate Republicans carried labor endorsement, and State AFL-CIO Executive Sec.-Treas. Claude Evans sees the outcome as "the best election we've ever had." He considers prospects good for labor's effort to get a post-card registration law and predicts that "we won't get hurt on anything." The incumbent Democratic governor was re-elected.

New Mexico—Party lines need to be taken with a grain of salt in New Mexico, but the outcome of the legislative contests adds up to a strong plus, as the State AFL-CIO sees it. The House had been controlled by a conservative coalition despite a 43-27 Democratic majority. The new lineup is 47-23 Democrat. But the significant change is that the majority includes 40 labor-supported mainstream Democrats who will be able to elect one of their number as Speaker. The Senate had been split 21-21 with Republicans in effective control. Only two vacancies were up for election this year, and the lineup remains 21-21. But with party switches, the expectation is that the Democrats will hold control. The big setback is the election of a Republican governor who campaigned as an advocate of a "right-to-work" law banning union shop agreements. The New Mexico AFL-CIO is preparing for the battle.

New York—Unchanged for more than a decade, the lower House stays Democratic while the state Senate stays Republican. Only one of 195 incumbents seeking re-election was defeated.

North Dakota—Democrats picked up seats, but the GOP retained control of both houses. First tallies indicated a Democratic takeover the Senate, but the final count showed the GOP with a slim 27-26 advantage.

Ohio—No change occurred in the divided legislature. The outlook is for little chance for labor gains but probably no serious setbacks.

Oregon—A narrowed Democratic majority in the House may present problems. But continued Democratic control of the Senate as well as the House, coupled with election of a Democratic governor, leaves state labor generally optimistic. For the the first time in eight years, Democrats hold both the governorship and both houses of the legislature.

Pennsylvania—The legislature is little changed, with Democrats holding a slim edge in the House and Republicans still ahead in the Senate. But Democratic capture of the governorship means that labor can fend off attacks on unemployment insurance and workers' compensation, State AFL-CIO President Julius Uehlein reports.

South Carolina—No significant legislature changes occurred, but State AFL-CIO President Randall Kiser is concerned at the election of a Republican governor who said during the campaign that state workers' compensation benefits need to be curtailed so that South Carolina "stays competitive" by keeping insurance rates low for employers.

Tennessee—The legislature remains Democratic, but now the governor is also. State AFL-CIO President James G. Neeley sees "a fair chance to pass some progressive legislation" and the ability to stop any anti-labor measures.

Texas—The election produced a new Republican governor and a legislature that remains Democratic, with a progressive majority in the Senate and a conservative coalition dominating the House.

Vermont—Democrats kept the Senate; the House moved from a 78-72 Republican majority to an apparent 75-75 tie, subject to several recounts.

West Virginia—Democrats retain strong legislative majorities, but only a minority of members carry COPE endorsement. However, more than three out of four labor-endorsed candidates won. Labor has been fighting a largely successful defensive battle in recent years, the State AFL-CIO notes, and sees a possibility for some gains.

Wisconsin—Democrats strengthened their majorities in both houses of the legislature, but Republican capture of the governorship clouds the legislative outlook, the State AFL-CIO reports.

Wyoming—The legislature remains Republican and the governorship Democratic. But labor is pleased with the Democratic pickup of the Secretary of State post which controls key boards and commissions.

Where credit is due

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue receive AFL-CIO credit cards from Ray Denison, left, president of the federation's Union Privilege Benefit Programs. Members of directly affiliated unions and officers and staff of state and local central bodies will also receive the card, the first of several new membership services being offered.

Party realignment in Senate shifts top committee chairs

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had served on the Labor Committee when they were in the Senate.

Kennedy's decision allows Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) to become chairman of the Judiciary Committee, replacing Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), who shepherded President Reagan's controversial judicial appointments through the Senate. Biden by contrast opposed both Reagan's appointment of right-wing ideologue Daniel Manion to a federal appellate court and the promotion of William H. Rehnquist to Chief Justice of the United States.

There will be less of a swing on the important Finance Committee, where Texas Democrat Lloyd Bentsen will replace Oregon Republican Bob Packwood as chairman. But Bentsen promised to hold early hearings on trade legislation with the goal of moving a trade bill through the Senate by next summer. The Finance Committee failed to act on a House-passed trade bill and it died when Congress adjourned.

Other panels

The Budget Committee, where congressional priorities are largely set, will be little changed with Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.) replacing Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.). And the Appropriations Committee switch will replace a Republican with a 50-percent right COPE record, Mark O. Hatfield (Ore.), with a conservative Democrat, John C. Stennis (Miss.), whose COPE record was only 30 percent right.

In other anticipated Senate committee chairmanship switches:

- **Agriculture**—Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) to replace Jesse Helms (R-N.C.).
- **Armed Services**—Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) to replace Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz).
- **Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs**—William Proxmire (D-Wis.) to replace Jake Garn (R-Utah).
- **Commerce, Science & Transportation**—Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.) to replace John C. Danforth (R-Mo.).
- **Energy & Natural Resources**—J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.) to replace James A. McClure (R-Ida.).
- **Environment & Public Works**—Quentin N. Burdick (D-N.D.) to replace Robert T. Stafford (R-Vt.).
- **Foreign Relations**—Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) to replace Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.).
- **Governmental Affairs**—John Glenn (D-Ohio) to replace William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.).
- **Rules & Administration**—Wendell H. Ford (D-Ky.) to replace Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.).
- **Small Business**—Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.) to replace Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R-Conn.).
- **Veterans' Affairs**—Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) to replace Frank H. Murkowski (R-Alaska).

With rare exceptions, the senior committee member of the majority party who is not the head of another committee is elected chairman. No challenge to this seniority principle is expected when the Senate Democrats caucus to make committee assignments for the new Congress. However a decision by a senior senator to claim or bypass a committee chairmanship could set off a bumping sequence affecting other committees.

Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.), now the minority leader, will be the Senate majority leader in the new Congress. Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) will drop back to minority leader.

Court orders political asylum hearing

A federal court has given the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees a new chance to challenge the government's procedures for denying political asylum to immigrants from El Salvador.

Overturning the decision of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, which had dismissed the union's complaint, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia sent the case back for the lower court to rule on the merits of HERE's arguments.

The District Court was ordered to rule on the request of HERE Local 25 for all Immigration & Naturalization Service files dealing with applications for political asylum filed by refugees from El Salvador, and on the union's request for a State Dept. breakdown by nationality of all such applications made under the Refugee Act of 1980.

The union contended the data would help prove its contention that INS merely rubber-stamps recommendations on Salvadoran applications made by a State Dept. more concerned with foreign policy than with humanitarian considerations for political refugees.

In remanding the case to the lower court, Judge Abner Mikva said the union was entitled to have its request for the documents considered on their merits, although he emphasized that humanitarian concerns cannot be "the sole overriding factor" in determining whether an alien is granted political asylum.

Local 25, which represents hotel and restaurant workers in the District of Columbia—1,000 of whom are Salvadoran nationals—filed the suit in 1982 along with Mauro Hernandez, an El Salvador native whose application for asylum was rejected.

Planned cut of 29,000 GM jobs tied to imports

Foreign competition is about to wipe out the jobs of 29,000 Auto Workers employed at 11 General Motors assembly and metal fabrications plants in four states as the nation's No. 1 automaker announced a schedule of shutdowns spaced over the next two years.

GM officials called it only the "first phase" in a reorganization plan that could lead to further closures of other assembly, stamping, engine and component facilities.

UAW President Owen Bieber and Vice President Donald F. Ephlin, who directs the union's GM department, termed the shutdown plans "not just a blow to these workers" but also "a painful blow to America and our economic future."

The union leaders pointed out that the entire American automobile industry is under assault from foreign-made products—the Japanese aiming at the middle-priced market and the Koreans and Yugoslavians moving into the low-priced segment.

"It's time for policies to keep good jobs in America and to expand good job opportunities for all our people in the future," the UAW officials said as they called for:

- Renewal of voluntary restraints on Japanese auto imports at a level lower than this year's 2.3-million-vehicle quota.
- Increased pressure on American assembly subsidiaries of Japanese auto firms to increase their purchases of U.S.-made parts.
- A review of the U.S.-Canadian auto pact to prevent Japanese and Korean firms from exploiting its provisions to grab a larger share of the American market.
- Enactment of comprehensive trade legislation—which passed the Democratic-led House of Representatives this year but which died in the Republican-controlled Senate—to mandate reductions in the trade surpluses enjoyed by foreign countries and make it an unfair trade practice to abuse workers' rights abroad.

Fair competition sought

"We need to change the whole context in which this industry functions," Bieber and Ephlin said, to reverse its "unnecessary and unsustainable decline" and make possible "fair and reasonable competition on American soil with American workers doing the full range of jobs."

The UAW said the task of passing trade legislation was improved by the voters' decision to return control of the Senate to the Democratic party—which will enjoy a 55-45 majority in the 100th Congress. But any such measure will still face the Reagan Administration's repeated veto threats.

Hardest hit by the shutdowns will be Michigan, where 17,500 of the job losses will occur—6,000 at the Fleetwood and Clark assembly plants in Detroit and 4,500 at the Flint and Pontiac assembly plants by the end of 1987, 700 at a Detroit stamping plant early next year, and the remainder at truck and bus assembly operations in Pontiac and Flint spaced over the next two years.

Also scheduled for shutdown are assembly plants employing 4,000 in Norwood, Ohio, and 2,500 in Hamilton and Fairfield, Ohio; 2,200 at a light truck assembly plant in St. Louis, and 2,900 at a body plant in Willow Springs, Ill.

To help cushion the impact of the closures, Ephlin said, the union has established a special task force to work with local union leaders and training and placement specialists from the joint UAW-GM Human Resources Center to protect transfer rights and provide counseling and job retraining assistance.

The UAW also intends to work with GM to obtain aid for laid-off workers through the Job Training Partnership Act and the Trade Adjustment Assistance Act.

And the union will rely on the $1-billion job security program negotiated in 1984 as an economic cushion for laid-off workers.

Goodyear layoffs planned

Meanwhile, Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. announced in Akron, Ohio, that it will reduce employment as part of a restructuring plan. The world's largest tire maker employs 135,000 workers—71,000 of them in the United States. But it would not say how many workers face layoffs.

Goodyear indicated it may have to dispose of its oil and gas subsidiary which has 350 American employees, its aerospace business with 8,400 workers in this country, and Motor Wheel Corp., where another 2,700 Americans are employed.

The spinoff of these divisions would yield in excess of $2 billion—an amount Goodyear will need to repurchase 20 million of its shares in a "poison pill" defense against a takeover by Sir James Goldsmith, a British-French corporate raider.

Sandinista arson blamed in death of unionist's son

Union officials in Nicaragua have blamed the Sandinistas for a fire that killed the three-year-old son of a Nicaraguan labor leader, the American Institute for Free Labor Development reported.

The child who died in a blaze that destroyed his family's home was the son of Luis Izaguierre, secretary of the Organization of the Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS) in Chichigalpa.

The house burned to the ground in the pre-dawn hours of Nov. 5, and residents of the community quoted two fire fighters as saying the blaze was definitely caused by an incendiary device.

The tragedy took place shortly after Izaguierre returned from a visit to Norway where, in an address to the Norwegian Labor Federation's convention, he sharply criticized the Sandinista government for its repression of trade unions.

CUS officials told AIFLD that unionists in Chichigalpa have been threatened and harassed by the Sandinistas since they seized power in the 1979 revolution. They work in Nicaragua's largest sugar mill which has 1,500 permanent employees. The workforce swells to 7,000 during the peak harvesting and processing season.

The Nicaraguan government decertified the CUS and replaced it with a Sandinista-controlled union five years ago. CUS has continued to maintain an "informal presence" at the plant, where workers have staged several strikes despite opposition by Sandinista union officials.

CUS leaders at the factory said they have been threatened repeatedly with death if they did not cease their union activities, and the homes of several CUS leaders have been bombed.

San Francisco voters back pay equity measure

San Francisco—In an Election Day referendum, San Francisco voters called for an end to pay inequity among city workers. The ballot measure, which won more than 60 percent of the vote, requires the Civil Service Commission to survey the salaries of city employees annually and to approve pay increases for workers based on those surveys.

The first pay increases under the new law will cover 7,700 workers—about one-third of the city's workforce—in jobs considered to be held by predominantly female and minority workers. The city has set aside $30 million for the first two years of pay increases.

Studies here have shown that men hold 99 percent of all higher-paying city jobs, while women appear to be locked into the lower-wage positions.

Both the Service Employees and the State, County & Municipal Employees have been pursuing court challenges and collective bargaining relief for public workers trapped by wage discrimination. Lawsuits are still pending against the state of California and Los Angeles County.

Bates Nitewear employees celebrate the election of the Clothing & Textile Workers as their bargaining representative.

Clothing, textile union wins at 5 North Carolina plants

Greensboro, N.C.—More than 800 employees of five Bates Nitewear Co. plants in North Carolina ended a year-long organizing drive by voting the Clothing & Textile Workers as their bargaining agent.

The 387-324 vote in favor of ACTWU was a re-run election, as the first one, held in March, was overturned by the National Labor Relations Board.

The NLRB held that the company had violated labor law as supervisors harassed workers and interfered with the workers' conversations on their own time.

The major theme of the organizing drive was the difference in wages and benefits between workers at Bates Nitewear and those at other union-covered children's wear sewing plants.

After ACTWU lost the first election and the company didn't make good on promises to its workers, "people who voted against the union the first time saw that they didn't win anything," said Nancy Coltrane, a sewer at Bates for 11 years. "Nothing had "changed like the company promised."

Familiar issues

The issues that prompted Bates' employees to unionize were those common to most plants involved in organizing drives—the workers were underpaid, had no pension plan and resented favoritism in the workplace.

Just a week before the vote, ACTWU revealed that Gerber Products Co., which owns Bates, also owns Buster Brown—a children's clothing wear plant where the workers are represented by ACTWU.

The union's research and union label departments reported on the many union contracts with Gerber, and also discovered that two union pension funds owned significant shares of Gerber stock. Bill Patterson of ACTWU's Washington office coordinated a letter-writing campaign from these pension funds in support of the organizing drive.

The unionizing effort at Bates involved organizers from local, regional and national headquarters. Hundreds of house calls were made by ACTWU staffers and members of the in-plant committee. Members from two Health-Tex sewing plants in Maine and one in Virginia spoke at meetings with the Bates workers.

Support grows

The effort paid off. "People who never said anything about the union before started talking about the benefits we could win," said Gwendolyn Moore, who has worked at Bates since 1981. "They even wore buttons and T-shirts on the job."

ACTWU Vice President Bruce Raynor, director of the Southern textile region, said, "This victory is the third for the union in North Carolina this year. It shows that when workers are strong and stand up for their rights, they can win. And when more workers join ACTWU, the union gets stronger. That means we increase our ability to win better benefits for all of our members."

The announcement of the victory was greeted emotionally by the Bates workers, many of whom had tears of joy. Company President Louis Bates told reporters after the election he was ready to negotiate a contract.

Chrysler record spurs demand for OSHA inspections

The Auto Workers again urged the Occupational Safety & Health Administration to rescind its policy of exempting companies from safety inspections based on injury records, following the agency's finding of 182 recordkeeping violations at the Chrysler Corp. plant in Belvidere, Ill. OSHA proposed a total find of $920,000—a maximum penalty of $5,000 for each violation.

Dr. Frank Mirer, director of the Auto Workers' safety and health department, said the union has not yet received copies of the citations against the No. 3 automaker, but stressed that any "deliberate falsification of injury records would be a serious problem."

Mirer noted that the union's health and safety programs are designed to meet members' needs based on in-plant injury records. He said the union is considering looking at the injury-rate records of all its contract employers.

Further, he pointed out, OSHA exempts employers from inspections based on those records. "In 1981, OSHA chose to exempt plants from inspections based on recorded injury rates," Mirer noted.

"We think this has distorted the work injury records and we feared it would lead to outright falsification of records. We have repeatedly called on OSHA to reverse this policy. When false records are barriers to enforcement, we believe OSHA has no choice but to impose the most severe penalties available."

OSHA said that while investigating the death of a worker at the Belvidere, Ill., plant, it found 161 instances where the company failed to record work-related injuries over an 16-month period, 17 cases that were recorded but later deleted, and four cases that were improperly recorded.

In regard to the worker death, OSHA cited the company for failure to implement an effective lockout program. The worker was killed while operating a welding press.

Chrysler has 15 days from the issuance of the citations to enter an appeal. Meanwhile, OSHA has begun a comprehensive inspection of the plant that will take four to six weeks, the agency said.

Margaret Scattergood, retired labor economist

Arlington, Va.—Margaret Scattergood, a retired economist with the American Federation of Labor, died Nov. 7 following a stroke. She was 92.

Scattergood, who joined the AFL in 1926, developed a network of unemployment statistics before the Census Bureau began to compile similar data. She served as an adviser to the Bureau of Labor Statistics and edited "Labor's Economic Review," an AFL journal. Scattergood retired in 1953.

A memorial service will be held Nov. 23 at the Friends Meeting House in Langley, Va.

At CLUW convention

Union women highlight work, family concerns

By Candice Johnson

St. Louis—Work and family issues were in the spotlight at the Coalition of Labor Union Women's fourth biennial convention, as CLUW members from Alaska to Arizona, from auto parts assembly lines to garment shops, met for a three-day session of discussion and debate.

In her report to the convention, President Joyce Miller told the 1,000 delegates, alternates and observers that "women work for the same reasons men do—we need the money." What is not needed, she added, is the "tension, stress and guilt" that working women feel from trying to balance too many responsibilities and too few options.

"We represent millions of women without the luxury to choose whether to work or not," she said, adding that CLUW will not be satisified until the right to child care, care of elderly dependents and family sick care is universally recognized.

Other priorities for CLUW include an end to sex-based wage discrimination that keeps women trapped in low-status, lower-wage jobs and a new campaign against sexual harassment, Miller said.

Stressing that "a union contract is the only sure way" for working women to gain and maintain their economic freedom, Miller called on CLUW chapters to make organizing a top priority. Delegates responded with a call for a CLUW-sponsored national conference on "organizing the unorganized" to be held next year.

Sweatshop revival

Miller also criticized Reagan Administration plans to lift a 43-year ban on industrial homework, predicting that women and children would be harmed by the revival of sweatshop conditions. While homework sometimes is billed as a solution to problems of available child care, working women know that "exploiting women and children in their homes" is no answer, she stressed.

The delegates endorsed a letter-writing campaign by CLUW members to the Labor Dept., expressing opposition to the proposed homework regulations, and called on the coalition to publicize the hazards of clerical and high-tech homework.

Miller, an AFL-CIO vice president and vice president of the Clothing & Textile Workers, was re-elected to her fifth two-year term. Betty Roberts of the State, County & Municipal Employees was elected vice president, replacing Georgia McPhee of AFSCME, who retired. Marsha Zakowski of the Steelworkers also was elected vice president, as delegates voted to add a seat to the national officers council. All other key officers were re-elected.

In a keynote address, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue praised CLUW for the "vibrancy and vitality" it has brought to the labor movement and the role it plays in advancing women candidates in both political and union posts.

Looking ahead

Reviewing the recent state and congressional elections, in which six women ran for seats in the Senate, another six for governorships and dozens more for House seats, Donahue called the campaigns a bright spot for women and organized labor, but looked ahead to the day "when it won't occur to us to rattle off statistics because . . . men and women will have achieved parity based on their abilities and contributions."

"We're doing a good job of leveling the playing field in the trade union movement," he said, "and we continue to do our best to encourage more women to run for and win union office as well as public office. But the rest of society lags far behind us."

Donahue said the labor movement will continue its fight on three fronts—legislation, litigation and negotiation—to overcome six years of disastrous Reagan economic and social policies.

Labor will seek to restore programs "that nurture the family, open the doors to educational equity for women, and provide economic security for the elderly poor," Donahue said, while pursuing court challenges to end sex-based discrimination on the job and the fight for pay equity.

President Shirley Carr of the Canadian Labor Congress urged the delegates "to talk publicly" about the many concerns of working women because "we have suffered too long at the hands of those who would use us as women."

She outlined the campaign for pay equity in several Canadian provinces and reviewed the CLC's program to overcome barriers to equality. That policy calls for affirmative action measures, pay equity, job training, educational leave, child care, parental leave and an end to sexual harassment.

Other problems

Solutions to the problems facing working women can be found, she insisted, but questioned whether "governments really want to help us." Carr also stressed that as union members, women must "not forget our sisters who are confronted by a whole host of other problems," including battering, prescription drug abuse and others.

"Our share is half the world, half the politics and half the labor movement," she reminded the delegates.

The convention adopted 30 resolutions on a range of issues, including peace and disarmament, affirmative action, health care and workplace safety.

Speakers included Presidents John Sweeney of the Service Employees, Owen Bieber of the Auto Workers, Morton Bahr of the Communications Workers, John Kelly of the Office & Professional Employees, Charles Perlik of the Newspaper Guild and Howard Samuel of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept; AFSCME Sec.-Treas. William Lucy; AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director Richard Womack; Missouri AFL-CIO President Daniel J. McVey and Lynn Cutler, vice chair of the Democratic National Committee.

Actress Sabrina LeBeauf introduces high school students to the AFL-CIO's "America Works" series.

'America Works' TV series adapted for high school use

High school students will be learning how "America Works," as the documentary series produced by the AFL-CIO Labor Institute of Public Affairs for public television is adapted for the classroom.

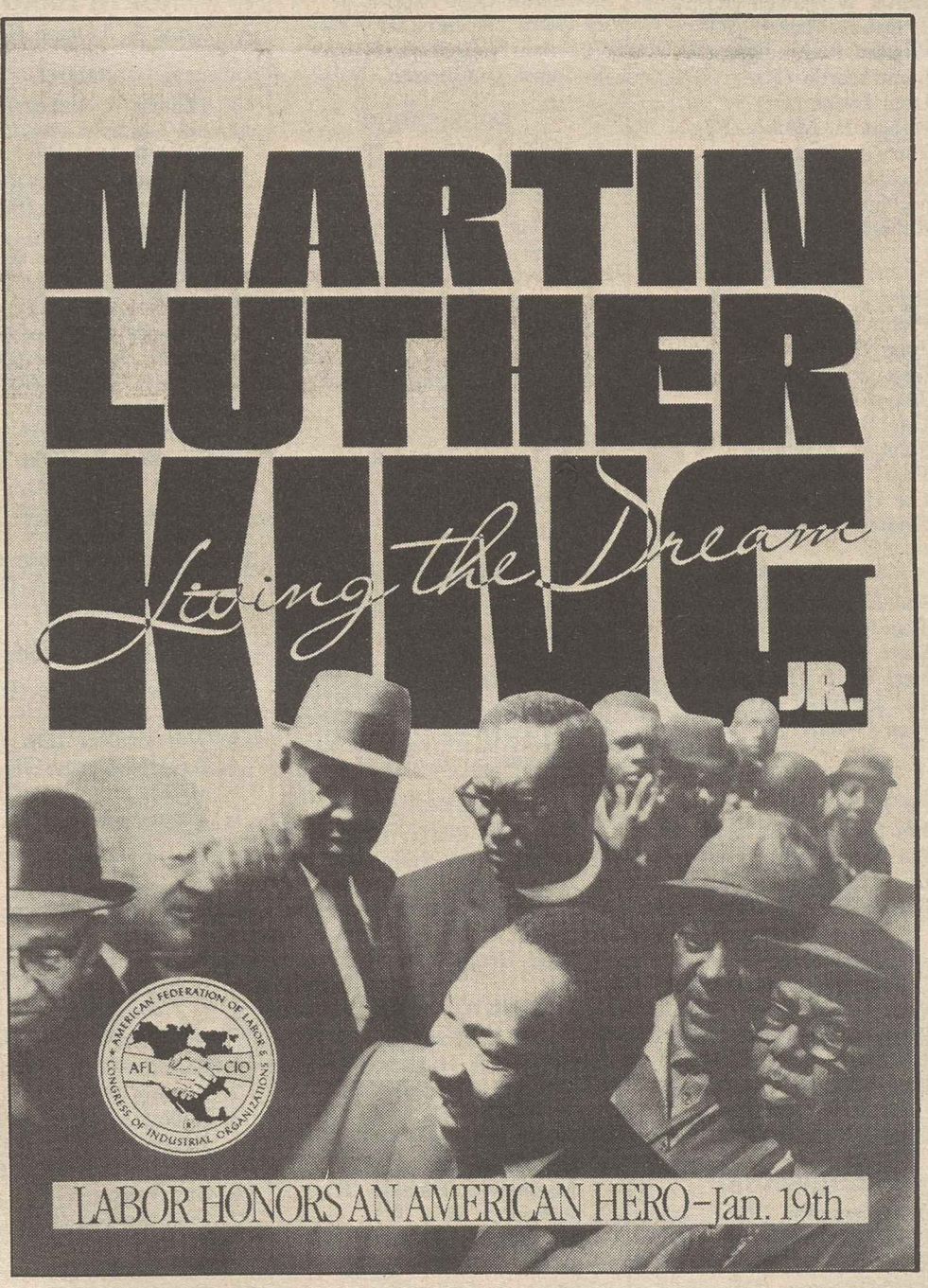
The "America Works" episodes feature union members working to solve community and workplace problems, including toxic chemical hazards, rising health care costs and the concerns of working women. LIPA is field-testing the pilot program, an episode on toxic and asbestos hazards.

The eight shows, specially adapted by LIPA for a high school audience, will be hosted by actress Sabrina LeBeauf, who plays Sondra Huxtable on "The Cosby Show," a popular television series. Each 20-minute episode will focus on "people who refuse to give up" and the role of unions in helping communities and workers cope with difficult issues. A study guide will be provided with each program.

The series will be sold to schools nationwide through a commercial distributor, with special arrangements to be made in school systems where a "labor-in-the-schools" education program is already in place.

The school edition of the "America Works" series includes:

- Toxics in the Community. Looks at the efforts of one union member to remove deadly asbestos from Philadelphia public schools, while a union leader fights for a right-to-know law in Massachusetts.
- Plant Closings. Examines the problem of plant closings in industrial communities and union members' efforts to keep their factories operating.
- Services to the Unemployed. Reviews union and community programs to retrain laid-off workers and ease the pain of unemployment.
- Family Farm Foreclosures. Examines the growing problem of farm foreclosures and the farm-labor coalitions organizing to help family farmers.
- The New Hungry. Focuses on the problem of hunger in America, highlighting a food distribution system set up by former steelworkers in California.
- Costs of Health Care. Reviews the rising cost of medical care and union members' response. In Pennsylvania, workers win a prescription drug plan for senior citizens, while Massachusetts union members campaign against increased medical insurance premiums.
- Family and Women's Issues. Explores the problems faced by working women, including pay equity and the lack of child care.
- Taking Action. Shows grassroots programs in action, including a voter registration campaign, a drive for lower energy costs and a labor rally against a youth subminimum wage.



Dr. King's legacy

Posters, flyers, pamphlets and video tapes honoring Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and encouraging the holiday observance of his birthday are available from the AFL-CIO for all affiliated unions and local and state central bodies. The printed materials can be provided with an international union's imprint. The video tapes include King's famous "I have a dream" speech. For more information, call the AFL-CIO Dept. of Information.

OSHA starts clock on butadiene rule

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration has begun the regulatory process for revising the federal standard on the chemical 1,3-butadiene—more than two-and-a-half years after denying a petition from three labor unions for an emergency standard on the cancer-causing gas.

On Jan. 5, 1984, OSHA requested information on the toxicity of butadiene. Its "advance notice of proposed rulemaking," the first step in a regulatory procedure that averages well over two years before a final rule evolves, was issued Oct. 1, 1986.

In the notice, OSHA said it is seeking information on health effects, engineering controls, permissible exposure levels, effects on small business, training, medical surveillance and environmental impact.

More than 70,000 workers are possibly exposed to the chemical in the workplace. Butadiene is a suspected carcinogen and reproductive hazard.

Members of House of Representatives

If recounts do not change the outcome, the House of Representatives will have 258 Democrats and 177 Republicans in the 100th Congress, which convenes in January.

Numerals show congressional districts; AL—at large. Newly elected House members have an asterisk (*) after their names.

ALABAMA
1. H.L. Callahan (R)
2. William L. Dickinson (R)
3. Bill Nichols (D)
4. Tom Bevill (D)
5. Ronnie G. Flippo (D)
6. Ben Erdreich (D)
7. Claude Harris (D)*

ALASKA
AL Don Young (R)

ARIZONA
1. John J. Rhodes III (R)*
2. Morris K. Udall (D)
3. Bob Stump (R)
4. Jon Kyl (R)*
5. Jim Kolbe (R)

ARKANSAS
1. Bill Alexander (D)
2. Tommy F. Robinson (D)
3. John P. Hammerschmidt (R)
4. Beryl Anthony Jr. (D)

CALIFORNIA
1. Douglas H. Bosco (D)
2. Wally Herger (R)*
3. Robert T. Matsui (D)
4. Vic Fazio (D)
5. Sala Burton (D)
6. Barbara Boxer (D)
7. George Miller (D)
8. Ronald V. Dellums (D)
9. Fortney H. Stark (D)
10. Don Edwards (D)
11. Tom Lantos (D)
12. Ernest L. Konnyu (R)*
13. Norman Y. Mineta (D)
14. Norman D. Shumway (R)
15. Tony Coelho (D)
16. Leon E. Panetta (D)
17. Charles Pashayan Jr. (R)
18. Richard H. Lehman (D)
19. Robert J. Lagomarsino (R)
20. William M. Thomas (R)
21. Elton Gallegly (R)*
22. Carlos J. Moorhead (R)
23. Anthony C. Beilenson (D)
24. Henry A. Waxman (D)
25. Edward R. Roybal (D)
26. Howard L. Berman (D)
27. Mel Levine (D)
28. Julian C. Dixon (D)
29. Augustus F. Hawkins (D)
30. Matthew G. Martinez (D)
31. Mervyn M. Dymally (D)
32. Glenn M. Anderson (D)
33. David Dreier (R)
34. Esteban Torres (D)
35. Jerry Lewis (R)
36. George E. Brown Jr. (D)
37. Al McCandless (R)
38. Robert K. Dornan (R)
39. William E. Dannemeyer (R)
40. Robert E. Badham (R)
41. Bill Lowery (R)
42. Dan Lungren (R)
43. Ron Packard (R)
44. Jim Bates (D)
45. Duncan L. Hunter (R)

COLORADO
1. Patricia Schroeder (D)
2. David Skaggs (D)*
3. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D)*
4. Hank Brown (R)
5. Joel Hefley (R)*
6. Dan L. Schaefer (R)

CONNECTICUT
1. Barbara B. Kennelly (D)
2. Sam Gejdenson (D)
3. Bruce A. Morrison (D)
4. Stewart B. McKinney (R)
5. John G. Rowland (R)
6. Nancy L. Johnson (R)

DELAWARE
AL Thomas R. Carper (D)

FLORIDA
1. Earl Hutto (D)
2. Bill Grant (D)*
3. Charles E. Bennett (D)
4. Bill Chappell Jr. (D)
5. Bill McCollum (R)
6. Buddy MacKay (D)
7. Sam Gibbons (D)
8. C.W. Bill Young (R)
9. Michael Bilirakis (R)
10. Andy Ireland (R)
11. Bill Nelson (D)
12. Tom Lewis (R)
13. Connie Mack (R)
14. Daniel A. Mica (D)
15. E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R)
16. Larry Smith (D)
17. William Lehman (D)
18. Claude Pepper (D)
19. Dante B. Fascell (D)

GEORGIA
1. Robert Lindsay Thomas (D)
2. Charles Hatcher (D)
3. Richard Ray (D)
4. Patrick L. Swindall (R)
5. John Lewis (D)*
6. Newt Gingrich (R)
7. George W. Darden (D)
8. J. Roy Rowland (D)
9. Ed Jenkins (D)
10. Doug Barnard Jr. (D)

HAWAII
1. Patricia Saiki (R)*
2. Daniel K. Akaka (D)

IDAHO
1. Larry E. Craig (R)
2. Richard H. Stallings (D)

ILLINOIS
1. Charles A. Hayes (D)
2. Gus Savage (D)
3. Marty Russo (D)
4. Jack Davis (R)*
5. William O. Lipinski (D)
6. Henry J. Hyde (R)
7. Cardiss Collins (D)
8. Dan Rostenkowski (D)
9. Sidney R. Yates (D)
10. John Edward Porter (R)
11. Frank Annunzio (D)
12. Philip M. Crane (R)
13. Harris W. Fawell (R)
14. J. Dennis Hastert (R)*
15. Edward R. Madigan (R)
16. Lynn Martin (R)
17. Lane Evans (D)
18. Robert H. Michel (R)
19. Terry L. Bruce (D)
20. Richard J. Durbin (D)
21. Melvin Price (D)
22. Kenneth J. Gray (D)

INDIANA
1. Peter J. Visclosky (D)
2. Philip R. Sharp (D)
3. John Hiler (R)
4. Dan Coats (R)
5. James Jontz (D)*
6. Dan Burton (R)
7. John T. Myers (R)
8. Frank McCloskey (D)
9. Lee H. Hamilton (D)
10. Andrew Jacobs Jr. (D)

IOWA
1. Jim Leach (R)
2. Tom Tauke (R)
3. Dave R. Nagle (D)*
4. Neal Smith (D)
5. Jim Lightfoot (R)
6. Fred Grandy (R)*

KANSAS
1. Pat Roberts (R)
2. Jim Slattery (D)
3. Jan Meyers (R)
4. Dan Glickman (D)
5. Bob Whittaker (R)

KENTUCKY
1. Carroll Hubbard Jr. (D)
2. William H. Natcher (D)
3. Romano L. Mazzoli (D)
4. Jim Bunning (R)*
5. Harold Rogers (R)
6. Larry J. Hopkins (R)
7. Carl C. Perkins (D)

LOUISIANA
1. Bob Livingston (R)
2. Lindy Boggs (D)
3. W.J. Tauzin (D)
4. Buddy Roemer (D)
5. Jerry Huckaby (D)
6. Richard Baker (R)*
7. Jimmy Hayes (D)*
8. Clyde Holloway (R)*

MAINE
1. Joseph E. Brennan (D)*
2. Olympia J. Snowe (R)

MARYLAND
1. Roy Dyson (D)
2. Helen Delich Bentley (R)
3. Benjamin L. Cardin (D)*
4. Thomas McMillen (D)*
5. Steny H. Hoyer (D)
6. Beverly B. Byron (D)
7. Kweisi Mfume (D)*
8. Constance A. Morella (R)*

MASSACHUSETTS
1. Silvio O. Conte (R)
2. Edward P. Boland (D)
3. Joseph D. Early (D)
4. Barney Frank (D)
5. Chester G. Atkins (D)
6. Nicholas Mavroules (D)
7. Edward J. Markey (D)
8. Joseph P. Kennedy II (D)*
9. Joe Moakley (D)
10. Gerry E. Studds (D)
11. Brian J. Donnelly (D)

MICHIGAN
1. John Conyers Jr. (D)
2. Carl D. Pursell (R)
3. Howard Wolpe (D)
4. Fred Upton (R)*
5. Paul B. Henry (R)
6. Bob Carr (D)
7. Dale E. Kildee (D)
8. Bob Traxler (D)
9. Guy Vander Jagt (R)
10. Bill Schuette (R)
11. Robert W. Davis (R)
12. David E. Bonior (D)
13. George W. Crockett Jr. (D)
14. Dennis M. Hertel (D)
15. William D. Ford (D)
16. John D. Dingell (D)
17. Sander M. Levin (D)
18. William S. Broomfield (R)

MINNESOTA
1. Timothy J. Penny (D)
2. Vin Weber (R)
3. Bill Frenzel (R)
4. Bruce F. Vento (D)
5. Martin Olav Sabo (D)
6. Gerry Sikorski (D)
7. Arlan Stangeland (R)
8. James L. Oberstar (D)

MISSISSIPPI
1. Jamie L. Whitten (D)
2. Mike Espy (D)*
3. G.V. Montgomery (D)
4. Wayne Dowdy (D)
5. Trent Lott (R)

MISSOURI
1. William L. Clay (D)
2. Jack Buechner (R)*
3. Richard A. Gephardt (D)
4. Ike Skelton (D)
5. Alan Wheat (D)
6. E. Thomas Coleman (R)
7. Gene Taylor (R)
8. Bill Emerson (R)
9. Harold L. Volkmer (D)

MONTANA
1. Pat Williams (D)
2. Ron Marlenee (R)

NEBRASKA
1. Doug Bereuter (R)
2. Hal Daub (R)
3. Virginia Smith (R)

NEVADA
1. James H. Bilbray (D)*
2. Barbara F. Vucanovich (R)

NEW HAMPSHIRE
1. Robert C. Smith (R)
2. Judd Gregg (R)

NEW JERSEY
1. James J. Florio (D)
2. William J. Hughes (D)
3. James J. Howard (D)
4. Christopher H. Smith (R)
5. Marge Roukema (R)
6. Bernard J. Dwyer (D)
7. Matthew J. Rinaldo (R)
8. Robert A. Roe (D)
9. Robert G. Torricelli (D)
10. Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D)
11. Dean A. Gallo (R)
12. Jim Courter (R)
13. H. James Saxton (R)
14. Frank J. Guarini (D)

NEW MEXICO
1. Manuel Lujan Jr. (R)
2. Joe Skeen (R)
3. Bill Richardson (D)

NEW YORK
1. George J. Hochbrueckner (D)*
2. Thomas J. Downey (D)
3. Robert J. Mrazek (D)
4. Norman F. Lent (R)
5. Raymond J. McGrath (R)
6. Floyd H. Flake (D)*
7. Gary L. Ackerman (D)
8. James H. Scheuer (D)
9. Thomas J. Manton (D)
10. Charles E. Schumer (D)
11. Edolphus Towns (D)
12. Major R. Owens (D)
13. Stephen J. Solarz (D)
14. Guy V. Molinari (R)
15. Bill Green (R)
16. Charles B. Rangel (D)
17. Ted Weiss (D)
18. Robert Garcia (D)
19. Mario Biaggi (D)
20. Joseph J. DioGuardi (R)
21. Hamilton Fish Jr. (R)
22. Benjamin A. Gilman (R)
23. Samuel S. Stratton (D)
24. Gerald B.H. Solomon (R)
25. Sherwood L. Boehlert (R)
26. David O'B. Martin (R)
27. George C. Wortley (R)
28. Matthew F. McHugh (D)
29. Frank Horton (R)
30. Louise M. Slaughter (D)*
31. Jack F. Kemp (R)
32. John J. LaFalce (D)
33. Henry J. Nowak (D)
34. Amory Houghton Jr. (R)*

NORTH CAROLINA
1. Walter B. Jones (D)
2. Tim Valentine (D)
3. Martin Lancaster (D)*
4. David E. Price (D)*
5. Stephen L. Neal (D)
6. Howard Coble (R)
7. Charlie Rose (D)
8. W.G. Hefner (D)
9. J. Alex McMillan (R)
10. Cass Ballenger (R)*
11. James McClure Clarke (D)*

NORTH DAKOTA
AL Byron L. Dorgan (D)

OHIO
1. Thomas A. Luken (D)
2. Bill Gradison (R)
3. Tony P. Hall (D)
4. Michael G. Oxley (R)
5. Delbert L. Latta (R)
6. Bob McEwen (R)
7. Michael DeWine (R)
8. Donald E. Lukens (R)*
9. Marcy Kaptur (D)
10. Clarence E. Miller (R)
11. Dennis E. Eckart (D)
12. John R. Kasich (R)
13. Don J. Pease (D)
14. Tom Sawyer (D)*
15. Chalmers P. Wylie (R)
16. Ralph Regula (R)
17. James A. Traficant Jr. (D)
18. Douglas Applegate (D)
19. Edward F. Feighan (D)
20. Mary Rose Oakar (D)
21. Louis Stokes (D)

OKLAHOMA
1. James M. Inhofe (R)*
2. Mike Synar (D)
3. Wes Watkins (D)
4. Dave McCurdy (D)
5. Mickey Edwards (R)
6. Glenn English (D)

OREGON
1. Les AuCoin (D)
2. Robert F. Smith (R)
3. Ron Wyden (D)
4. Peter A. DeFazio (D)*
5. Denny Smith (R)

PENNSYLVANIA
1. Thomas M. Foglietta (D)
2. William H. Gray III (D)
3. Robert A. Borski (D)
4. Joseph P. Kolter (D)
5. Richard T. Schulze (R)
6. Gus Yatron (D)
7. Curt Weldon (R)*
8. Peter H. Kostmayer (D)
9. Bud Shuster (R)
10. Joseph M. McDade (R)
11. Paul E. Kanjorski (D)
12. John P. Murtha (D)
13. Lawrence Coughlin (R)
14. William J. Coyne (D)
15. Donald L. Ritter (R)
16. Robert S. Walker (R)
17. George W. Gekas (R)
18. Doug Walgren (D)
19. Bill Goodling (R)
20. Joseph M. Gaydos (D)
21. Tom Ridge (R)
22. Austin J. Murphy (D)
23. William F. Clinger Jr. (R)

RHODE ISLAND
1. Fernand J. St Germain (D)
2. Claudine Schneider (R)

SOUTH CAROLINA
1. Arthur Ravenel Jr. (R)*
2. Floyd Spence (R)
3. Butler Derrick (D)
4. Elizabeth Patterson (D)*
5. John M. Spratt Jr. (D)
6. Robin Tallon (D)

SOUTH DAKOTA
AL Tim Johnson (D)*

TENNESSEE
1. James H. Quillen (R)
2. John J. Duncan (R)
3. Marilyn Lloyd (D)
4. Jim Cooper (D)
5. Bill Boner (D)
6. Bart Gordon (D)
7. Don Sundquist (R)
8. Ed Jones (D)
9. Harold E. Ford (D)

TEXAS
1. Jim Chapman (D)
2. Charles Wilson (D)
3. Steve Bartlett (R)
4. Ralph M. Hall (D)
5. John Bryant (D)
6. Joe L. Barton (R)
7. Bill Archer (R)
8. Jack Fields (R)
9. Jack Brooks (D)
10. J.J. Pickle (D)
11. Marvin Leath (D)
12. Jim Wright (D)
13. Beau Boulter (R)
14. Mac Sweeny (R)
15. E. de la Garza (D)
16. Ronald D. Coleman (D)
17. Charles W. Stenholm (D)
18. Mickey Leland (D)
19. Larry Combest (R)
20. Henry B. Gonzalez (D)
21. Lamar Smith (R)*
22. Thomas D. DeLay (R)
23. Albert G. Bustamante (D)
24. Martin Frost (D)
25. Michael A. Andrews (D)
26. Dick Armey (R)
27. Solomon P. Ortiz (D)

UTAH
1. James V. Hansen (R)
2. Wayne Owens (D)*
3. Howard C. Nielson (R)

VERMONT
AL James M. Jeffords (R)

VIRGINIA
1. Herbert H. Bateman (R)
2. Owen B. Pickett (D)*
3. Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (R)
4. Norman Sisisky (D)
5. Dan Daniel (D)
6. James R. Olin (D)
7. D. French Slaughter, Jr. (R)
8. Stan Parris (R)
9. Frederick C. Boucher (D)
10. Frank R. Wolf (R)

WASHINGTON
1. John R. Miller (R)
2. Al Swift (D)
3. Don Bonker (D)
4. Sid Morrison (R)
5. Thomas S. Foley (D)
6. Norman D. Dicks (D)
7. Mike Lowry (D)
8. Rod Chandler (R)

WEST VIRGINIA
1. Alan B. Mollohan (D)
2. Harley O. Staggers Jr. (D)
3. Bob Wise (D)
4. Nick J. Rahall II (D)

WISCONSIN
1. Les Aspin (D)
2. Robert W. Kastenmeier (D)
3. Steve Gunderson (R)
4. Gerald D. Kleczka (D)
5. Jim Moody (D)
6. Thomas E. Petri (R)
7. David R. Obey (D)
8. Toby Roth (R)
9. F. James Sensenbrenner Jr. (R)

WYOMING
AL Dick Cheney (R)

EDITORIALS

Dangerous Puffery

THIS ADMINISTRATION continues to deny an economic stagnation that has kept the nation's unemployment rate hovering close to the 7 percent mark month after month.

By any historical measure, joblessness is at a recession level. But instead of expressions of concern, the White House greets each month's unemployment data as if it were a sign of economic vitality.

Look at the growth in jobs, the President and his aides insist. Why just last month, 350,000 new jobs were added to the economy.

Like a lot of statistics, it is both correct and misleading.

The implication is that it is a sign of vigorous economic growth. But the fact is that the number of new jobs added during the nearly six years of the Reagan Administration is actually less than the jobs created during the four years of the Jimmy Carter presidency.

From January 1977 to January 1981, the economy added 11.4 million jobs. From January 1981 to October 1986, the employment gain was 10.2 million.

As the working-age population increases, employment normally gains. But of the job increase the Reagan Administration boasts, 3.4 million represents part-time jobs. Even in that category more than one out of three added jobs were held by people working part time because they couldn't find full-time employment.

The Administration's selective use of statistics would be relatively harmless if it were just a matter of political puffery. But it becomes a dangerous delusion when it is used to avoid dealing with both the effects and causes of continued high unemployment.

Toward Equality

WE HAVE a long road to travel before we will be satisfied that we've put behind us, once and for all, the artificial distinctions between men and women in our society.

When 54 percent of all women aged 16 and over are in the labor force, we know we have our work cut out for us to insure that women will no longer be the victims of pervasive economic and social discrimination.

When more than 10.5 million families—one out of every six—owe their economic existence to working women, and when we find that a third of these families live at our below the poverty level, we know we face a continuing challenge to bring their wages up.

When we realize that two-thirds of all women work in clerical, sales and service occupations which offer limited hope for the future, then we are convinced that we must redouble our efforts to open the door to promotion opportunities—a door that's been stuck far too long.

When we learn that women working full time have median earnings of 64 cents for every dollar that men earn, we know that the struggle for pay equity must continue—and intensify.

The Administration told us just a few weeks ago that the wage gap between men and women is narrowing. Now that's not a lie. But it is a statistic that is grossly misleading.

Women's wages have not improved since 1979. What has happened is that male workers, who traditionally held the best-paid jobs, have seen a dramatic drop in income because the rising tide of foreign imports has swept away jobs.

We who have struggled so long in the pay equity field never wanted the result to be achieved in that fashion.

Most important of all, we must get the word out that a woman's place is in her union.

Women who are covered by union contracts fare far better than non-union women workers. The pay envelopes of unionized women contain one-third more than those of their unorganized sisters. It is only through the trade union movement that women have any hope of achieving their goals.

The day will come when it won't occur to us to rattle off statistics, because men and women—not only in labor's ranks but in all walks of life—will have achieved parity based on their abilities and their contributions.

—From address by AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue to CLUW convention, St. Louis, Nov. 8, 1986.

Washington Window

Job safeguards jettisoned in air, rail deregulation

By Press Associates Inc.

As organized labor fought the prevailing wind trying to push modest protections for victims of plant shutdowns through the 99th Congress, transportation unions watched as the Reagan Administration erased similar safeguards for their members.

Railway & Airline Clerks President Richard I. Kilroy recently summed up the situation succinctly: "Certainly all the evidence is there that this has not been a pro-worker Administration."

Deregulation in the airline industry in 1978 led to intense competition, inevitably followed by a wave of bankruptcies, mergers and takeovers. In the last year alone, more than 20 carriers employing some 220,000 workers have been involved in mergers and acquisitions.

In the rail industry, deregulation in 1980 facilitated the abandonment of less profitable lines by major carriers and the creation of nonunion short lines. Since 1978, the number of short lines has grown from 100 to more than 300, and they employ 80,000 workers, or about 25 percent of the total number of workers in the rail industry.

The situation also is intertwined with the idea, embodied in the Railway Labor Act—first passed in 1926 and amended in 1936—that it is in the national interest to maintain stability in transportation, both for national security reasons and because the rest of the American economy depends so strongly on the smooth transport of goods.

Salvage operation

Nothing is more illustrative of this than the salvage by Congress in 1976 of bankrupt northeastern railroads to create the federally operated Conrail freight system. The federal government also created the national passenger railroad Amtrak in response to the shedding of unprofitable passenger lines by major carriers during deregulation.

To maintain stability, the President and Congress have broad powers under the RLA to end contract disputes and impose settlements in the rail and airline industries. Also, federal regulatory agencies, like the Interstate Commerce Commission for railroads and the now-defunct Civil Aeronautics Board, were given broad powers to oversee transactions like mergers.

Also for the sake of stability—and some say as a trade-off for workers' loss of economic strike power—rail and airline workers affected by transactions were given rights not granted to other workers, such as seniority protections and severance pay.

Full costs

The general idea was that transportation transactions were not to be made frivolously without the parties involved understanding their full costs to workers and shippers.

Enter the Reagan Administration with its eagerness to help industry unload the "burden" of labor costs. The Reagan ICC reversed former practices and consistently refused to consider employee protections during rail transactions. The agency went further and declared that its decisions can override the RLA and collective bargaining agreements.

When the Transportation Dept. assumed CAB's oversight functions in 1985, it also refused to recognize labor protective provisions in the airline industry, despite their routine imposition since the Machinists negotiated them during the Allegheny/Mohawk merger in 1972.

In another anti-worker action, the Administration has attempted to eliminate Section 13(c) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act. Not surprisingly, that provision protects workers' jobs and bargaining unit work when recipients of federal grants subcontract work.

Fortunately, organized labor was able to prevent the destruction of Section 13(c) protections in the 99th Congress. Although bills restoring airline and rail employee protections eroded by the DOT and ICC were defeated through Administration opposition, unions have vowed to make an all-out effort to succeed in the 100th Congress.

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MEMO FROM COPE

The Potter's Wheel Election of 1986

This was a potter's wheel election. Put the clay on and give it any shape that suits your fancy.

• Take the Senate. Its control had been defined by both parties and almost every non-party political committee—as well as the President and the media—as the major campaign battleground of 1986.

Understandably, Democrats were elated and Republicans crestfallen by the shift of the Senate from 53-47 GOP to 55-45 Democrat.

But the vote totals could be read in a way that brings Democrats some distance down from the clouds and Republicans a little up from the pit.

Most of the same Republicans who won skinny for the Senate as first-timers in 1980 lost skinny as incumbents in 1986. Republicans have been busy pointing out a switch of 30,000 votes spread over five states would have left the Senate at 50-50.

Democrats point out they won—whatever the margin—in states they hadn't been accustomed to winning in lately, and that they won with excellent candidates, which is an accurate claim.

Republican officials don't say it, but their Senate Class of 1980 rode in on Reagan's coattails as a candidate and on the strength of strong and effective right-wing PAC help. In an off-year election, the President couldn't bail them out—though he tried hard—and the ultra-right movement politically has hit the skids with a vengeance and was more embarrassment than help to candidates in 1986.

• Take governorships. After the fact, Republicans have shifted emphasis to gubernatorial results, claiming—with some truth—the gain of eight statehouses positions them nicely for the 1988 presidential race. Democrats bravely remind anyone listening they still hold chief executive spots in 26 states to the Republicans' 24. True. But 26-24 is a lot slimmer advantage than the 34-16 bulge they owned before folks voted.

Okay, Democrats say, but we picked up Pennsylvania, and that's a biggie. We regret its loss, Republicans say, but the sting is mitigated by *our* pick-ups in Florida, Texas, Wisconsin, not to mention South Carolina, Alabama and Arizona (the latter two on flukes, but so what).

• Take the U.S. House. Democrats are forgivably proud that they added five seats to an already substantial advantage. Republicans counter that they lost far fewer seats than the in-party usually does in non-presidential election years.

Both right, and for the same reason. Since the GOP was able to increase its number in the House by only 14 in the Reagan 1984 landslide (normally it would be in the 30s), there was far less to give back this year when coattails didn't work. Democrats gain few—and the GOP loses few—because the Republicans already are pretty much down to bedrock GOP districts where blasting them out would take a national Democratic landslide equal to Lyndon Johnson's in 1964.

• Take "realignment." It didn't exist in the first place, and now what didn't exist anyhow is dead.

Oh yeah, Republicans say, we took the statehouse in South Carolina and a Democrat-turned-Republican was elected governor of Florida. Sure, but look at all those Senate seats you lost (especially in "realignment" states) Democrats respond, and a Democrat-turned-Republican got wiped out in his try for governor of Michigan. Not to mention, Democrats are quick to mention, we picked up more than 180 state legislative seats November 4 and now lead you folks about 3-2 in numbers of legislators, with control of both houses in 29 states.

• Take the President. Republicans swell with affection for the way he went out and fought for them—probably harder than any incumbent President ever did. Democrats just sit back and relish how feeble were the effects of his exertions.

• Take money. Looking at all aspects of financing, it will be no surprise if Republican candidates and their various party committees show anywhere from a 5-1 to 8-1 funding advantage over Democrats. They're pleased with their ability to rake in the money. Democrats are delighted that it bought so little this time out.

It was an election whose results let each party publicly point to something or other with pride but, perhaps, to worry in private that neither party at this time—and on the heels of a national election—has a solid grip on the loyalty and support of the bulk of the electorate.

Labor Efforts Key To Shift in Senate

Labor's political programs were pivotal in breaking the right-wing grip that's held the U.S. Senate for six years.

While COPE programs were going in most Senate campaigns, extra effort was focused in 14 states that looked like they could go either way almost from the start: Alabama, California, Colorado, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Idaho, Missouri, Wisconsin.

In these states, record numbers of volunteers participated in COPE programs—men and women members, their spouses, and often their children. They staffed the phone banks in the registration drives, went door to door to the homes of union members, distributed materials by mail and at the job sites, canvassed members for their opinions on issues and candidates and, finally, mounted the get-out-the-vote drives before and on election day.

In 11 of the 14, labor's endorsed candidates won. In three where losses occurred—Idaho, Missouri, Wisconsin—the contests were close.

The effectiveness of the program was reflected in union-member voter turn-out 12-15 percentage points higher than the approximately 37 percent of the eligible electorate at-large, and the 70 percent-plus support of COPE-endorsed candidates by voting members.

Indiana . . . Again!

It's happening again in Indiana.

But not in the 8th District this time, where "Landslide" Frank McCloskey, who won by only four votes in 1984, beat the same opponent November 4 with 13,000 votes to spare.

The jitters moved over to Indiana's 3rd Congressional District this year. As the AFL-CIO News went to press, challenger Thomas Ward (D), asked that ballots be impounded after unofficial tallies showed him trailing incumbent Rep. John Hiler by only 66 votes out of more than 151,000 votes cast. Hiler concurred, and state police took custody of the ballots.

* * * *

Meanwhile, in Maryland's 4th District, candidates Tom McMillen (D) and Robert Neall (R) sweated out the absentee ballot count for a full week. Latest tally had McMillen up by 448 votes out of 130,000 votes cost.

Behind the Numbers . . . More Numbers

Behind the numbers are—what else?—more numbers.

The up-front numbers on U.S. Senate races settled November 4 are already well known. Democrats gained eight seats and control of the Senate by 55-45, a substantial turn-around from the 53-47 margin Republicans held going into the election.

But behind these bare numbers are other encouraging figures of fact and probability.

The figures of fact are the comparative records of newly-elected senators (or in Sen. Cranston's case, re-elected) either with those they defeated or those they will replace.

The figures of probability are that election of a large number of labor-endorsed Senate candidates means labor-supported legislation will get more votes in the Senate that convenes next January.

There are no guarantees, of course. There is no single piece of legislation on which any of those elected November 4 has made a commitment written in blood. But certainly, the gain in numbers should signal a substantial gain in prospects for labor-backed proposals.

The chart below deals with several different situations. Some involve Democratic House challengers to Republican Senate incumbents: Rep. Shelby (D) vs. Sen. Denton (R), Rep. Fowler (D) vs. Sen. Mattingly (R), Rep. Daschle (D) vs. Sen. Abdnor (R), former Rep. Adams (D) vs. Sen. Gorton (R), and the one case where a House Republican challenged an incumbent Democratic Senator, Zschau vs. Cranston in California. In two instances, members of the House vied for an open Senate seat—Wirth (D) vs. Kramer (R) in Colorado, Breaux (D) vs. Moore (R) in Louisiana. (The records of both Shelby and Breaux have been far superior the past two years than the overall numbers reflect in the chart.)

In Nevada, the record of Rep. Harry Reid is compared to that of retiring Sen. Paul Laxalt—though Reid defeated former Rep. Jim Santini who jumped parties—to demonstrate the voting gain on issues potential in that seat from labor's viewpoint. In Colorado, Wirth's record is compared to Kramer's—though the seat was vacated by Democrat Gary Hart—to compare on a what-might-have-been basis. For similar reasons, the Cranston-Zschau comparison is included.

Three gains are omitted. In North Dakota, labor-supported Kent Conrad defeated incumbent Sen. Mark Andrews (R). Conrad has no congressional record, but he is expected to support labor issues far more than Andrews's 47 percent right AFL-CIO record. The same holds for Gov. Bob Graham over Sen. Paula Hawkins (69 percent wrong) in Florida, and former Gov. Terry Sanford over Sen. James Broyhill (91 percent wrong during long House career, 100 percent wrong in brief Senate career) in North Carolina. Note: Chart gives winners AFL-CIO Right percentage, losers Wrong percentage.

STATE	WINNER	AFL-CIO RECORD RIGHT	WRONG	% RIGHT	LOSER	AFL-CIO RECORD RIGHT	WRONG	% WRONG
Alabama	Rep. Shelby *	59	74	44	Sen. Denton	11	94	90
Georgia	Rep. Fowler	103	56	65	Sen. Mattingly	7	100	93
Nevada	Rep. Reid	54	7	89	Sen. Laxalt †	20	190	90
South Dakota	Rep. Daschle	94	36	72	Sen. Abdnor	28	81	74
Washington	Ex.-Rep. Adams □	122	5	96	Sen. Gorton	26	82	76
California	Sen. Cranston	233	22	91	Rep. Zschau	8	51	86
Colorado	Rep. Wirth £	165	50	77	Rep. Kramer	18	107	86
Louisiana	Rep. Breaux #	84	142	37	Rep. Moore	20	193	91

* Last two years 77% right

† Did not run-used to show potential gain on labor issues through Reid victory

□ Served in U.S. House 1965-76

£ Succeeds Sen. Gary Hart (D)

Last two years 65% right

AFL-CIO news

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Worker rights rule pressed on foreign loans

The AFL-CIO wants the government-established Overseas Private Investment Corp. to carry out the clear directive of Congress and refuse to guarantee U.S. investments in countries that deny "internationally recognized worker rights."

OPIC was set up to insure U.S. multinational companies and banks against loss on investments in "less developed friendly countries" because of factors such as war, civil strife, expropriation or a ban on conversion of currency.

It's "supposed to promote the economic and social development of the host country while furthering the balance of payments and employment objectives," AFL-CIO international economics specialist Mark A. Anderson noted. But it hasn't worked that way, he stressed.

Anderson expressed the federation's concerns at a public hearing called by OPIC's board of directors.

Neither Chile, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Romania, South Korea, Suriname or Taiwan are "taking steps to afford internationally recognized worker rights," Anderson said. Therefore, he insisted, OPIC should comply with the law and "should not insure, reinsure, guarantee or finance any project in those countries."

Continued on Page 4

Solidarnosc joins ICFTU and WCL in display of unity

Brussels—In a historic break from tradition, both the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labor granted simultaneous affiliation of the Polish trade union movement organization, Solidarnosc.

The decision to permit the joint affiliation reflected the desire of the ICFTU and the WCL to proclaim their special support for "the peaceful struggle of the Polish workers" for "democracy and trade union freedom" in that Iron Curtain country.

Historically, unions have affiliated with one or the other international labor center—but not both. The two organizations made an exception in this case because of the particular circumstances involved.

The ICFTU and the WCL jointly announced the decision by their respective governing bodies after receiving the application from the National Coordinating Commission of Solidarnosc, supported by Lech Walesa, recognized around the world as the guiding force in the struggle to give Poland's workers a voice in the workplace and in government.

100th affiliate

Solidarnosc becomes the 100th union to join the ICFTU's ranks. Outlawed and driven underground by the Jaruzelski regime, it boasted a membership of 10 million workers during its brief existence as a legal organization. Its affiliation with the ICFTU brings that body's worldwide strength to 92 million workers.

The WCL has a strong base among the Christian-Democratic unions in Europe, and its approval of Solidarnosc's application for affiliation was seen as recognition of the strong role of the Catholic church in Poland and its long ties to that country's trade union movement.

Catholic bishops draw praise for stressing full employment

Century of struggle

Jim Moore, an instructor at the Seafarers' Harry Lundeberg School of Seamanship, delights children with his line-tying skills during a Washington celebration of the union workers' century of struggle. The activities, cosponsored by the AFL-CIO and the Smithsonian Institution, included craft demonstrations by a dozen unions, film and video presentations, concerts and a conference on labor history. (Story on Page 5.)

Labor backs church effort to end misery

A major statement by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops stressing the urgent need of full employment to revitalize America's economy was hailed by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland as a "call for an economic democracy to match America's political democracy."

Five years in the making, the pastoral letter urged increased government efforts to attack the twin scourges of poverty and joblessness and insisted that "the most urgent priority for domestic economic policy is the creation of new jobs with adequate pay and decent working conditions."

Kirkland praised the bishops for mobilizing the nation's conscience on behalf of the unemployed, low-wage workers, farmers and those unable to work for health or family reasons.

Their historic 100-page document, he said, "goes well beyond expressions of concern and sets forth an achievable blueprint for the country to move towards full employment and the elimination of poverty."

Approved by a 225-9 vote of the spiritual leaders of the nation's 52 million Roman Catholics, the pastoral letter, "Economic Justice for All: Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy," branded poverty in America a "social and moral scandal."

It also labeled current unemployment levels "intolerable," and condemned America's economic efforts in the Third World "misguided and insufficient," pointing out that 800 million people in developing countries "live in absolute poverty."

Right to form unions

The bishops reaffirmed the church's long-standing commitment to the "right of workers to form unions." Kirkland said the federation will do "all we can to respond to their challenge" to develop a "new vision" of the role of workers and their unions in the nation's economic future.

The pastoral letter drew expected criticism from a group of conservative lay Catholics, including former Treasury Sec. William Simon and theologian-author Michael Novak. They accused the bishops of placing "excessive trust" in government to solve the problems of the poor, the homeless, the jobless and minorities.

And an Administration task force, in a move obviously timed to coincide with adoption of the bishop's recommendations, issued a report critical of welfare programs,

Continued on Page 3

Runaways to Mexico spread economic woe

By Gene Zack

The Reagan Administration's open support for the extension of American assembly lines across the U.S.-Mexican border has contributed to a problem with growing social and economic consequences for workers in both countries.

Congress has put a halt to the use of any more taxpayers' money to finance a lavish exposition in Acapulco next month to lure still more firms to Mexico. The project has been turned over to a private public relations firm. And two House committees have triggered a sweeping investigation of the Administration's actions.

But it may be little more than damage control—a case of keeping a bad situation from growing worse.

In the past decade, U.S. firms have invested nearly $2 billion in setting up "maquilladoras," golden mills, bunched together in towns across the world's longest border between a developed and a developing country, stretching from Texas through New Mexico and Arizona to California.

Here, in 760 plants employing nearly 300,000 workers, U.S. firms assemble products for the American market, attracted by what the Commerce Dept. has been touting as an available pool of "low-cost labor"—a workforce composed predominantly of women and girls whose wages average only 30 to 75 cents an hour.

For American business, it's a bonanza. The Mexican government provides soldiers and police to stifle union organizing. On-the-job safety regulations are virtually nonexistent or rarely enforced. A favorable tariff deal between the United States and Mexico makes it possible for components to move south across the border and the assembled products to move back to this country almost totally duty free.

Continued on Page 6

Bargaining goals explored

Unions gird for '87 negotiations

By David L. Perlman

Collective bargaining is alive and well, responding to a diversity of economic conditions that defy generalization.

Workers, through their unions, are using the bargaining table imaginatively and pragmatically to share in economic recovery and to salvage jobs in depressed sectors of the economy.

That's the picture that emerged at a program sponsored by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Economic Research as staff experts from a cross-section of unions explored the outlook for the economy and the patterns of collective bargaining.

The bargaining agenda for 1987 will affect about 35 percent of the 8.8 million workers under major agreements that cover 1,000 or more employees.

Contracts expiring

A Bureau of Labor Statistics report shows 471 major contracts covering 2 million private-sector workers expiring next year, along with 312 major contracts involving 1.1 million state and local government workers. Contracts for a half-million postal workers also expire in 1987.

A recent survey by the Bureau of National Affairs found employers girding for a "get tough" campaign to hold down wage increases, cut back benefits and shift more of health care insurance costs to workers.

Most workers under major contracts that are not expiring in 1987 will receive wage increases under their existing agreements.

Labor Dept. statistics show that more than 4 million such workers are due for contract-provided raises averaging 3.4 percent in the private sector and 5 percent in the public sector.

One of the points made by the union researchers, however, was that averages are

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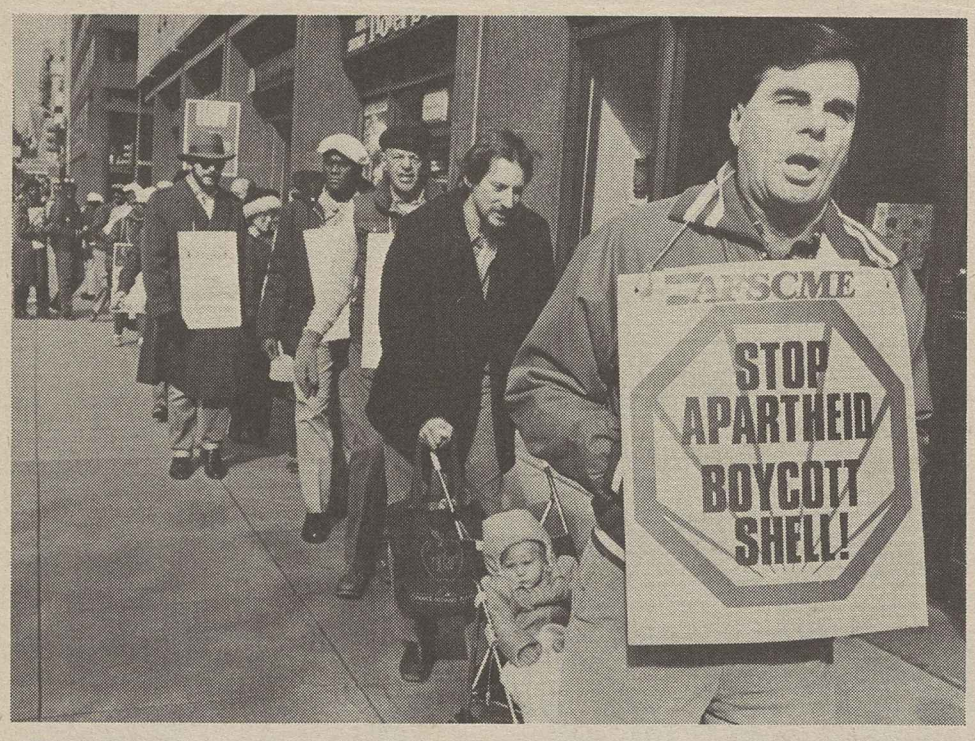


AFSCME President Gerald McEntee leads protest against Shell Oil Co.

'No more apartheid'

Unionists picket Shell on South Africa role

Chanting "no more apartheid," union members picketed the Washington office of the Shell Oil Co. protesting the multinational firm's role in fueling racism in South Africa.

Nearly 100 trade unionists from more than 11 unions—including a busload of Seafarers trainees from Piney Point, Md.—walked the picket line during the two-hour demonstration.

President Gerald McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees told the crowd that labor's 10-month boycott of Shell products was working. Earlier, Shell Chairman John R. Wilson had called the company's position "not comfortable" as a result of the growing protest, adding "the threat of disinvestment is real."

The demonstration was organized by the National Labor Boycott Shell Committee, which is headed by Auto Workers President Owen Bieber and Mine Workers President Richard Trumka.

The boycott committee is urging Shell's shareholders "to divest themselves immediately of their stock until Royal Dutch/Shell leaves South Africa," because as owners of the company, the shareholders are "responsible for Shell's support of apartheid," said UMW representative Kenneth Zinn.

During the protest, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director Richard Womack urged union members and consumers to spread the word about the federation's Shell boycott and "discredit card" campaign. The AFL-CIO is asking union members to cut up their Shell credit cards, send half to the company and the other portion to the AFL-CIO.

In return, they receive a Shell "discredit card" which spells out the key role played by Royal Dutch/Shell, the parent company of Shell Oil "in supplying fuel for the apartheid system." Including the thousand cards collected in a separate campaign by the Auto Workers, the number of returned credit cards is close to the 3,000-mark, Womack said.

The Washington demonstration in the United States was part of a coordinated protest effort in 10 countries, including Australia, Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

Before the protest, labor and church leaders reported that more than $12.4 million in Shell stocks and bonds had been sold off by unions and religious groups as a result of the anti-apartheid campaign.

Union pension funds that have divested Shell holdings include the Food & Commercial Workers, UMW, Ladies' Garment Workers, Pattern Makers and Newspaper Guild Local 10.

Church organizations divesting Shell stocks and bonds include the National Council of Churches, United Church of Christ Board for World Ministeries, Women's and World Divisions of the United Methodist Church's General Board of Global Ministries, Sisters of Charity of New York, Sisters of Mercy and Little Sisters of the Assumption.

Doug Fraser assumes Columbia University post

New York—Douglas A. Fraser, retired president of the Auto Workers, has been appointed to an "in-residence" chair at Columbia University's new industrial relations research center.

Fraser, a member of the UAW since 1934, headed the union from 1977 to 1983. He also served on the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Georgine warns of assault on pension and health plans

Palm Springs, Calif.—The task of monitoring the Reagan Administration and the courts in the areas of pensions and collective bargaining remains "monumental," President Robert A. Georgine of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. warned.

Keynoting the fall conference of the National Coordinating Committee for Multiemployer Plans which he chairs, Georgine urged the 300 union and employer representatives to join in a major campaign to make certain the new Congress "recognizes the special characteristics" of multi-employer plans.

"We need to educate Congress before legislation is even introduced or considered—not after it's too late," the BCTD president said. "We need to participate in the process to ensure that any mandated health benefits legislation" does not jeopardize either the health plans or those employers who contribute to them.

The NCCMP is a tax-exempt, nonprofit association of multiemployer pension, health and welfare plans and their sponsors. It represents such diverse industries as building and construction, retail services, food, textiles, clothing and maritime.

Plans of all sizes are active members of the committee which has become known as the "voice of the multiemployer plan community." It came into existence following enactment of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act in 1974 to follow legislative, regulatory and legal developments from their conception to implementation and enforcement.

Participants in the three-day session studied the Computer Tracking Project inaugurated by the federation and the BCTD—a clearinghouse established to analyze the bond and stock holdings of the nation's largest pension funds.

Delegates also heard from Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), Reps. William Clay (D-Mo.) and Robert Matsui (D-Calif.) and a number of legal and financial experts in the pension field.

Subsequently, at the annual conference of the International Foundation of Employee Benefit Plans in Las Vegas, Nev., Georgine called on trustees of multiemployer plans to make safe investments that not only produce a sound return but also create jobs and stimulate the collective bargaining process.

Nonunion scheme

Georgine charged that many plan trustees have abdicated their responsibility by allowing fund assets to be used to destroy union employers and union jobs. Too often, he said, pension fund assets wind up being channeled to "nonunion contractors so that they can build nonunion."

He also warned that "reactionary forces in Washington" seek to undermine the free collective bargaining process and engage in "nothing less than a sabotaging of our entire retirement and welfare benefit system."

The steady loss of union jobs to open-shop contractors and double-breasted contractors has caused a "crisis" in the building trades, Georgine declared, and multiemployer plan trustees "cannot sit back and pretend that labor law reform or double-breasted contractor legislation" is not their concern.

Ed Brabec dies at 55, head of Chicago AFL-CIO

Chicago—Edward F. Brabec, president of the Chicago AFL-CIO, died of cancer Nov. 18. He was 55.

A 40-year union member, Brabec served as secretary-treasurer and business manager of Plumbers & Pipefitters Local 130 when he joined the executive board of the Chicago AFL-CIO in 1973. He was elected second vice president three years later, and first vice president in 1982.

Brabec had been a vice president of the Plumbers & Pipefitters since 1973.

After succeeding William A. Lee as president of the Chicago central body in 1984, Brabec organized effective collective bargaining coalitions for the 45 unions representing city workers and the 19 covering school district employees.

Brabec was a former director of the Federal Reserve Bank here and served a term as deputy chairman of the banks's board of directors. He also served on the board of the Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank of Chicago.

In a letter to his wife Margaret, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue praised Brabec's "lifelong devotion to the cause of justice and dignity for working people," whose strong leadership of the Chicago trade union movement won him "the respect and appreciation of thousands of union members."

Funeral services are to be held Nov. 22 at St. Jane de Chantal Catholic Church, with burial at Holy Sepulchre Cemetery. In addition to his wife, survivors include six children.

Lockheed launches lockout to impose shipyard pay cuts

Seattle—Lockheed Shipbuilding Co. has locked out 900 metal trades workers in an attempt to stampede 10 unions into approving a new four-year contract that would slash wages by 25 to 47 percent.

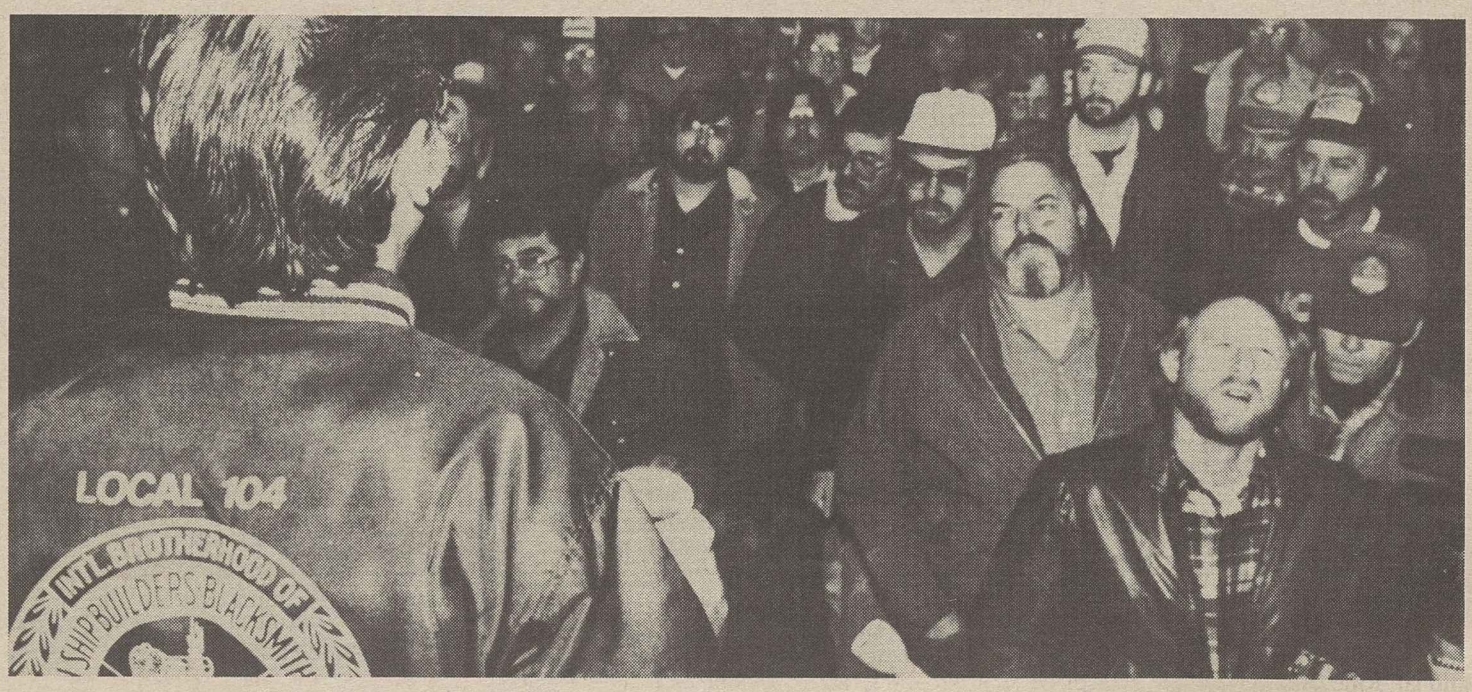
The Seattle Metal Trades Council, accusing Lockheed of trying to scuttle the unions, filed unfair labor practice charges with the National Labor Relations Board. Workers' wages at Lockheed had been frozen under the previous three-year agreement that expired Sept. 30. The 10-union council received the company's final offer Oct. 10 and was proceeding toward mail balloting when the company imposed its lockout on Nov. 17.

"It's unfair that they have done this while we were in the process of voting," said William Carpine, secretary-treasurer of the Metal Trades Council. He said the union presidents recommended that the workers reject Lockheed's demand that the current wage rate of $13.50 an hour be cut to $10.90 for craft specialists, $10.65 for journeymen, $9.40 for mechanics and to $7.15 for helpers.

The company also wants to cut health and welfare contributions, eliminate two paid holidays, gut seniority protections and set up swing shifts so the workweek will can be any five-day period, thereby ending weekend premiums.

Carpine said he expected the lockout to continue at least until Dec. 4 when the votes will be counted. The unions whose members are locked out are: Machinists, Carpenters, Boilermakers, Electrical Workers, Laborers, Operating Engineers, Sheet Metal Workers, Painters, Plumbers & Pipefitters and the unaffiliated Teamsters.

The metal trades council is also bargaining new contracts for 900 workers at Todd Shipyards, and 240 union members at Tacoma Shipbuilding are voting on that company's offer. All have sought givebacks, but Lockheed's is the largest.



President Joe Pilato of Seattle Metal Trades Council tells members of 10 unions to file unemployment benefit claims after the 900 boat yard craftsmen were locked out by Lockheed Shipbuilding Co.

Economy sags below 1985's growth levels

The economy in the first nine months of this year continued to limp along at a slower pace than for the same period in 1985, even after the Commerce Dept. used projected defense purchases as the basis for an upward revision in the gross national product during the third quarter.

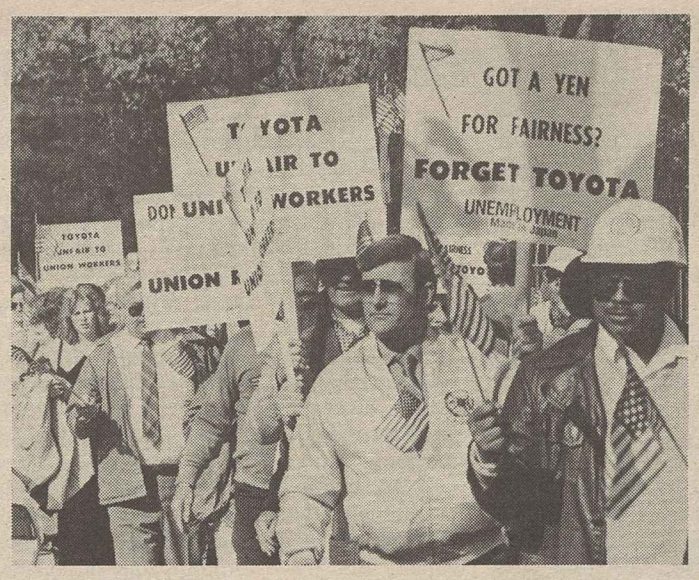
A preliminary report last month showed only a 2.4-percent annual rate of growth in the nation's output of goods and services during the July-September period. The government now has raised the figure to a 2.9-percent annual pace.

But for the first nine months of the year, the economy grew at an annual rate of only 2.4 percent—down sharply from 1985's 2.7-percent rate for that same period—throwing more cold water on Administration claims of a "recovery" from the Reagan Recession.

According to the Commerce Dept., third-quarter growth was spurred by a rise of 5.2 percent in consumer spending. But factoring out a temporary surge in automobile sales—directly attributable to low-cost financing and price cutting to move a glut of 1986 models—consumer buying went up only 2.4 percent during the period.

The end of these incentives drove retail sales down a record 5 percent in October—the first sales drop in six months—as consumers put the brakes on car buying. The plunge in consumer purchases eclipsed the previous record 3-percent drop set in October 1985.

And there was another backlash, as the nation's two largest automakers—General Motors Corp. and Ford Motor Co.—disclosed plans to slash fourth-quarter production because of slack demand. Automotive News, an industry journal predicted reductions of 8 percent for the auto giants.



Demonstrators at Japanese embassy protest Toyota refusal to use union building trades workers to construct an assembly plant in Kentucky. At right, union presidents explain issues to reporters.

Worker rights safeguards pressed on foreign loans

Continued from Page 1

Similar concerns were expressed by union witnesses from the Auto Workers, Electronic Workers and Steelworkers who also testified before the OPIC board.

Anderson quoted from the conference report adopted by Congress when it approved an extension of OPIC's authority to operate. Congress found that "denial of worker rights in developing countries tends to perpetuate poverty and to limit the benefits of economic growth to a narrow segment of the population, thereby retarding economic development and increasing social and political instability."

OPIC's mandate in these areas is "a potentially powerful instrument for the promotion of human rights generally," Anderson said.

The countries the AFL-CIO has urged be put out of bounds for OPIC participation, he testified, "are among the world's greatest offenders of the fundamental worker rights of freedom of association, including the right to strike and the right to organize and bargain collectively through free and independent" unions.

Developing nations should also be moving towards internationally accepted minimum standards on workplace health and safety, child labor, wages and hours, Anderson noted.

He pointed out that the fundamental rights of freedom of association, bargaining rights and protection from forced labor are basic and "not contingent upon the level of development or social system in particular countries."

New projects

Anderson expressed the AFL-CIO's dismay that since Congress laid down stricter worker rights criteria, OPIC nevertheless approved insurance for major projects in South Korea and Chile, "two countries that are notorious for their abuse of workers" and the denial of trade union rights.

Since the law's requirements were not met, OPIC coverage for the two projects approved last summer "should be revoked immediately."

Anderson also stressed the labor movement's criticism of the employment impact data OPIC uses to test whether an investment conflicts with the congressional instruction to prevent damage to employment in the United States.

He welcomed the fact that the law now requires more detailed reporting by OPIC on employment impact. OPIC's evaluation, he urged, should include the impact on U.S. export markets as well as import penetration.

Crafts protest Toyota's plan to build nonunion

Hundreds of building trades workers demonstrated at the Japanese embassy in the nation's capital to protest Toyota's refusal to use union construction workers to build an auto assembly plant in Georgetown, Ky.

Placards and leaflets protested the policy of Toyota and the Japanese construction management firm in charge of the project to use nonunion contractors and bypass union hiring halls.

Sec.-Treas. Joseph Maloney of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. and presidents of a number of affiliated unions briefed reporters on the tactics of the Ohbayashi firm that Toyota brought in to oversee the construction.

They emphasized that labor's quarrel was with the management of the construction project, not with the Japanese people.

Inside the embassy, Japanese consular officials from cities throughout the United States were meeting. Their agenda, an embassy official confirmed, included a discussion of the "Japanese business image in this country."

Across the street from the embassy, union members from Washington and Baltimore area locals carried placards, chanted protests and distributed pamphlets explaining the dispute.

"Union workers welcome Japanese contractors who bargain in good faith," one placard read. "Don't let Toyota run over union rights," another proclaimed.

Another building trades protest was scheduled to be held in New York on Nov. 21, at the site of a meeting between the Japanese ambassador and executives of Japanese firms operating in the United States.

Bishops rally Catholic laity in drive for full employment

Continued from Page 1

claiming they create a cycle of dependency, make it easier for teenagers to become unwed mothers and discourage the unemployed from looking for work.

Headed by Education Under Sec. Gary Bauer, the task force of White House and government officials blamed the problems of the poor and the "decline" of the traditional American family on "the abrasive experiments of two liberal decades" at the federal level. It recommended retrenchment in the area of subsidized housing, basic cash welfare benefits and Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

The report stood in sharp contrast to the position taken by the Catholic bishops, who declared that "dealing with poverty is not a luxury to which our nation can attend when it finds the time . . . it is an imperative of the highest priority."

The pastoral letter condemned job discrimination "on the basis of race, sex or other arbitrary standards," and called for "affirmative action programs," insisting that "social harm calls for social relief."

The bishops agreed that there is a "right to private ownership of productive property," but made it clear that "support of private ownership does not mean that anyone has the right to unlimited accumulation of wealth."

Kirkland praised, in particular, the bishops' support for "child-care services for working parents, the recognition of the need for adequate parental leave policies, and the importance of full and equal employment opportunities for women and minorities."

These recommendations, he pledged, "will receive the wholehearted support of workers and their unions."

Among other things, the bishops called for:

- Coordinated fiscal and monetary policies to achieve full employment.
- Intensified affirmative action, job-training programs and job-creation efforts targeted at the long-term unemployed.
- A compassionate overhaul of the nation's welfare system.
- Substantial reforms of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which, the pastoral letter insisted, aren't dealing effectively with Third World problems.

The bishops will follow up on the 53,000-word document with broadly based education and action programs for the Catholic laity and the creation of new working relationships with interfaith groups, business, labor, community leaders and academic institutions to end poverty and joblessness in America.

Proposed Canada trade pact could scuttle U.S. labor laws

A proposed "free trade" agreement being negotiated between the United States and Canada could undermine federal and state laws ranging from collective bargaining to occupational safety and health, the AFL-CIO warned.

The changes under discussion are designed to give individuals in both countries an equal shot at providing services in the neighboring nation. But the draft language is so sweeping, Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald declared, that it could exempt Canadian nationals from having to comply with a whole body of existing law.

In a letter to Richard Self, deputy assistant to the U.S. Trade Representative, Oswald said the proposal could "abrogate" such laws as the Davis-Bacon Act, the Service Contract Act, the Walsh-Healy Act "and other safety and health regulations" and could effectively "abolish" buy-American provisions of law.

Maritime threat

The plan to give Canadians access to domestic distribution systems, he continued, could exempt them from the Jones Act, which requires the exclusive use of U.S.-flag vessels in intercoastal shipping and free them from statutory provisions governing the airline and trucking industries.

Unless specific exemptions are written into the treaty now under discussion, Oswald said, the U.S.-Canadian compact would be given "higher standing than existing domestic law." This could lead to overriding current state regulations for the certification of accountants, attorneys, architects, doctors and lawyers, he pointed out.

Conflict with laws

Oswald noted that much of the language seems to conflict with U.S. immigration policy, which limits foreign nationals in both their "movement and the ability to work" in the United States.

When U.S. trade representatives first opened discussions with their Canadian counterparts last summer, Oswald reminded them that the federation's 16th constitutional convention in October 1985 approved a resolution calling for adoption of only those trade agreements that would "benefit American industry and workers."

Any all-inclusive proposal such as the one now under discussion, he declared, would "only serve to cloud the issue" of trade problems between the two countries and could further aggravate the nation's trade crisis. Last year, Canada accounted for $22 billion of the record-shattering $148-billion trade deficit racked up by the United States.

Labor credit card plan draws raves

The credit card program launched by the AFL-CIO's Union Privilege Benefit Programs has drawn rave reviews from Jane Bryant Quinn, a syndicated financial columnist.

In a recent column distributed by the Washington Post Writers Group, Quinn sharply criticized banks for imposing "much too high" interest rates on "affinity" credit cards—ones that bear the name of the card carrier's organization instead of the bank.

Under these arrangements, organizations ranging from the Sierra Club to the National Rifle Association get a payback of one-quarter to one-half percent on every purchase. The result, Quinn wrote, is that they are a bad deal for most consumers.

Not so with the federation's plan, Quinn emphasized.

"Perhaps the best (of the affinity cards) is the new program now being offered to labor unions through the AFL-CIO and the Bank of New York," she said, because among other things it allows members to defer payments without being charged a penalty for two months out of the year—four months if the worker is on strike.

"One reason the deal is so good," Quinn continued, "is that the parent union doesn't take a rake-off." She quoted Ray Denison, president of the Union Privilege Benefit Programs as explaining that labor figured "if we could do something about (lowering) these interest rates, that's a pay increase" for workers who carry the card.

Anti-labor climate erodes states' business base

Debunking claims that low wages, low taxes and hostility to unions improve a state's business climate, the Corporation for Enterprise Development urged newly elected governors and legislators to end the practice of trying to lure industry by emphasizing those factors.

Such policies are "the economic equivalent of bloodletting," the Washington-based economic development research and consulting firm declared. Those that follow such policies "undermine economic health in the name of restoring it."

CED President Robert Friedman sharply criticized a widely used survey of state business climates, charging that it assigns low ratings to industrialized states that provide "significant benefits" to business in terms of long-term public investment in "individuals, technology and small businesses."

Instead, he said, the survey—published annually since 1978 by economist Grant Thornton—claims that the "best business climate" exists in states that have "de-emphasized education and training" and have "allowed their roads, sewers and airports to deteriorate."

The CED study, which charged that the Thornton index "leads states astray," was funded with equal financial contributions from unions, business and foundations. Labor support came from the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept., Service Employees, Teachers and the State, County & Muncipal Employees.

Authoritative study

The report was hailed by Al Bilik, executive director of the PED's state/local division, as the first "authoritative study" of state business climates. He said that it "sets straight the ranking of factors—including public investment in education, training and infrastructure—that do contribute to business decisions" on where to locate and expand operations.

Friedman cited these examples of the way the index tilts against the industrialized states:

- Although California, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan were among the states with the greatest level of job creation last year, they were ranked in the lower half of the survey, while South Dakota, which was first on the Thornton list, and North Dakota, which was fifth, actually lost jobs.
- Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Maryland and New York were leaders in terms of the growth of per capita personal income, but were at the bottom of the list.
- Michigan, New York and Connecticut actually led the nation in business incorporation rates and patents issued per capita. But by Thornton's measurements, the leaders were South and North Dakota and Mississippi which actually trail the state pack in these areas.

The Grant Thornton index is widely used by state and local governments to attract industry by "slashing wages, abolishing taxes and eliminating all environmental regulation," Friedman charged, only to see these enterprises "leave for the Third World a few years later" in pursuit of still lower costs and larger profits.

Friedman urged state government leaders not to make decisions on budgets, revenue shortfalls, tax reform and coping with declining federal aid on the basis of an index that is "outdated, destructive and wrong.

State against state

He said that kind of decision-making "pits states against each other in a struggle to see which can have the lowest taxes, the lowest wages and the fewest unions."

As governors and legislatures address these problems, the CED study said, they should put "proper emphasis on the importance of public investments in the skills and talents of state residents" and should give "sufficient weight to services for new and emerging businesses." These, Friedman said, are the factors that actually measure "economic vitality in today's marketplace."

Rubber Workers President Milan Stone calls for halt to corporate takeover raids. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. Chairman Robert Mercer is at right.

Corporate takeover epidemic poses new threat to economy

An epidemic of corporate takeovers is threatening the nation's economic footing and legislation is needed to stop it, Rubber Workers President Milan Stone told a congressional hearing.

He testified before a House Judiciary subcommittee, which is holding a special post-adjournment hearing to explore the attempted takeover of Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. by Sir James Goldsmith, a British stock speculator and financier.

Stone noted the fate of two other rubber companies that have been takeover targets. B.F. Goodrich ended up paying "greenmail" to buy off a raider, he said, and Uniroyal "ceased to exist as a manufacturing company."

A system that allows and encourages such extortion is "inherently wrong," Stone testified.

He urged Congress to pass legislation prohibiting greenmail and tightening securities laws. Banks and investment companies should be barred from involvement in hostile financial raids, he said.

Stone also urged Congress to protect workers and communities by requiring persons who gain control of a company through stock manipulation to maintain its operations intact for at least three years.

He noted that the union and Goodyear "represent different constituencies" and he doesn't usually spend his time "defending the corporations our members work for." But the URW wants the firms with which it bargains to be prosperous and considers takeover raids a wasteful drain on resources that leaves the company weaker.

URW members wearing baseball caps lined the committee room during the congressional hearings to demonstrate their concern.

Rep. John Seiberling (D-Ohio), whose grandfather founded Goodyear, questioned Goldsmith about a reported $500-million profit from his takeover of Crown-Zellerbach, a big forest products corporation.

A question of profits

"I can think of no other reason for doing business," Goldsmith retorted. The United States was "built on that philosophy," he said.

Stone told the House panel that the wave of takeovers and corporate raids on profitable companies drains away investment funds that could be used to strengthen the U.S. economy.

"The money, time, effort and imagination that corporate managers are forced to devote to fighting takeover battles would be far better spent in manufacturing better products and providing better services," he insisted.

"We must invest in our future if we expect to have one," Stone said.

Herrera assails slaying of Philippine unionist

Manila—Ernesto F. Herrera, secretary general of the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines has denounced the brutal slaying of Rolando Olalia, chairman of the KMU—an alliance of labor unions, students, clergy and other organizations.

Olalia, who also was chairman of the People's Party, a militant, left-wing political group, was found shot to death Nov. 12 near Manila.

Herrera said that "despite our principled differences with the KMU, we feel Olalia's brutal murder is a loss to Philippine labor as a whole." He asked Philippine workers "to remain calm in the face of this terrible tragedy," as the TUCP closes ranks with the KMU to seek justice for Olalia's slaying.

The Asian-American Free Labor Institute reported that a TUCP union organizer in Mindinao was also murdered recently, bringing to 30 the number of trade unionists slain in the Philippines over the past 18 months.

Herrera, the 1985 recipient of the AFL-CIO's George Meany Human Rights award, is also the target of death threats, AAFLI said.

Bargaining strategy mapped for '87 contract negotiations

Continued from Page 1

shaped by a wide range of agreements reflecting very different bargaining climates.

A four-union panel, moderated by AFL-CIO economist John Zalusky, illustrated this diversity.

Linda Lampkin, research director of the State, County & Municipal Employees, noted that "averages" of public employee settlements combine the gains made in low-unemployment Massachusetts with a pay freeze in Iowa where the state's economy is suffering from the farm crisis and its ripple effect.

In Detroit, she said, public workers who had their pay held down when the auto industry was going under were willing to strike to claim a fair share of a revived economy. And it was the state and local employees in once-prosperous oil-and-gas dependent states who had to tighten their belts.

As for trends in bargaining, Lampkin forsees a greater focus on pay equity upgrades in general, not just on the issue of sex bias in job classifications. Factors such as job stress will be increasingly considered in pay relationships, she suggested. And AFSCME locals will be "trying very hard to get involved" in the studies that lead to decisions on pay levels.

On front lines

In still another area, public employees are "on the front lines" of the controversy over drug testing. It's an area that goes "beyond bread-and-butter unionism," she noted.

It's also an area the AFL-CIO will be addressing, Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald told the group, with an emphasis on using the collective bargaining process.

Auto Workers economist Lydia Fischer noted that the UAW's bargaining schedule for 1987 includes both Ford, which is "doing very well" in terms of profits and General Motors, which has announced a schedule of drastic plant closings. The closely-related independent parts supplier contracts will follow.

Part of the divergence in profitability, Fischer noted, is reflected in the payouts on previously negotiated profit sharing plans. Payments have been more at Ford, less at GM. She looked for a spread of the profit-sharing concept to more of the smaller companies.

Job security remains the top priority to UAW members in the auto industry, Fischer said. The union has sought to enhance income maintenance and retraining provisions of existing contracts through "creative improvements."

While welcoming U.S. manufacture of some Japanese cars, the UAW remains concerned at the low domestic content of these vehicles and at the additional imports from such low-wage countries as Korea.

Electrical Workers Research Director Robert Woods stressed the local decision-making of construction industry bargaining, but noted that jobs or lack of jobs are often heavily affected by federal policies as well as the state of the economy.

When industrial plants are idled by imports, construction is hurt. When public works are curtailed, construction jobs suffer, he noted. When tax changes make office buildings become less profitable, construction slows.

He saw signs of recouping of work lost to nonunion contractors through national agreements and locally-shaped market recovery programs which have helped union contractors stay competitive in costs as well as superior in quality. But with the overall economy still sluggish, high construction industry unemployment outside of a few pockets of prosperity continues to limit bargaining gains.

Benefit plan reciprocity

Woods looked to continuing progress by the building trades in reciprocity among local health and welfare benefit plans and pension systems. About 20 percent of IBEW construction members, he noted, work in localities outside the area covered by their home locals.

Food & Commercial Workers Research Director Leslie Nulty cited the union's big retail food sector as an example of the great diversity of bargaining concerns.

The bargaining climate is affected by the general prosperity of the community, she noted, and "we get shock waves" when a local factory closes. A big factor at the bargaining table is whether the union has organized all the major chains in an area or whether its employers must compete with establishments paying lower wages and less benefits.

Nulty looked to a continuation of a welcome trend towards eliminating the two-tier pay and benefit systems that sprang up during the recession years. In some cases, she noted, the catch-up process has been hastened by contracts giving top-seniority workers a one-time bonus and permanently raising the bottom tier of the pay scale.

The tradition of local bargaining is being modified under the impact of chain store mergers and closings, however. Coordinated bargaining involving several local unions is becoming more common, sometimes including pooled strike assessments.

Organizing considerations have become part of the bargaining process, Nulty said. She noted contract provisions dealing with transfer rights to new stores and promising employer neutrality in organizing efforts at new locations.

The union research staffers also heard the director of the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, Rudolph Penner, discuss the basis for budget assumptions of modest economic growth, a slight rise in inflation and a dip in the trade deficit.

Shirley Dennis installed as Women's Bureau chief

Shirley Dennis took office as director of the Labor Dept.'s Women's Bureau and declared her intention to use the post to promote employer-provided child care programs and the concept of flexible work schedules.

Dennis, 48, had served as Pennsylvania's Secretary of Community Affairs since 1980 and previously as managing director of the Housing Association of Delaware County. She is a former housing director for Philadelphia's Urban League.

At Smithsonian

Labor history focus of centennial exhibit

A three-day celebration of the heritage and accomplishments of American workers over the past 100 years was held at the Smithsonian Institution, featuring union craft demonstrations, concerts, films and a labor history conference.

The program of events, titled "A Century of Struggle: An Exploration of Work, Technology and Culture in Industrial America," was cosponsored by the AFL-CIO and the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. It coincided with the 105th anniversary of the founding of the federation that evolved into the AFL-CIO.

At an opening night reception, Federation Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue noted the anniversary and recalled that Dec. 10 will mark the 100th anniversary of day the Federation of Organized Trades & Labor Unions changed its name to the American Federation of Labor and elected Samuel Gompers as its president.

He told the crowd of more than 400 that "it's been a hard, tough hundred years, full of blood and pain and sacrifice, as well as hope and courage . . . At this moment, we are in the midst of a period of change that is as profound and far-reaching as any in our history. It's the most challenging and exhilarating time to be a trade unionist that I can imagine."

Humanizing change

Donahue stressed that in every area of life, "change is all around us," and workers have used their unions to help bring about change and to humanize the effects of change. "That's what they're for, and that's what they've been doing over the 100-year span of this exhibition," he said.

The key feature of this Smithsonian exhibition, Donahue pointed out, is that the show is live, giving the public the opportunity to see the kinds of craftsmanship that has created "most of the artifacts that are kept under glass and behind velvet ropes throughout this museum and others like it."

Stone lithographer Scip Barnhart from the Graphic Communications Union demonstrated turn-of-the-century printmaking skills using some of the museum's equipment.

Skills and songs

At the Flint Glass Workers exhibit, union members etched glass vases and showed the products they make, while nearby a program of labor songs featured members of the Musicians and others.

A popular demonstration with children was the skill of rope—or line—knotting, done aptly by Jim Moore, an instructor at the Seafarers' Harry Lundeberg School of Seamanship. SIU chief steward Romeo Lupinacci crafted hors d'oeuvres that were gratefully received by the crowds.

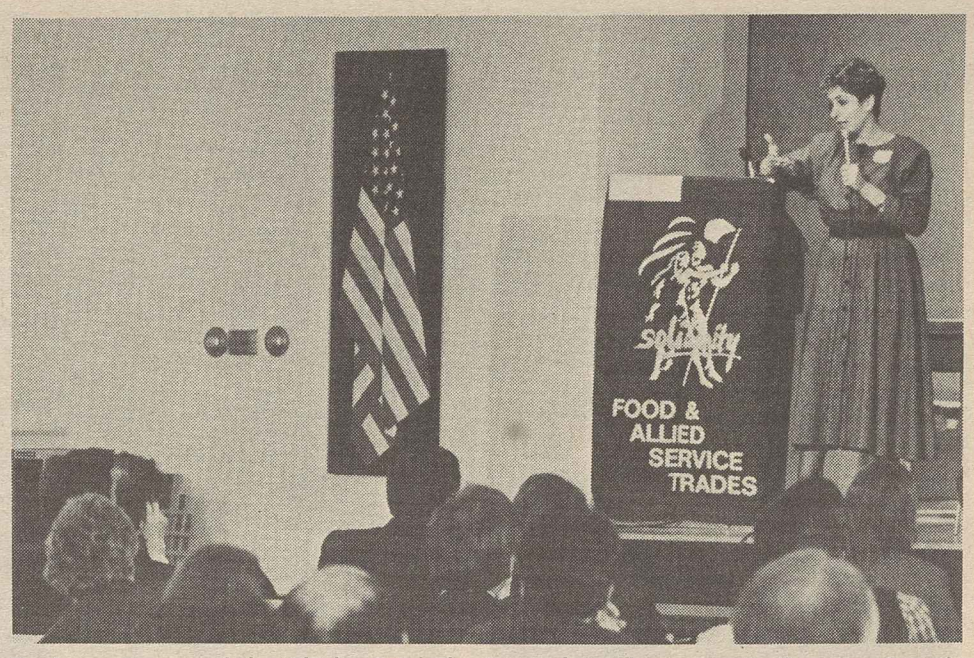
Nearby the Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers and the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees were decorating cakes in a courtyard in front of the museum's candy store.

Service Employees members featured a demonstration of hospital skills, showing the use of equipment and the functioning of the heart. The Clothing & Textile Workers exhibited fiber-making equipment and the Communications Workers demonstrated the use of fiber optics.

Museum-goers also were treated to labor films and videos that documented the century of struggle for workers in trying to achieve justice and dignity on the job.

The two-day conference on American labor history featured panel discussions on the changes in society and technology with their resulting impact on workers.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas. R. Donahue and Director Roger Kennedy of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.



Barbara Feuer of the Flight Attendants explains her union's "peer referral" member assistance program during conference on drug testing.

Panelists suggest guidelines to curb drug testing abuses

Worker issues related to the skyrocketing use of drug testing by employers, along with alternatives, were examined at a one-day conference of labor, legal, business and medical experts cosponsored by the AFL-CIO Food & Allied Service Trades Dept. and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The conference, held at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, focused on the eagerness of business to "spend millions on mass and random testing" of employees and job applicants, without regard for the reliability of the drug tests or the effect on workers' lives.

FAST President Robert Harbrant told the 130 participants that between 1982 and 1985, the number of Fortune 500 companies that screened their employees leaped from 3 percent to 30 percent. More than 4.5 million workers were tested for drugs last year.

Potential for abuse

The potential for abuse of workers in unilaterally imposed drug programs is substantial, Harbrant said. Workers are fired for failing drug tests or for merely refusing to be tested.

Harbrant proposed these guidelines to limit drug testing abuses:

- Full involvement of workers and their representatives in setting up and implementing any drug programs.
- Focusing drug testing only on workers who exhibit symptoms of job-related impairment.
- Allowing only high-quality tests analyzed by certified laboratories and giving workers the right to be retested by a different lab if their results are positive.
- Giving workers access to the results of all tests they take and an explanation of what the results mean.
- Giving workers the right to rehabilitation and reinstatement to their jobs without prejudice or loss of seniority after rehabilitation.

Lewis L. Maltby, vice president of Drexelbrook Controls Inc. in Horsham, Pa., reported on why his firm chose not to test workers for drugs. He suggested as an alternative that employers "take the time to learn about employees, watch their job performance and help them when it starts to slip. It works—not just in preventing workplace drug abuse, but in creating a committed and productive workplace."

ACLU and labor panelists agreed that the next Congress should pass a measure to protect workers from employer abuses related to drug testing, and reject Reagan Administration approaches to the problem.

Barbara Feuer, director of employee assistance programs for the Flight Attendants, told the audience how the AFA's "peer referral" member assistance program works in reducing the traditional adversarial barriers between workers and management.

Melody Heaps, executive director of the Illinois Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime, spoke of the need for a holistic approach to drug abuse. She emphasized training, education, and prevention as the keys to combatting workplace drug and alcohol abuse, but noted treatment dollars have been drastically slashed by the Reagan Administration.

Surveillance device

ACLU Executive Director Ira Glazer detailed how the rights of innocent workers are violated by drug testing, explaining that urine screening is merely a "surveillance device for off-the-job activity."

Glazer warned that urine screening can be used "as a pretext for political firings." He cited a case where a safety inspector at a nuclear power plant was fired for failing a drug test, after she had reported to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission about alleged inattention to her safety reports. She was not given the test results or the right to be retested.

Dr. John Morgan, director of the pharmacology program at the City University of New York Medical School, focused on whether drug tests actually work. He noted that urine samples can be intentionally altered, and thus, collection of urine for testing "must be accompanied by humiliating observation—there is no other way."

Public unions hail ruling

Court blocks urine test program

Public sector unions welcomed a federal court injunction halting a urine-testing program that the U.S. Customs Service imposed on employees and expressed the hope that a companion suit will lead to nullification of President Reagan's executive order authorizing random drug testing of federal employees in "sensitive" jobs.

The Customs Service was permanently enjoined by U.S. District Court Judge Robert Collins of New Orleans from conducting urinalysis drug testing of its employees "in the absence of probable cause" to believe that they use illegal drugs.

Such random testing is "utterly repugnant to the United States Constitution," Judge Collins found.

He acted on a suit brought by the unaffiliated Treasury Employees Union, which is also a party with other federal worker unions, including the AFL-CIO-affiliated Government Employees, in a constitutional challenge to Reagan's Executive Order. The multi-union suit is pending in the same federal court in New Orleans.

The Justice Dept., which represented the Customs Service in the federal court proceeding, is expected to appeal the decision. Eventually, through this or other cases, the issue of random drug testing of public workers is expected to reach the U.S. Supreme Court.

Noting that Reagan's drug-testing directive is being copied by some non-federal public agencies, State, County & Municipal Employees President Gerald W. McEntee applauded the federal court's ruling. He expressed the hope that state and local governments will "heed this precedent."

Rehabilitation effort

John Leyden, executive director of the federal-postal division of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept., said he was "very pleased" with the decision against random testing. The PED has urged public employers to work towards elimination of drug problems through rehabilitation of workers with drug or alcohol problems.

Government Employees President Kenneth T. Blaylock said the AFGE is prepared to negotiate with the Administration over programs to eliminate drug or alcohol abuse in the workplace. But the broad scope of the presidential directive on random testing is "totally unacceptable," he stressed.

In ordering the Customs Service to discontinue its program, Judge Collins said the agency had subjected its employees to "a degrading procedure that so detracts from human dignity and self-respect that it shocks the conscience and offends this court's sense of justice."

The case also brought into question testing accuracy. An affidavit from one employee who took the test showed the possibility of a career-destroying error.

As the employee explained, "after I urinated, I noticed that the laboratory representative was affixing a sticker to my sample bottle. The sticker had the wrong social security number." It turned out that the sample identification stickers were prepared in advance and a co-worker's sticker had been mistakenly used.

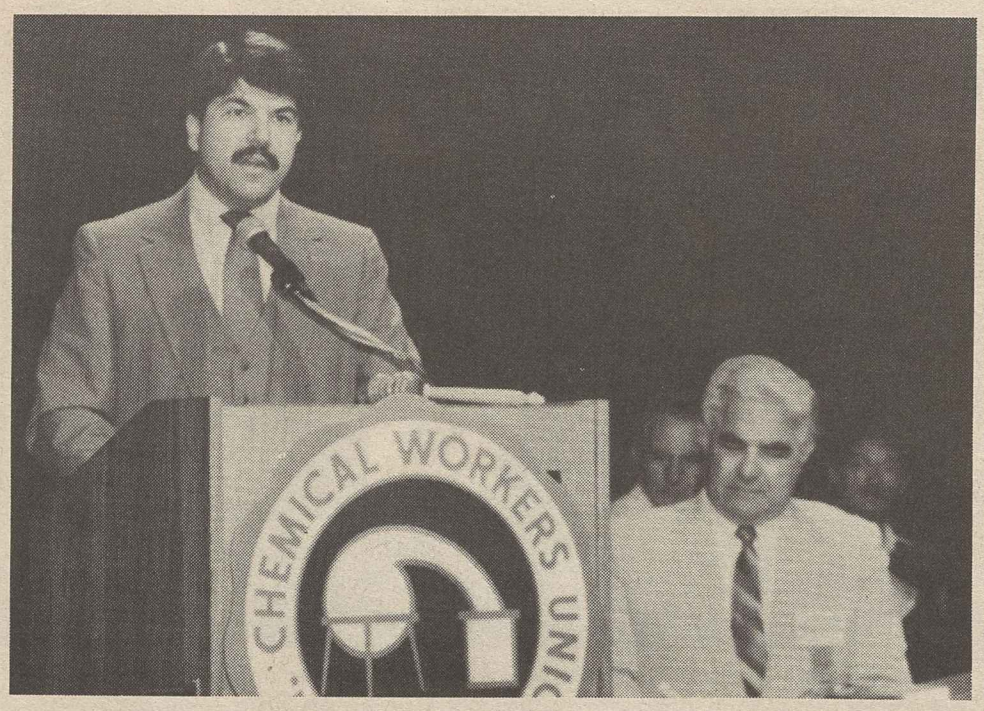
Judge Collins found that mandatory testing without probable cause violated the Fourth Amendment guarantee against unwarranted search and seizure. He cited the erroneous labeling evidence as indicating also that "the drug testing plan is so unreliable as to violate due process of law."

Buy American

Frontlash volunteers—members of the AFL-CIO youth support group—will be thronging to department stores, malls and shopping centers on the day after Thanksgiving, traditionally the busiest shopping day of the year.

They'll be urging shoppers to purchase union-made products at malls and stores in six states—New York, Minnesota, Florida, Nevada, Missouri and Pennsylvania—as Frontlash launches its first "Buy American Day."

Students and young workers will be going "one on one" with consumers, reminding them to buy American-made goods when they make their holiday purchases.



Mine Workers President Richard Trumka addresses Chemical Workers' convention. ICWU President Frank D. Martino is at right.

In convention action

Chemical union votes funds for organizing

Las Vegas, Nev.—The Chemical Workers' convention approved a new organizing initiative and expanded membership benefits. The 450 delegates voted unanimously to set up an organizing fund, increase strike benefits and augment the union's health and safety fund.

President Frank D. Martino applauded the delegates for giving the ICWU the tools it needs "to keep the union strong and competitive in the years to come."

The organizing fund will be financed through monthly contributions of 10 cents per member effective immediately, increasing to 20 cents in November 1987. The funds will be used to train local union leaders in organizing strategies and techniques.

"The union intends to train a large number of local union leaders as the core of our future organizing efforts" who will be "ready to go" when organizing opportunities arise, Martino said.

Delegates also voted to increase strike benefits by $5 a week, raising the weekly payment to $45 effective immediately, and $50 next November. Martino reminded the delegates that additional life and health insurance benefits were made available to members at no cost earlier this year, "but we knew we still had to do more for our members who are forced to strike."

The convention also voted to supplement the ICWU health and safety fund with a special monthly assessment of 10 cents per member effective immediately and an additional 10-cent increase next November to offset health and safety programs no longer available under federal government grants.

Martino stressed that the new initiatives will be included in the ICWU's overall budget—financed through the union's automatic per capita tax formula—to increase "services to members without increasing their dues."

Delegates called for prompt congressional action to address the trade crisis and bring an end to the massive trade deficits that have cost millions of jobs. They condemned the brutal system of apartheid in South Africa and criticized the Reagan Administration for "foot dragging" on sanctions against the racist regime.

Delegates elected Jerry Levine of Knoxville, Tenn., and Leonard Perryman of Fullerton, Calif., to complete the terms of two retiring vice presidents. Full elections will be held during the 1988 convention.

Speakers included AFL-CIO Vice President Gene Upshaw, who heads the Professional Athletes; Presidents George Parker of the Flint Glass Workers and Richard Trumka of the unaffiliated Mine Workers; John Jacob, president of the Urban League; Ira Glasser, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Dr. Fred Millar, Environmental Policy Institute, and health and safety specialist Dr. Herbert K. Abrams.

Task force set on immigrant rights

A Ladies' Garment Workers task force is being formed to provide adequate protection for the rights of all workers in the industry under the recently enacted immigration reform bill.

ILGWU President Jay Mazur said the task force will target areas where there are large numbers of immigrants—particularly New York, New Jersey, California and the Chicago area.

The union's goal, Mazur said, is to help undocumented immigrants become permanent residents, to assure that the rights of all workers are protected regardless of immigration status, and to help nonunion garment workers defend their rights under the new law.

"The garment industry has always been a first step for immigrants seeking a better life in our country," he pointed out. "The ILGWU is fighting, as it always has, to protect immigrant workers from sweatshop exploitation. Today's immigrant garment workers are predominantly from Asia and Latin America, but their aspirations and needs are the same as those of the immigrants from Europe who founded our union."

Mazur noted that the ILGWU has long advocated a "generous program of amnesty" for undocumented aliens. While immigration reform falls short of the union's goals, he said, it can still be a "first step" toward helping hundreds of thousands of immigrants "enter the economic mainstream and find protection from exploitation by unscrupulous employers."

The ILGWU president warned that minority workers face a continued threat of discrimination in the garment industry and pledged that the union would work to "strengthen the anti-discrimination provisions" in the measure.

Even with its shortcomings, Mazur said, the "landmark legislation" can be a first step toward achieving a national immigration policy in "the great tradition of providing a haven for refugees who face oppression and exploitation" in their native countries.

Postal Workers install top officers to new terms

President Moe Biller and other winners in a nationwide mail ballot for top offices in the Postal Workers were installed for three-year terms Nov. 8 to conclude an APWU executive council session in Washington.

Biller was re-elected to a third term with 49,179 votes to 40,124 for challenger David E. Daniel of Huntington, W. Va. Also re-elected were Executive Vice President William Burrus and Sec.-Treas. Douglas C. Holbrook.

The incumbent slate won all but one of the 10 national elections in which all APWU members were eligible to vote. Frank A. Romero of Dallas edged out incumbent Ben Zemsky as organization director.

Mexican connection: Exploiting abused workers

Continued from Page 1

The result: the output of Mexico's "golden mills" now holds a 45-percent share of the foreign-assembled products bearing the name of U.S. manufacturers coming into the country each year—up from a mere 2 percent in 1969. And these plants last year accounted for half of Mexico's manufactured exports—second only to oil in earning foreign exchange dollars.

But the deal has been costly for an American workforce already battered by the influx of foreign-made goods. In the past decade alone, by the most conservative estimate, the jobs of 90,000 American workers have gone south of the border.

As for the Mexican workers who found jobs in the mushrooming maquilladora industry established after Congress ended the bracero program two decades ago, it's been a matter of cruel exploitation—as a documentary film, "The Global Assembly Line," pointed out on the Public Broadcasting System.

The documentary was produced for PBS by Lorraine Gray, Ann Bohlen and Maria Patricia Hernandez Kelly.

Here's what they found in interviews with workers, businessmen, academics and government officials from Matamoros in the East to Tijuana in the West:

Nearly 90 percent of all maquilladora workers are women. "They've become the breadwinners," PBS said, "in environments where employment is scarce" for workers of both genders.

No jobs for men

"When the plants first came to the city," said Guillermina Valdes Villalva, founder of the Center for Working Women in Juarez, "we expected them to hire the unemployed males. But we soon found that the unemployed males were not the ideal workforce." The jobs went instead to young women ages 16 to 21.

Last year, Villalva continued, "a worker's take-home pay was 860 pesos a day" —the equivalent of $1.35. "Families that used to buy five kilos or five dozen tortillas for their families were down to one. There was no one eating regularly, not even once a month. We had people buying eggs by the unit and milk by the glass—and this in order to keep up some of their strength."

Economic deprivation drove the women into the job market. "I have to bring bread into this house," one Mexican woman told PBS. "We live a life (of) running, running all the time. Relatives say, please give those poor feet a rest. I say the day they die they are going to rest, but while alive, you just have to take advantage of life."

Miserable wages

Said another woman: "Before I got married I was working. I convinced my husband to let me keep my job even though the wages in these factories are practically nothing. With the miserable salaries of the two of us it's not even enough to buy the basics."

As for safety in the workplace, the woman pointed out that she has worked as a solderer for three years. "We don't have protection so all the fumes go into our eyes. There is no ventilation for the fumes so we absorb them ourselves."

Dr. Jorge Bustamente, director of the Center for Border Studies in Tijuana, pointed out that the Mexican government was so anxious to attract American industry that it gave them "carte blanche . . . the government doesn't put any kind of regulations" on firms moving assembly operations to Mexico.

What happens, though, when workers try to improve conditions in the plants?

"When a woman worker begins to ask for better working conditions or higher salaries," Villalva said, management and the government tell her "and not very subtly, that if she continues along that line then the plant will leave. Enough of them have left so that this is not an idle threat."

American workers have long been disadvantaged by runaway plants. In the 1930s, textile mills moved from the unionized North to the anti-labor, low-wage South and when unionization eliminated regional pay differentials the plants ran away again to even lower wage levels in the emerging countries.

The same runaway philosophy is used to intimidate the maquilladora workers. And Ned Dougherty, a business consultant in Brownsville, Tex., who helps American firms locate just across the Rio Grande River, openly defended the practice.

"If you were an American businessman," he told PBS, "wouldn't you consider moving your operation to someplace where you could reduce . . . the amount of pay . . . from 1,000 pesos ($1.57) per day down to approximately 600 pesos (94 cents) per day, and you could get eight hours more work per employee? The answer is obvious."

Said a Mexican worker: "Who isn't scared of losing their job? . . . They threaten you. They say it's going to be our responsibility if the plants leave."

A Zenith worker in Reynosa said that at first, "I was afraid to take part in the workers' meetings because I thought I'd be suspended or fired, but later I got brave. There came a time when one of our fellow workers asked for a higher salary. Instead of listening to him, they beat him up and put him under arrest. So we all decided to protest and we stopped working."

More than 8,000 workers at all but one of the dozen maquilladora factories, including Zenith and General Electric, joined in the walkout—the first general strike in Mexico's export processing industry.

No-win situation

"The strikers won some concessions—a brief, two-month wage increase and, for the first time, the right to elect their own union leadership," the documentary pointed out. But the new officers "were never allowed to be installed." Instead, "pressure was brought to bear on the leaders of the movement (and) the most visible participants began to lose their jobs, fired by the factory management."

Four of the fired reform leaders protested by going on a hunger strike in Reynosa's main plaza. After 14 days, federal and local police moved in, clubbed workers, beat up and jailed an American reporter and dragged the hunger strikers to the hospital where they were force fed.

Licenciado Aurelianao Gonzalez, former mayor of Juarez, defended the use of soldiers and police to break the strike. "Workers suffer through the unrest that they are creating as a consequence of the union activity."

As a result, he said, the industries that ran away from the United States "are thinking of going elsewhere."

"The hunger that we feel helps us overcome our fear," one worker said. "We are kind of semi-slaves," said another.

'Boring' work

Richard Crocker, owner of a maquilladora plant, insisted the work is "boring" and that management set up shop in Mexico because it couldn't "find the American workers that want to work at that job."

But members of Electronic Workers Local 744 at the Philips Co. in Jefferson City, Tenn., challenged that argument.

"We built the black and white TVs and we built the color TVs," one of them said. "We built it from scratch, the board and all, and it went overseas."

Said another IUE member: "The people in Mexico will enjoy our jobs while we are at home starving. We need the work just like everybody else. We can do it just as good as they can, or better."

The real reason, the documentary emphasized, is maximizing profits. The IUE members in Jefferson city were "earning an average of $5.40 an hour at the time of their dismissal." They were replaced by Mexican workers earning $4 a day.

Villalva offered one possible solution—replacing "country-by-country unionization" with "industry-wide unionization." When one company operates plants in the United States, Mexico, England and Taiwan, she said, the workers should organize it's entire "international workforce" to keep management from playing off workers in one country against those in another.

After the independent producers completed work on the documentary, they received post-production underwriting from the Clothing & Textile Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers, the IUE and the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

EDITORIALS

Two Viewpoints

THE MORAL FERVOR of the pastoral letter on economic affairs issued by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops contrasts with the perfunctory dismissal of the problem of poverty in America in a White House policy paper.

As reported in the press, the White House study blames the social evils linked to poverty on "two liberal decades" of spending on social programs by an overly generous government.

In what the New York Times termed "a gross error" it falsely states that welfare payments have been indexed to cost-of-living increases and concludes that "the easy availability of welfare has become a powerful force for destruction of family life through perpetuation of the welfare culture."

Since this Administration has already cut back assistance to the poor—without reducing poverty—the implied conclusion is that benefits should be cut even further. Presumably hunger would spur more people to compete for the lowest paying jobs.

Ironically, the most successful programs to lessen welfare dependency take just the opposite tack from the policies advocated by President Reagan's advisers.

To start with, many persons on the welfare rolls are unable to work because of age or infirmity. But in Massachusetts and some other locations, persons on welfare have been helped to make the transition to the workforce by such supportive measures as continued eligibility for family medical assistance, child care, transportation arrangements and skill training.

Such programs, however, involves the type of social spending this Administration has continually sought to eliminate.

THE BISHOPS would approach the problem of poverty by assigning "the most urgent priority" to "the creation of new jobs with adequate pay and decent working conditions."

Current levels of unemployment are intolerable, the bishops say. "No economy can be considered truly healthy when so many millions of people are denied jobs by forces outside their control."

They seek a national consensus "that everyone has a right to employment." That would then impose on all elements of society—the private sector and government alike—the obligation to achieve that goal.

In sharp contrast to the White House report, the bishops start from the premise that lack of jobs and not overly generous treatment of the jobless is the problem to be solved.

The bishops note that "the severity of the unemployment problem is compounded by the fact that almost three-fourths of those who are unemployed receive no unemployment insurance benefits."

They do not say that we cannot afford to pay unemployment compensation to those who seek jobs and can't find them. Instead, they say "we cannot afford the economic costs, the social dislocation, and the enormous human tragedies caused by unemployment."

The bishops acknowledge the magnitude of the task. If the effort had been made and failed, then "one might argue that the situation today is the best we can do." But the fact is that "this country is doing far less than it might to generate employment," they charge.

THEIR PROPOSED remedies closely track the programs the trade union movement has sought over the years and this Administration has resisted.

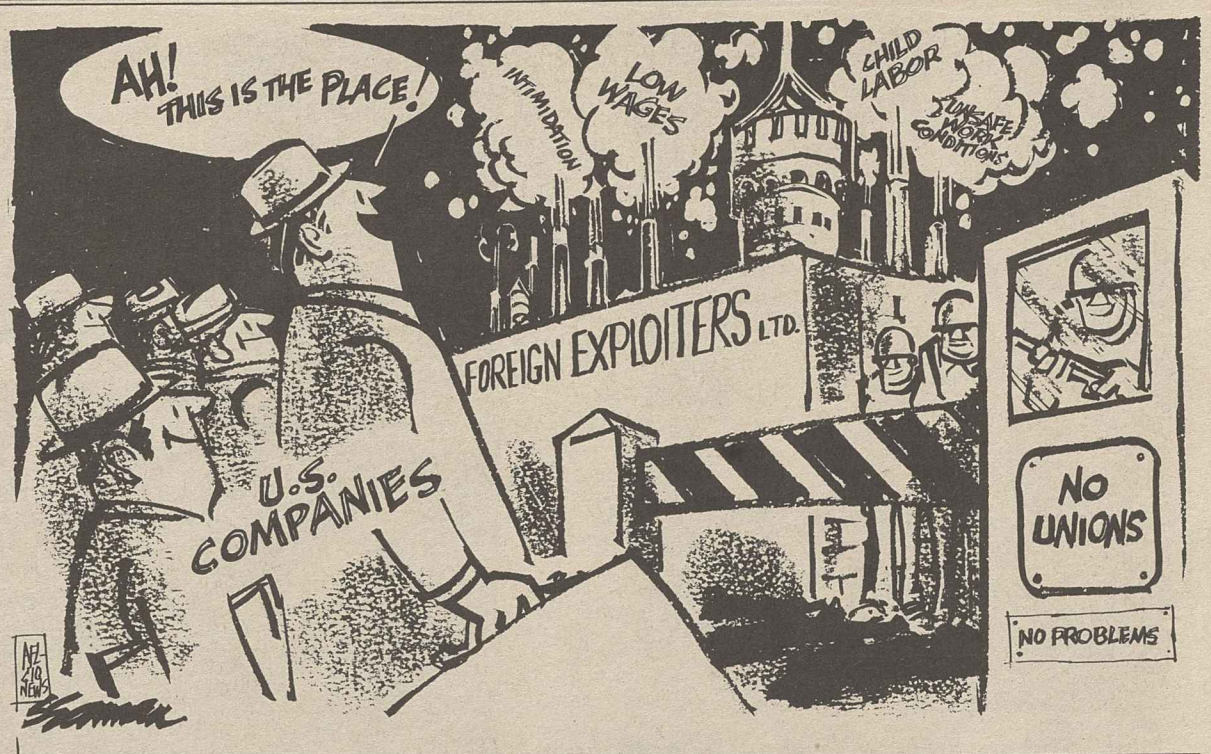
They include education and training to better prepare people for jobs, community and worker involvement in avoiding plant closings. They look to the private sector as the principal source of jobs. But they remind us that "it is both good common sense and sound economics to create jobs directly for the purpose of meeting society's unmet needs."

They point to parks and recreation facilities in need of maintenance, to bridges and highways in disrepair. They cite "a desperate need for more low-income housing" and senior citizen programs.

Especially, the bishops point to the more than eight million Americans looking for work.

"Surely we have a capacity to match these needs by giving Americans who are anxious to work a chance for productive employment in jobs that are waiting to be done," they suggest.

To that, Americans of all heritages can say "Amen."



Washington Window

On-job tests no quick fix for problems of drug use

By Press Associates Inc.

Drug abuse became a top national concern this year with the tragic death of college basketball star Len Bias, the rapid spread of cheap and deadly "crack," the deployment of U.S. troops in Bolivian coca fields, enactment of a new anti-drug law and the political exploitation of the issue in an election year.

At the same time, the less dramatic but deadly serious problem of what some call "drug abuse abuse" has moved to the forefront of national attention. The accelerating use of drug tests on workers and job seekers by employers—private and public—is the focus of the controversy.

Who should be tested and in what manner, the reliability of current drug tests, how the results should be used and who should have access to them are key questions in the controversy. At stake are basic constitutional questions concerning the right of privacy, protection from self-incrimination and the presumption of innocence until proven guilty.

Last September, President Reagan announced on television that he was issuing an executive order, effective in 60 days, that government employees whom agency heads deem to be in unspecified "sensitive" jobs would be subject to mandatory drug testing. Outraged public employee unions immediately filed suit to overturn Reagan's order.

Tests unconstitutional

On Nov. 12, a federal judge threw out a new U.S. Customs Service drug-testing program in a case which legal experts say may indicate the fate of Reagan's testing program. U.S. District Court Judge Robert F. Collins in New Orleans ruled that the testing violated the constitutional protections against unreasonable search and seizure and self-incrimination.

Judge Collins called the testing "a degrading procedure that so detracts from human dignity and self-respect that it shocks the conscience and offends the court's sense of justice." The judge is to rule on Reagan's program in a suit filed by the Government Employees and the unaffiliated Treasury Employees. The case is being watched closely by employers and unions in the private sector, where its outcome is bound to have a strong impact.

Last year, even before concern over drug abuse reached a fever pitch, an estimated 4.5 million workers and job applicants submitted to urine-sample drug tests. More and more companies have resorted to testing as a kind of quick fix for real or imagined problems of employee drug abuse. Testing sometimes has been abused, targeting certain employees for reasons unrelated to drugs, according to union and civil liberties officials.

Doubtful test results

The uncertain reliability of the standard urine tests is another danger. The Journal of the American Medical Association reported the results of samples sent to 13 labs. The false positive rates ranged as high as 66 percent. The Army acknowledged that sloppy practices in its own lab testing left in doubt the results of 46,000 positive urine samples in 1982 and 1983, and the penalties and discharges which resulted. In 1984, the Air Force reinstated 6,500 airmen who were discharged because of improperly administered drug tests.

In late October, an arbitrator ruled in favor of the National Football League Players Association that the NFL had no right under the contract to unilaterally impose random, unscheduled drug tests on players. The arbitrator agreed with the players union that the team physician first must have "reasonable cause" to believe an athlete might be using illegal drugs.

In addition to the "reasonable cause" criterion for drug testing, unions are insisting that employers use only highly accurate tests by certified labs and that workers have a hand in setting up and administering any testing program, have a right to be retested by a different lab if the result is positive, have access to all test results, and that rehabilitation is offered. Unions are insisting that a worker's right to privacy, dignity and confidentiality is guaranteed.

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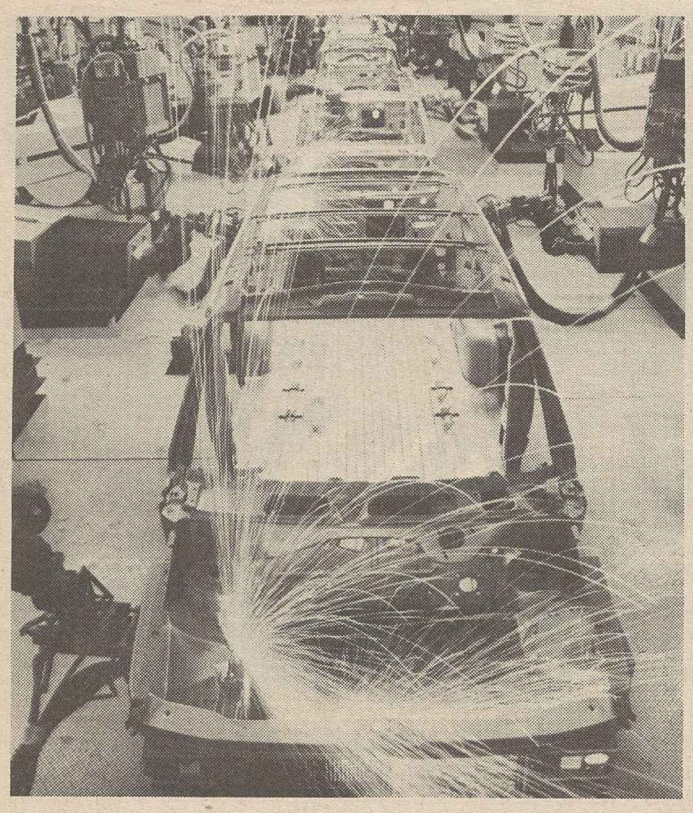
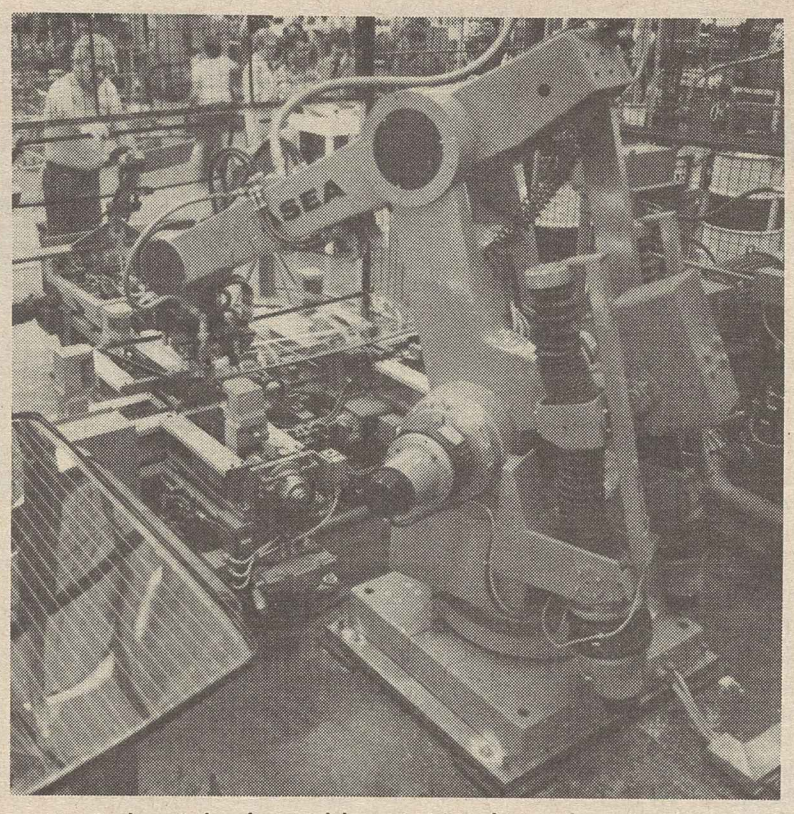


Computer-controlled industrial robot welds mini-van bodies in an auto assembly plant.



An industrial robot, able to gingerly work with glass windows, can kill if "lockout" procedures aren't followed.

'Killer' robots no joke for workers

Unions press OSHA for machinery shutdown safeguards

By Arlee C. Green

Robot kills worker.

It's not a headline of tomorrow. It happens now and it has happened—an on-the-job accident that is preventable, but there are no "lockout" requirements for shutdown safeguards on industrial robots and other machinery when humans have to service or adjust them.

In the technological press to be the first to design a robot that can do this or that, industrial designers have concentrated on the task the robot performs, all the while envisioning a roomful of robots—with nary a human in sight. But humans are still in the industrial workplace—overseeing production, performing maintenance and making adjustments—and they need protection.

Unions continue to press the Occupational Safety & Health Administration for a comprehensive lockout standard to require the de-energizing of industrial robots and other types of computer-controlled equipment during repair and maintenance. OSHA's foot-dragging in producing a lockout standard goes back to the start of the Reagan Administration.

Rule promised

Now, after six years of relative inaction, OSHA Administrator John A. Pendergrass promised in an Oct. 8 letter to a coalition of eight unions that he will propose a standard by early next year. Those unions have reported to OSHA scores of worker deaths caused by machinery that lacks lockout protections.

The coalition stressed that it would consider pushing for an emergency standard if OSHA fails to abide by its proposed timetable for rulemaking action.

While workers killed by robots made headlines, many workers make the obituaries following the unexpected start up of ordinary machinery or processes.

Unions have urged OSHA to require lockout devices that de-energize computer-controlled machinery and to set procedures for mechanically preventing inadvertant activation of equipment or processes that have been shut down.

Organized labor first pressed OSHA in 1979 for a general industry standard to protect workers. The Auto Workers petitioned the agency for an emergency rule—supplying it details on how 33 members had been crushed, electrocuted or burned to death by machinery. Since then, another 21 UAW members have been killed in similar accidents.

In June 1980, OSHA issued an advance notice of proposed rulemaking, but with the entrance of a Reagan Administration in lock-step with the corporate community, the rulemaking effort was shelved.

Death toll ignored

In 1982, the AFL-CIO, UAW, Steelworkers and Allied Industrial Workers petitioned the agency again for an emergency standard.

The USWA and the AIW also supplied details on members killed by machinery that lacked lockout protections.

OSHA again denied the call for an emergency standard and instead issued a "preproposal draft" in mid-1983 based on existing safety requirements developed by the American National Standards Institute, which had petitioned OSHA to adopt the ANSI standard.

Since September 1983, the planned standard, titled Control of Hazardous Energy Sources (lockout/tagout), has appeared only in the Federal Register agenda on proposed rulemaking. Its timetable has been semi-annually pushed forward. The projected "notice of proposed rulemaking" moved from September 1984 to January 1987.

Last September, Molders President Bernard Butsavage, in a letter to Labor Sec. William E. Brock, described the deaths of two members and maintained that "promulgation by OSHA of a comprehensive lockout standard would save both life and limb."

That letter was signed by the presidents of seven other unions—UAW, AIW, USWA, Rubber Workers, Grain Millers Machinists, Electronic Workers and Chemical Workers—as well as the AFL-CIO and the Industrial Union Dept.

Since that renewed call for action, a UAW member was killed by a robot on Oct. 11 at a General Motors Delco-Remy plant in Anderson, Ind.

In a reply to Butsavage's letter, Pendergrass said the agency "recognizes the urgency of addressing control measures that are necessary to prevent injury to employees" engaged in maintenance and repair activities.

Pendergrass pledged that the agency's director of safety standards has given "top priority to completing a draft proposal for publication in the Federal Register. The draft is now undergoing internal review and is expected to be published for public comment in the first part of 1987."

John Morawetz, director of health and safety for the Molders, said, "OSHA has been pushing back rulemaking over the past three years," repeatedly extending self-imposed deadlines. "I'm regretfully pessimistic about OSHA meeting the January deadline," he said, "but I hope it does."

Morawetz emphasized that the Molders, one of the federation's smaller unions, had nine members killed by machinery since 1972 because machinery was not locked out. In one instance, computer-controlled foundry equipment was stopped for repairs, but the power not disconnected. Inadvertent switching on of the equipment, either by the worker or others, resulted in death.

Tragic death

The most recent foundry death involving a Molders' member occurred last year in Canton, Ohio. A worker was crushed when an elevator he was working on at the Winters Industries' plant was reactivated, returning the elevator to a position that had been stored in its memory.

An investigation into that worker's death has been delayed by lawsuits against Winters Industries by OSHA and the worker's widow. Morawetz said the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health may abort its investigation. In a letter, NIOSH noted the length of time since the accident and said, "because the circumstances involved in the accident will be more difficult to define, it doesn't appear that effective research can be done in this particular case."

Court defines leave time for religious rites

In two separate actions, the Supreme Court held that employers must try to accomodate workers' religious beliefs, but ruled that "a reasonable" effort by the employer, even one a worker finds unsatisfactory, meets this obligation.

Without comment, the justices declined to review a decision of two lower courts that reaffirmed an employer's duty under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to accommodate its employees' religious beliefs, unless the firm can show that doing so would cause "undue hardship on the conduct of the employer's business."

An appeal by Volkswagen of America, Inc. stemmed from an earlier ruling by the U.S. District Court for Western Pennsylvania that Volkswagen violated the anti-discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act when it fired an auto worker who, for religious reasons, refused to work mandatory weekend overtime shifts.

Angeline Protos was awarded $73,911 in back pay and benefits as the court held that she could be replaced once a week on the assembly line "without due hardship" to the employer. That judgment was affirmed by the 3rd Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in July and by the high court's refusal to hear further argument.

Case remanded

However, in an 8-1 decision, the justices determined that a Connecticut school district made a reasonable effort to accommodate the religious practices of a teacher, even though the teacher was not satisfied with the arrangement. The high court sent back for reconsideration a lawsuit brought by the teacher against the school district and the Ansonia Federation of Teachers, to review for discriminatory practices.

Under the terms of a collective bargaining agreement between the union and the Ansonia, Conn., school district, teachers receive three paid vacation days for unspecified religious holidays and another three paid days off for "necessary personal business"—but not to be used for religious observances or other activities already covered by the contract.

Church observances

Ronald Philbrook, a member of the Worldwide Church of God, sought to use all six paid leave days for religious observances, but the school board rejected that proposal, offering the teacher unpaid leave for three days.

The teacher sued the school board and the local union, charging both with discrimination under Title VII.

While the federal district court in Connecticut found that no discrimination had occurred, that decision was overturned by the 2nd Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals. The school district's action before the Supreme Court was joined by the Connecticut Teachers and the AFL-CIO.

In his dissent, Justice Thurgood Marshall argued that while unpaid leave could be considered a reasonable accommodation, an employer was still obligated to consider equally reasonable alternatives offered by the worker. "In my view, an offer of unpaid leave does not end the inquiry," he wrote.

Dissenting in part was Justice John Paul Stevens, who argued against returning the suit to the lower court. Stevens held that the teacher's claim was actually a bid for "extraordinary treatment," based on his religious beliefs.

NLRB rejects open-shop attack on Saturn pact

The National Right to Work Committee's Legal Defense Fund lost its attempt to overturn an agreement between the Auto Workers and General Motors Corp. affecting employment at the Saturn small-car plant being built in Spring Hill, Tenn.

The anti-union group lost every round in its effort to persuade the National Labor Relations Board's field staff and general counsel's office to issue an unfair labor practice complaint against the UAW and GM.

Its contention is that the agreement, which gives present General Motors employees priority for jobs when the new Saturn plant begins operations, violates both federal labor law and Tennessee's "right-to-work" ban on union-shop contracts.

That argument was rejected last June by the National Labor Relations Board regional director in Detroit in a ruling supported by an opinion of an advisory unit in the general counsel's office.

NLRB General Counsel Rosemary M. Collyer has now formally denied the right-to-work foundation's appeal, making the refusal to issue a complaint final.

"There can be no doubt" that the UAW was within its rights in negotiating transfer rights for Saturn jobs for GM employees it presently represents, Collyer said in her denial of the appeal. That's especially true, she noted, since the creation of new jobs at another location might result in fewer jobs at existing locations.

While the UAW will be required to establish its majority status at the Saturn location before gaining formal recognition as bargaining representative, Collyer noted the likelihood that the UAW will be able to establish its majority status.

She rejected the claim that the transfer rights gives unlawful hiring preference to union members, observing that the agreement gives job transfer to General Motors employees and does not specify union members.

Tennessee's "right-to-work" law isn't violated, Collyer said, because the union-security provision of the Saturn agreement requires union membership only "to the extent permitted by law."

Earlier this year, another open-shop organization lost its challenge to the selection of a union construction firm to build the Saturn plant. The NLRB regional director in Memphis ruled in that case that the pre-hire agreement the contractor negotiated with building trades unions was legal under the National Labor Relations Act. The non-union Associated Builders & Contractors had argued that the contractor could not make such an agreement.

Labor movement marks AFL's 100th birthday

By David L. Perlman

The labor movement's first big merger took place 100 years ago, when the pioneering Federation of Organized Trades & Labor Unions evolved into the American Federation of Labor.

The site was Columbus, Ohio, where the sixth and last convention of FOTLU opened on Dec. 7, 1886, and the first convention of the AFL adjourned five days later.

Samuel Gompers, the 36-year-old vice president of the Cigar Makers Union presided at the closeout of the labor federation he helped form in 1881. FOTLU had been high on ideals but low on resources. It functioned largely as a legislative clearing house, without staff, full-time officers or a headquarters.

Even in those days, dues revenue amounting to about $500 a year didn't go very far.

Gompers would leave Columbus as the first president, and only paid official, of America's new labor federation. In return for a salary of $1,000 a year, he would be required, in the words of the AFL constitution, to "devote his entire time to the interests of the federation." That turned out to be quite a bargain for the labor movement.

In 1886, the uneasy alliance between the growing trade unions and the starting-to-fade Knights of Labor was falling apart. The Knights, with a membership that included small business owners and farmers and a vision of a cooperative society, was increasingly viewed as a rival rather than a patron of the organized trades.

Both within FOTLU and among unions that had not formally affiliated with it, there was a growing consensus that a stronger trade union center was needed.

Top officers of 20 unions met in Philadelphia in May 1886 and named a committee to plan a national congress of unions. The planning group included leaders of the Iron & Steel Workers, Cigar Makers, Coal Miners and Iron Molders, but its dominant figure was Peter J. McGuire, the highly regarded secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners.

It was McGuire who, on behalf of the committee, signed the call addressed to "the officers and members of all trades unions of America." It invited them to send delegates to a convention that would start Dec. 8 at Druid Hall in Columbus, Ohio. Delegates could get a special con-

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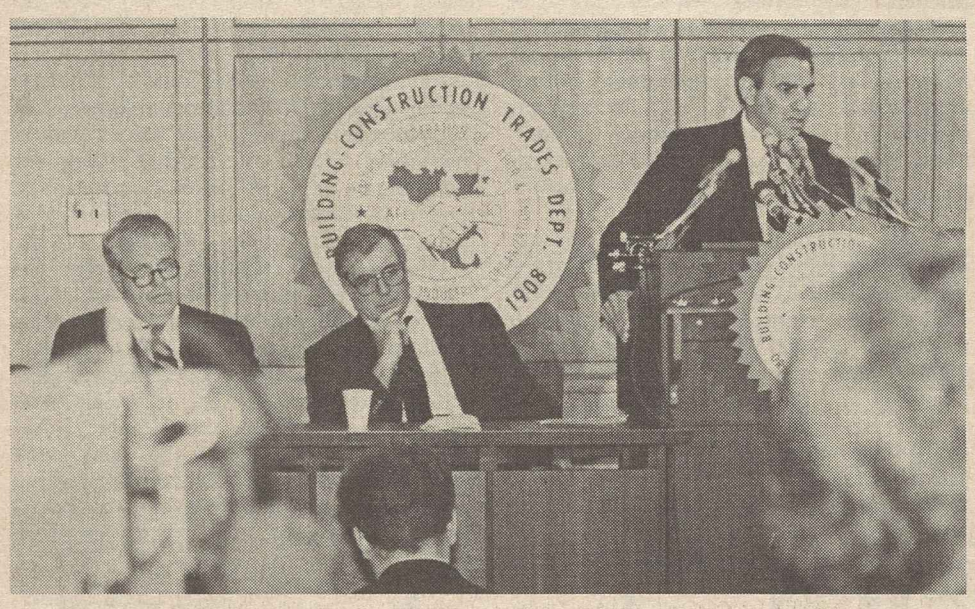

BCTD President Robert A. Georgine briefs reporters. Seated are Ohbayashi negotiator William Curtin and BCTD Sec.-Treas. Joseph Maloney.

Construction crafts win Toyota accord

Georgine hails resolution of long dispute

Construction workers building Toyota's big new auto assembly plant in Georgetown, Ky., will be referred by union hiring halls and paid union wages and benefits.

The agreement to switch from open shop to union hall hiring is a major victory for the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. in a long-running dispute with the Ohbayashi Corp., the Japanese construction firm that is overseeing the Toyota project.

BCTD President Robert A. Georgine, who with other building trades leaders worked out the final terms in a marathon bargaining session in Washington, was elated. Building trades unions had mounted a nationwide campaign protesting the Ohbayashi firm's hiring policy, with mass demonstrations in Washington and New York as well as Kentucky.

"What we have attempted to do," Georgine explained," is to impress on foreign investors that if you come to this country the proper thing to do is to respect our traditions and use the collective bargaining system."

Ohbayashi, which started off copying the "union-avoidance" tactics of America's worst employers, in the end retained an experienced labor negotiator, attorney William J. Curtin, to help it reach a settlement.

Curtin, who appeared with Georgine at a news conference to brief reporters on the accord, said the dispute had been "a learning process" for Ohbayashi executives. In response to questions about Toyota's role, he said the auto firm had let its construction contractor know that it was "uncomfortable" with an "acrimonious relationship with organized labor."

The Ohbayashi spokesman said the plus factor for management will be the greater efficiency, quality and productivity it anticipates from the skills of union building trades workers.

Georgine said the building trades project

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Menacing trade problem spurs call for remedies

The nation's trade deficit ran at a torrid annual clip of $167.9 billion in the first 10 months of this year, far outstripping the $148.5-billion shortfall racked up in all of 1985, the government reported.

Although the October imbalance narrowed to $12.1 billion—$500 million below the previous month and the best performance in 14 months—the AFL-CIO found "little to cheer about" in the figures released by the Commerce Dept.

There is "no indication of any serious turnaround" in the economic future, said Federation Research Director Rudy Oswald. "The nation is staring at annual deficits above the $100-billion mark as far as the eye can see, unless serious attention is paid to the problem."

The trade gap with Japan—which surged nearly 22 percent to $5 billion last month to remain the largest single deficit with countries around the world—is "a matter of particular concern," Oswald pointed out. "The Administration has pegged its forecasts of closing the gap with Japan on the somewhat improved currency exchange rate between the two countries," he said. "Obviously that hasn't happened and doesn't seem likely to happen."

That's why the provisions for bilateral steps to reduce imbalances of this magnitude, contained in trade legislation passed this year by the House but pigeonholed in the Republican-dominated Senate, are so urgently needed, he declared.

"With both houses of the 100th Congress under Democratic leadership," Oswald said, "a trade bill with teeth in it seems certain to have top priority" and will arm the government with the needed tools to "end the continued erosion of American jobs and the demise of American industry."

An increase in exports—up from September's $17.5-billion level to $19.3 billion—was entirely responsible for the slight narrowing in the trade deficit. Imports rose

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Court rules needy strikers entitled to get food stamps

A 1981 law that barred strikers or members of their households from obtaining food stamps is unconstitutional, a federal judge ruled.

If the decision by District Court Judge Louis Oberdorfer holds up under an anticipated appeal to the Supreme Court, it will stand as a landmark win in a two-decade battle over employer attempts to disqualify strikers and their families from a food assistance program that is based solely on need.

The ruling was hailed by the two unions that initiated the constitutional challenge, the Auto Workers and the Mine Workers. UAW President Owen Bieber said the food stamp ban reflected a "callous and inhumane attitude toward working people." The UMW said it joined with the Auto Workers in bringing the case because the law is unfair to workers.

Food stamps are issued to households with incomes and resources below specified levels, not to individuals. The 1981 law, which was part of the massive budget

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Reagan job-export scheme draws fire

Runaways spell misery for American and Mexican workers

By Gene Zack

Members of Congress and union officials raked the Reagan Administration over the coals for encouraging U.S. firms to capitalize on sweatshop wages by transferring assembly facilities to Mexico. They branded it a recipe for economic disaster for workers in both countries.

Chairman John LaFalce (D-N.Y.) of the House Economic Stabilization subcommittee accused the Commerce Dept. of "serving the greediest" industries by "promoting the export of U.S. jobs to Mexico" instead of helping the 11.5 million Americans thrown out of work since 1979 because of the impact of unfair foreign competition.

The hearings—triggered by disclosure of the Commerce Dept.'s sponsorship of a three-day exposition in Acapulco in early December to acquaint American firms with the economic advantages of setting up shop in Mexico—came just 24 hours before the government announced that the trade deficit was running at an annual rate of $167.9 billion.

That would eclipse the $148.5-billion record set in 1985.

Electronic Workers President William H. Bywater called it "cruel and absurd" for the government to promote U.S. investment in Mexico, which accounted for $5.8 billion of last year's trade deficit.

What attract firms to join the exodus, Bywater said, are "wages which are kept low by government policies that discourage trade unionism." This means that companies can enjoy what the Commerce Dept. described as "an even higher potential for profit" in the 120,000 brochures it mailed out promoting the Acapulco show.

Economist Steve Beckman of the Auto Workers charged that American firms are migrating to Mexico to take advantage not only of "extremely low wages," but also

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Testifying at House oversight hearings: IUE President William H. Bywater, and Antonio Sanchez and Arthur Gundersheim of ACTWU.

Reagan's job-export scheme assailed at House hearings

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because that government condones the "mistreatment of workers trying to organize unions" and closes its eyes to "inadequate safety and health conditions."

"We are concerned about the improvement of the incomes and working conditions of Mexican workers," Beckman told the subcommittee. "But investment by U.S. companies along the border is not an adequate solution to the economic problems facing Mexico and is a direct threat to the jobs of American workers who are displaced through these investments and to thousands more who must compete with the output of such operations."

Arthur Gundersheim, assistant to the president of the Clothing & Textile Workers, dismissed as "fallacious" the claims by the Reagan Administration that transferring assembly operations to Mexico somehow "preserves jobs" in the United States.

In the import-battered clothing industry, he said, less than 5 percent of the jobs involved in producing a garment remain in this country.

The "first and primary responsibility" of Congress and the White House, he declared, is "to preserve our jobs and economic well-being and not be absurdly promoting job flight abroad."

Gundersheim was accompanied by Antonio Sanchez, manager of ACTWU's El Paso joint board, who detailed the demise of jobs in American border communities because of the rise of the maquilladoras—so-called "golden mills"—across the Rio Grande. One plant cut its American workforce from 7,500 to only 1,800 while employment nosedived from 3,500 to only 500 because of the cross-border transfer of the major part of their output.

The jobless were left without health insurance, their cars and homes were repossessed and they were "demoralized" by being thrown on the economic trash heap. "How can American workers compete against wages of only $2.95 a day in Mexico?" Sanchez asked, calling the flight of industry "economic capital punishment" for American workers.

Job-saving claim

Alexander H. Good, director general of the U.S. & Foreign Commercial Service in the Commerce Dept., defended the program, declaring it resulted in "the preservation of U.S. jobs that otherwise would have been lost" to foreign competition.

Without the maquilladora connection, he contended, American firms would have to close down all of their operations "because of the inability to compete with imports of wholly foreign origin."

The Commerce Dept. spent $166,000 of taxpayers' money arranging the Acapulco exposition before Congress ordered it to cease luring American firms to Mexico. The money was supposed to be recouped from the $325 each American businessman paid to get into the show and the $1,500 fee charged exhibitors hawking the "golden mills" advantage.

It then turned the project over to a Mexican public relations firm which had been retained by the department as an "adviser" during the year-long promotion.

The Acapulco show may be only the tip of the iceberg. Good told the subcommittee a dozen more Mexican promotions are planned for 1987, although he insisted they would be targeted at showing firms how to increase their exports to Mexico.

But labor witnesses pointed out that Mexico is, as Gundersheim put it, "one of the most closed nations" to American goods. "They can ship unlimited quantities here" while imposing "heinous" requirements on American firms that want to ship their products into that country.

No change

Testifying before a House Banking subcommittee on Reagan Administration efforts to encourage U.S. firms to set up assembly operations in Mexico, Electronic Workers President William H. Bywater put into the record this text of a telegram sent to the President:

"The IUE demands an immediate investigation of the role of the Commerce Dept. in promoting a conference aimed at attracting U.S. manufacturers to cheap labor sources on the Mexico side of the Rio Grande. Your Administration . . . has used taxpayers' money to promote the conference . . . the sole purpose of which is to sell U.S. manufacturers on the idea that wage rates are lower on the Juarez side.

"Too many Americans, including members of my union, have lost their jobs to international runaways. Your Administration should act immediately to restrain the department from continuing to assist this conference. In addition, we demand to know how and why our government became a sponsor of this effort to deprive Americans of jobs."

The telegram, Bywater emphasized, was sent in April 1969 to President Nixon—a fact, he said, that shows that the Commerce Dept.'s "contempt for American workers" hasn't changed much in 17 years.

By 4-to-1 margin

Typographical Union ratifies CWA merger

Denver—Typographical Union members voted overwhelmingly to merge with the Communications Workers, re-elected four incumbent officers and one new officer, and approved a special defense fund assessment.

In mail balloting conducted in the United States and Canada by the American Arbitration Association, the ITU membership endorsed the merger proposal by a 4-to-1 margin. The final, unofficial tally reported Nov. 26 was 29,740 for merger and 7,265 against.

The 75,000-member ITU will become the Printing, Publishing & Media Workers sector of the CWA, which currently has 650,000 members. The merger decision will become effective 15 days after the results are certified by the AAA.

"This is a great achievement for our union," said ITU President Robert S. McMichen. "By joining with a union of CWA's size and sophistication, we'll be better equipped to move into the 21st Century and beyond. As importantly, it is a merger that will allow us to retain our identity and respects our democratic traditions," he said.

Common jurisdiction

CWA President Morton Bahr, in applauding the highly positive vote, noted the increasing overlap of the two unions' jurisdictions. He pointed out that newspaper publishers, primary ITU employers, are becoming more and more involved in cable television and telecommunications.

"We see this merger as a way to strengthen everyone's position at the bargaining table and on the organizing front," Bahr said. "It's healthy for everyone."

CWA's top leaders previously unanimously endorsed the merger, which did not require membership approval.

In the balloting for officers, McMichen was re-elected, defeating First Vice President Allan J. Heritage with the unofficial vote of 23,283 to 14,754.

Sec.-Treas. Thomas W. Kopeck was re-elected by a narrower margin, beating William F. Frazee of Detroit Local 18 in 20,925 to 16,908 vote.

For the vice president slots, incumbents William J. Boarman and Billy J. Austin were both re-elected. Boarman beat Robert L. Wartinger, a past ITU vice president, 21,695 to 15,749, while Austin defeated Gerald J. Miller of Philadelphia Local 2, 21,491 to 15,708.

New vice president

In the election for the open vice presidency, Fred M. Leathem of Southern California Local 17 tallied 20,320 votes to 16,368 for Joel K. Wilson of Detroit Mailers Local M-40.

By a 25,427 to 10,559 vote, the ITU membership approved the establishment of a supplemental fund which will provide a maximum benefit of $200 a week for members on strike or locked out. It will be funded by monthly dues of one-half of 1 percent of straight-time earnings.

ITU members will also be under the CWA defense fund, which does not pay a weekly benefit, but rather provides benefits on the basis of need.

In the past several years, ITU members had turned down merger proposals with the Newspaper Guild, the Graphic Communications Union, and the unaffiliated Teamsters. Only the IBT takeover proposal reached a referendum vote, and the Teamsters were rebuffed by a 2-to-1 margin in 1985.

GM abandons plan to move 2,000 Delco jobs to Mexico

Kokomo, Ind.—The Auto Workers have persuaded General Motors Corp. to cancel its plans to eliminate the jobs of 2,000 workers by transferring some of its operations to Mexico.

The decision to keep assembly of the automaker's new model radio at the Delco Electronics plant here was part of an agreement that ended a six-day walkout of 7,700 UAW members over issues ranging from on-the-job health and safety, production standards and subcontracting work to nonunion plants.

Under the strike-ending settlement, Delco agreed to clean up areas in the plant that posed health hazards to workers and to adopt a plan for streamlining job classifications.

On the subcontracting issue, management pledged to utilize members of Local 292 to do work that had been turned over to a nonunion operation and agreed to a cash settlement for 400 UAW members victimized by violations of the contract provision against subcontracting.

In Detroit, meanwhile, UAW Vice President Stephen P. Vokich accused Ford Motor Co. of using "sleight of hand" tricks to conceal the growing transfer of work from U.S. plants to foreign countries.

Ford's announcement that it would expand production at plants in Livonia, Ypsilanti and Rawsonville, Mich., Vokich said, "will not come close to replacing those jobs lost" because of management's plan to build engines and transfer trim operations to Mexico and to move tractor production to France and Brazil.

The UAW official said the company was drawing encouragement from the Reagan Administration's economic and trade policies that "reward foreign producers at the expense of U.S. manufacturing." He added that Ford's export of jobs will not balance the trade deficit but will bring "pain and suffering" to American workers.

Catastrophic health measure lacking

Action pressed to safeguard 37 million uninsured workers

A proposal by Health & Human Services Sec. Otis T. Bowen for catastrophic health insurance coverage for workers and the elderly falls far short of addressing the key health care issues facing the American family, the AFL-CIO charged.

Labor has always recognized the need for insurance to prevent long illnesses from bankrupting American families and has pursued this issue in collective bargaining and in proposals for national health plans, said Bert Seidman, director for Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security.

But the need for such coverage is dwarfed by the reality that 37 million Americans—the unemployed, part-time workers, the self-employed and low-wage, unorganized workers—have no health care at all, Seidman said, and the first consideration should be to devise ways to bring them under a health insurance umbrella.

For the elderly, he pointed out, the major problem is the "astronomical cost of long-term care, especially in nursing homes, which requires them to pauperize themselves to go on Medicaid," a program designed to meet the health needs of the poor.

Only a small proportion of the elderly face large costs for acute care in the hospital, Seidman emphasized, "yet this is the only problem that the Bowen plan addresses in any detail."

Rise in premiums

The HHS insurance plan, which Bowen stressed does not yet have White House blessing, calls for a one-third hike in the Medicare premium the elderly now pay for coverage of physicians' services. Its benefits, however, would not kick in until after the elderly have paid $2,000 a year out of their own pocket for acute health care.

Bowen's plan also recommends:

- Tax-sheltered savings accounts similar to Individual Retirement Accounts into which workers who want to protect themselves against the cost of long-term hospital care would have to make deposits of their own funds.
- State legislation to require all employers who now have health insurance plans to include a catastrophic coverage option, at workers' expense. However there would be no obligation for employers to provide health coverage if they don't already do so.
- Putting on the backs of the states the responsibility for establishing risk pools to underwrite coverage for the medically uninsurable.

The National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce indicated unhappiness with having any state-mandated provisions governing health care plans. And the insurance industry opposed the expansion of Medicare out of fears that it would cut into the sale of so-called "medigap" policies.

Reagan domestic budget cuts victimize children

By Candice Johnson

Too many children are trapped in poverty because the federal government has withdrawn its investment in educational and job-creation programs. The sharp cutbacks seriously "affect the ability of children to lead productive lives."

That's the conclusion of a report issued by House Education & Labor Committee Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) taking the federal government to task for allowing 14 million children to live in poverty.

The report's findings parallel recommendations of the 1985 AFL-CIO convention, which scored the Reagan Administration's capricious cutbacks in child nutrition, public assistance, early education and other programs that are "critical to the survival and well-being of millions of children," pointing out that children are the largest group of poor in America.

The report, which was not adopted by the full committee, outlined basic rights that belong to all children—the right to economic opportunity, a quality education, a healthy body, and a safe and livable environment—and noted the government's responsiblity to translate these rights into "practical realities." It included a series of goals and recommendations to lift children out of poverty and reviewed existing programs in health, nutrition, education and other areas.

Hawkins stressed that the primary way to meet the needs of children is to provide their parents with jobs and fair wages, and criticized Administration policies that have kept more than 14 million people chronically unemployed and underemployed.

The report called for developing a "stand-by" jobs program to respond to the nation's chronic high unemployment, and increasing the minimum wage to adjust for a more than 25 percent decline in value over the past five years. It noted that a worker earning the $3.35 hourly minimum wage has an annual income of $6,964, far below the government's official poverty level for a family of three or four.

Key ingredients

Other recommendations to improve the economic well-being of families include:

- Advance warning of plant shutdowns.
- Expanded unemployment insurance.
- Policies to end discrimination based on race and sex.
- A national computerized jobs bank.

The report also called for national standards for the Aid for Families with Dependent Children to allow welfare benefits for "poor intact families with fathers in the home that encourages family stability," instead of the varying state regulations that do not permit payments to a two-parent family. It also recommended a national minimum benefit that, combined with food stamps, would equal 90 percent of the poverty level income for a family of four.

While schools and educational programs are supervised by state and local governments, the federal government has a responsibility to ensure that all children have access to a quality education, the report stated. "For those children who are the most vulnerable—those who live in poverty, those who are racial and ethnic minorities, those who are limited-English proficient speakers, those who are disabled and those who are abused—the federal government must ensure more than just equal access," by supplying additional programs and resources to help them achieve equal educational results, it stressed.

Increases in federal aid for elementary and secondary schools will provide these often-neglected children with the extra help they need, the report noted. It recommended a 20-percent increase in the number of students served by programs such as Head Start, a 10-percent increase in funding for bilingual education and more aid for educating disabled children.

Children also have been denied their right to healthy bodies and quality health care, Hawkins pointed out, calling the problem of hunger in the United States "more widespread and serious than at any time during the past two decades."

Health care in the United States "remains a privilege instead of a right," the report charged, with care available "only to those who can pay for it." At least 9 million children have no regular source of medical care, 18 million have never seen a dentist, and more than half of all preschool children are not immunized against preventable disease.

Among the recommendations to improve the health of children are:

- Continued funding for five child nutrition programs due to expire.
- Creating a comprehensive health care program for low-income children through age 18 and expanding prenatal medical care coverage for low-income pregnant women.
- Increasing funds for federal immunization programs so that all children receive necessary vaccinations.

Decent housing

Children are also entitled to a safe and livable environment that includes decent housing and "the opportunity to live in a crime- and drug-free" area, with access to "recreational facilities that provide opportunities for positive physical and mental development," the report found.

Pointing out that millions of Americans live in substandard and unsafe housing, the report called for more low- and middle-income housing units and repairs and renovation of substandard units. It also advocated federally funded drug education programs and initiatives by juvenile and law enforcement agencies to reduce gang violence and crime.

Labor movement marks 100th birthday of AFL

High ideals key to century of progress

Continued from Page 1

vention rate of $1.50 a day at the Farmers' Hotel or pay $1 a day at the less plush United States Hotel.

"The time has now arrived to draw the bonds of unity much closer between all the trades unions of America," McGuire wrote. He called for establishment of a congress of unions that would have as its objectives:

- The formation of unions and the encouragement of the labor movement in America.
- The organization of trades assemblies or central labor unions in every city.
- The founding of state labor bodies "to influence state legislation in the interest of the working masses."
- Establishment of national and international unions of the various trades, with full autonomy.
- A federation or alliance of all national and international unions "for mutual assistance," to seek "national legislation in the interest of the working people," and to influence public opinion in favor of organized labor.
- "To aid and encourage the labor press of America, and to disseminate tracts and literature on the labor movement."

Cooperating fully, Gompers and the other leaders of the FOTLU switched their convention site to Columbus, at the same hall, for Dec. 7, the day before the start of the congress of unions called by the McGuire group.

Gompers' optimism

With an optimism that history would vindicate, Gompers said the meeting to establish a new labor federation "promises to be the most successful and eventful in the history of American trades unionism."

At the FOTLU convention, Gompers presented the final report of the legislative committee, which served as the equivalent of an executive council. Unions, then as now, were being criticized for strikes. The committee response was succinct:

"Strikes are bad, but only are they so when they are failures."

The delegates then instructed their legislative committee to confer with a committee from the union conference called by the McGuire group, which was to open at 1 p.m. the following day.

There was no last-minute hitch and the minutes note that "the federation resolved itself into a committee of the whole to participate in the conference" of trade unions.

McGuire gaveled the new convention to order and John McBride of the Miners was elected chairman. Then, as the New York Tribune reported, "delegates to the Federation of Trades were admitted as a body and given full privileges as delegates."

Merger had been accomplished, to be formalized later in the proceedings by adoption of the AFL constitution.

The pragmatic thrust of the new federation was reflected in resolutions adopted at that first convention.

The eight-hour-day struggle had engaged the nation's unions, but most Americans still worked longer hours.

Interim step

The first AFL convention went on record for an eight-hour working day, but urged as an interim step "nine hours as a day's work in all branches of labor now working 10 hours a day."

It warned against "frivolous use of the boycott as a remedy on every trifling occasion." But it "favorably endorsed" boycotts that are "properly undertaken . . . as a last resort."

A resolution on union-busting condemned "all efforts on the part of employers to break up trades unions."

There were plenty of examples. One section of the resolution noted that "at the annual session of the Boss Brewers' Association, held at Niagara Falls, a resolution was passed instructing the secretary to obtain the names of all workers who are members of any union, for the purpose of blacklisting."

Another resolution condemned the Pinkertons, the Coal & Iron Police, and any other "armed body of men formed to act as spies and thugs for corporate monopolies."

Legislation was urged to "limit the authority of the master over the apprentice to the hours of employment in the particular trade or handcraft." After hours, the convention said, an apprentice's life should be his own.

Gompers was elected president of the new American Federation of Labor and its only full-time officer. The two vice presidents were George Harris of Pennsylvania's Federation of Miners and James W. Smith of the Journeymen Tailors. McGuire was elected secretary, despite his protest that his duties with the Carpenters didn't leave him time for other work.

"That was the first salaried office I held in the labor movement," Gompers was to note in his autobiography many years later.

The immediate problem was that the AFL constitution, which provided for his $1,000 annual salary, wouldn't go into effect until March.

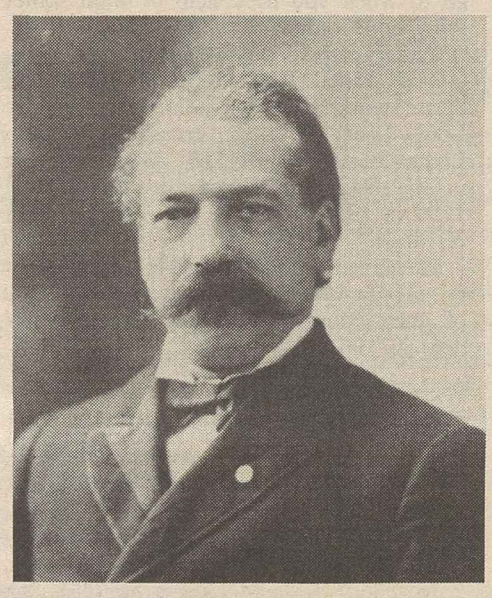
"It was a difficult economic struggle for me to devote my entire time for these months without receiving any salary or compensation," he wrote, "for I had a wife and six children in addition to myself to support. Somehow, I managed . . . My family and I just put ourselves in the psychological position of a strike or lockout."

The AFL-CIO's first office was a tiny room with a brick floor, "cold in the winter and hot in summer." The furniture was a kitchen table brought from home and a box for a chair. A son who helped out after school "transformed empty tomato boxes contributed by the friendly proprietor of a grocery store across the street into files."

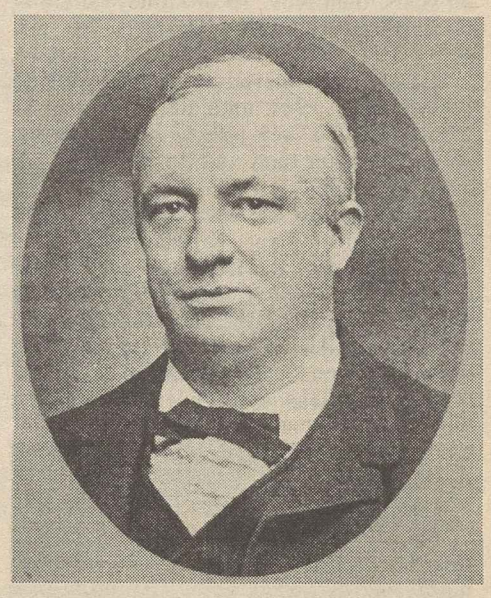
Gompers would walk to work, to save carfare, and carry his lunch. "More often than not, it was midnight before I got home. There were meetings, speeches to make, conferences to attend, for the cause of labor is no easy mistress to serve."

But when the AFL held its second annual convention, the 58 delegates present represented 40 unions with more than 600,000 members.

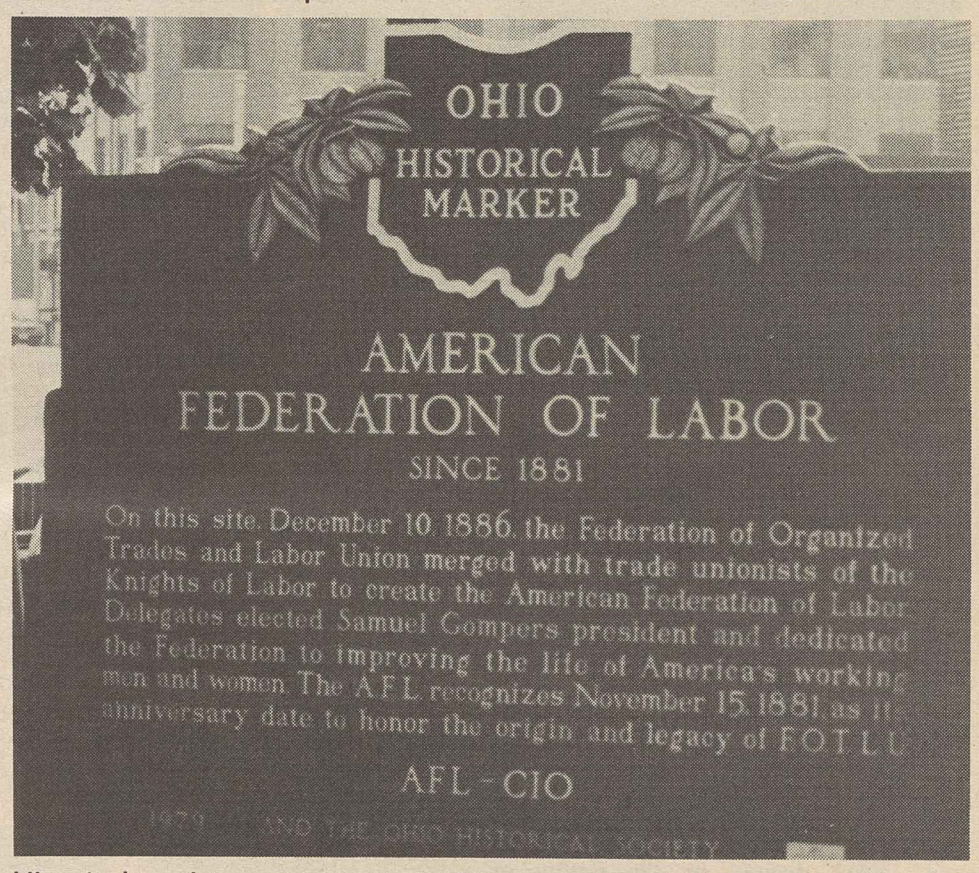
America's trade union movement was on its way.



Samuel Gompers



Peter J. McGuire



Historical marker at the site of 1886 merger convention.

Newly elected AFA President Susan Bianchi Sand, left, accepts gavel from outgoing President Linda Puchala at the union's convention in St. Louis.

New officers elected

Flight Attendants map merger survival tactics

St. Louis—Susan Bianchi Sand was elected president of the Flight Attendants, pledging the union will "survive the shakeup" of an airline industry plagued by mergers, takeovers and bankruptcies. She will succeed Linda A. Puchala, who is retiring after guiding the union through seven turbulent years since airline deregulation.

Mapping a vigorous collective bargaining program to meet the challenge posed by volatile conditions in the industry, AFA convention delegates called for even-handed treatment of flight attendants when two or more airlines merge.

Bianchi Sand, AFA vice president since 1979, said the union would develop a bargaining strategy to "combat management's attacks" on flight attendants.

"We formed this union because we believed we were the best people to represent flight attendants," she declared. "We believed we knew the value of our labor better than anyone else. We believed we—not someone else—should be there when the final deal was made."

As AFA grapples with the changing face of the industry, the president-elect said, "we must gather up our experience, resources and energy" to seek ways to preserve flight attendants' jobs.

The convention, or AFA board of directors meeting, also elected Juliette Lenoir to fill the vice presidency and Fred Casey to succeed Sec.-Treas. Pamela Casey, who did not seek re-election. The new officers will take over the union's reins on Jan. 1.

Concerned over the implications of a National Academy of Science report indicating that flight attendants' health is endangered by smoking aboard aircraft, AFA called on the Federal Aviation Administration to establish adequate cabin air quality standards.

Certification plan

The union leaders also called for certification of flight attendants, noting that other workers in the airline industry—including pilots and mechanics—are now subject to licensing requirements.

AFA indicated it would continue its fight for legislation to safeguard the rights of flight attendants, unions and women and to work for industry-wide safety standards and adequate crews aboard the nation's commercial air carriers.

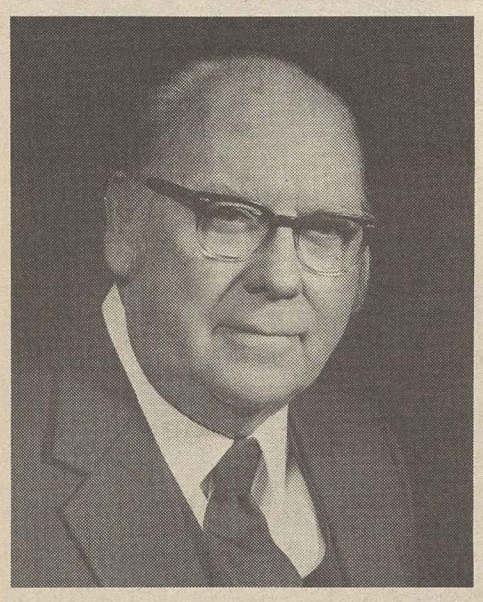
The largest flight attendant union in the world, AFA represents 21,000 members at Air Wisconsin, Airlift International, Aloha Airlines, Braniff Inc., Flying Tigers, Hawaiian Airlines, Midway South, Ozark Air Lines, Piedmont Airlines, United Airlines, USAir and Western Air Lines.

Painters' Bud Raftery dies, served on Executive Council

S. Frank Raftery, a former AFL-CIO vice president who headed the Painters for 20 years, died Nov. 20 of kidney failure at Georgetown University Hospital. He was 67.

Raftery, who served as president of the IBPAT from 1964 until his retirement in 1984, played a key role in setting up the union's pension fund and upgrading its job safety programs.

In a letter to his wife Marjorie, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue said, "The courage with which Bud faced his long illness is typical of the straight-ahead, no-nonsense leader of men we all came to respect so much. His commitment to the brotherhood was total, but his influence reached far beyond . . . he left an indelible memory as the reliable one, the man you go to when you need help or want something done right."



S. Frank Raftery

Raftery served on the federation's Executive Council from 1970 to 1984. He began work as a sign painter, joining St. Louis Local 774, later transferring to St. Louis Glaziers Local 513. After a serving in the Navy, he joined St. Louis Local 1199 in 1953, where he was member until his death.

He served the local and the international as an organizer, representative, and director of jurisdiction before being elected president in 1964.

Executive officer

Besides serving as an AFL-CIO vice president, Raftery held executive offices in the federation's Building & Construction Trades, Metal Trades, Maritime Trades, Union Label & Service Trades, Industrial Union and Public Employee Departments.

In 1967, Raftery helped establish the first pension fund for painters and allied trades workers. In the field of worker safety, Raftery led the crusade in 1973 to eliminate asbestos in drywall compounds—before it was banned in consumer products.

At his direction in 1974, the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine investigated health hazards in the painting trades and in 1979, the union's health and safety program won wide acclaim as a leader in that field. That same year, Raftery set up the union's first health and safety department.

Survivors include six daughters and a son. Funeral services were held Nov. 24 at the Annunciation Church in Washington with burial at the Gates of Heaven Cemetery in Silver Spring, Md.

Court rules needy strikers entitled to get food stamps

Continued from Page 1

measure rammed through Congress in the first year of the Reagan Administration, barred a household from eligibility for food stamps if any member of the household is on strike.

In holding the law unconstitutional, Judge Oberdorfer of the U.S. District Court in Washington stressed that it "impermissibly" pressures a striker through his family.

He noted that a worker "who exercises his constitutionally protected rights" of union association and expresses his support for a strike "sacrifices not only his own food stamps but also those of other members of his household, including infant children and the dependent elderly."

The Administration is expected to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court, although it has not yet announced its intent to do so. In terms of food stamp costs, the amount involved is relatively small since strikers don't qualify for food stamps until their resources are largely exhausted and their family income has dropped below the cutoff level.

In finding the legislation unconstitutional, Oberdorfer cited documented examples by the two unions of households denied food stamps. They included families of workers who struck against an employer's unfair labor practices and a demand for pay cuts. In one case, a worker testified that he abandoned a strike solely to qualify his family for food stamps.

"In order to regain food stamp eligibility, strikers have the choice of leaving their households, abandoning a strike by returning to work, quitting their job, or attempting to persuade their unions to call off the strike," the judge noted.

Strikers treated harshly

A worker who quits a job is treated better than one who exercises his right to strike, the court observed.

A job-quitter faces a disqualification of 90 days, but even that is waived if the applicant for food stamps showed "good cause" for leaving a job. Yet the law denies food stamps to a striker's household regardless of the cause of the strike, the decision noted.

In the same session of Congress that passed the anti-striker provision as part of a massive budget reconciliation bill, the House Agriculture Committee issued a report explaining why it had in the past refused to penalize the strikers.

The explanation, which was quoted in the court decision, was that "such an automatic exclusion seemed unfair and inequitable, and would have involved the government in the non-neutral act of pressuring the worker to abandon the strike."

Work injuries continue to rise in 1985

The AFL-CIO voiced concern over the rise in work-related deaths in 1985 to 3,750, an increase of 10 over a year earlier, and the jump of 100,000 in job-related injuries and illnesses to 5.5 million.

The federation also noted the sharp upturn in both the rate and total numbers of on-the-job injuries and illnesses in the service sector.

Federation safety specialist Margaret Seminario questioned the quality of the data being received by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The statistics are compiled from a survey of employer-kept injury and illness records required by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration. Logs from 280,000 of the nation's 5 million workplaces employing more than 11 workers were surveyed.

"We don't know if the numbers are real, or if the companies are underreporting," Seminario said, indicating there is a "vast discrepancy between the BLS figures and those of other surveys." She stressed that organized labor has pressed OSHA to abandon its program of exempting firms from general schedule inspections based solely on safety records that the employer develops.

OSHA has recently uncovered severe under-reporting of worker injuries at major corporations, including Union Carbide and Chrysler. "We don't know how widespread it is," she said.

The 1985 worker injury rate slipped only slightly from the 1984 level—a year in which on-the-job injuries had jumped 11.2 percent. BLS reported the injury and illness rate for 1985 was 7.9 per 100 full-time workers, down from 8.0 in 1984.

Sharp increases

In actual numbers, however, jobsite injuries rose in 1985 to 5.5 million, up from 5.4 million a year earlier and more than 650,000 higher than in 1982 and 1983. The number of injuries and illnesses declined in farming, mining, manufacturing and transportation, while increasing in the construction, wholesale and retail trades, finance and service industries.

Jobsite fatalities for 1985 were set at 3,750. The figures considered only establishments with 11 or more workers and the rate was nearly the same as a year earlier. As in previous years, motor vehicle accidents accounted for about a third of the deaths.

In announcing the 1985 figures, BLS Commissioner Janet L. Norwood expressed concern about the completeness of the recordkeeping on which the survey is based. She said the bureau has asked the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on National Statistics to review the entire reporting system, to make recommendations on techniques to evaluate the accuracy of recordkeeping as well as methods to develop more comprehensive statistic estimates of occupational illnesses.

Further, BLS is assisting OSHA in a special on-site pilot survey evaluating the records at 100 businesses in each of two states, and will evaluate the results. BLS has also provided employers and workers with a printed clarification of recordkeeping guidelines.

John A. Pendergrass, who has headed OSHA since last May, took pride in the numbers, saying there is "reason to feel encouraged about the course we mapped out for ensuring the job safety and health in this country."

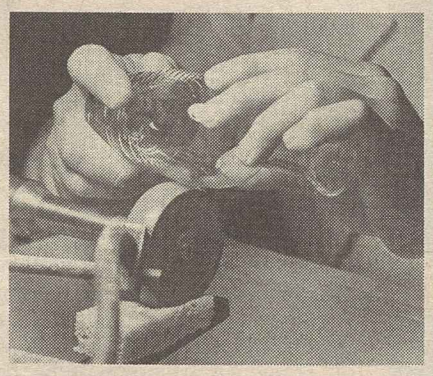
While the rate of worker injuries dipped slightly, the number of lost workdays increased from 63.4 to 64.9. Increases occurred in every job category except mining. The number of new occupational illnesses was set at 125,600 in 1985, up from 124,800 a year earlier, and 106,100 in 1983.

Of Coors not

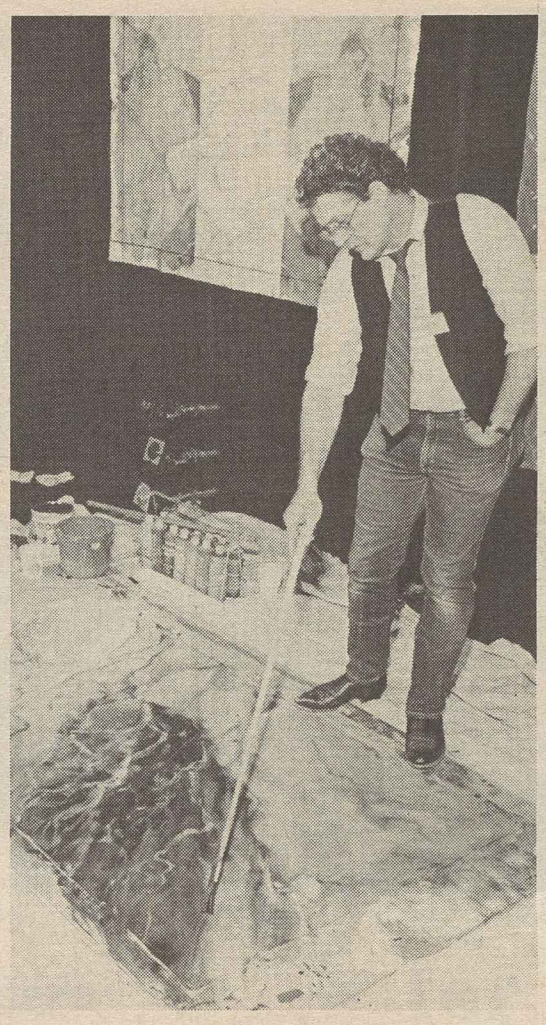
Lansing, Mich.—Sales of Coors beer in Michigan fizzled since last spring, adding proof that the public has soured on the nonunion brew and that labor's boycott is working, said State AFL-CIO President Sam Fishman.

Coors sales peaked at 10 percent of the Michigan market last May, following a heavy advertising campaign. By September, its sales had plummeted to less than 5 percent.

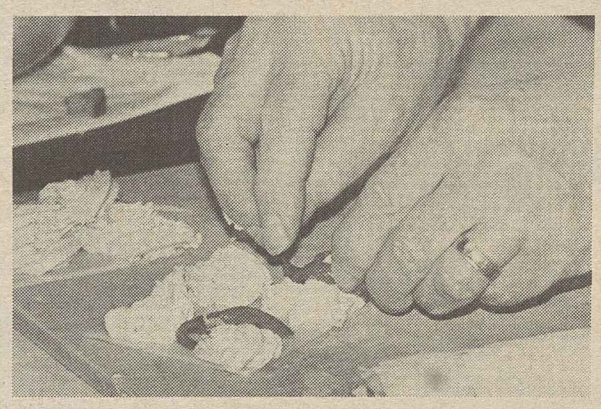
A "No-Coors Honor Roll" was established by local unions with 112 bars, restaurants and party stores signing on in Flint, and another 28 taking the pledge in Lansing. Unions in other parts of the state will soon mail boycott information to beer-selling establishments, urging them not to sell Coors products.

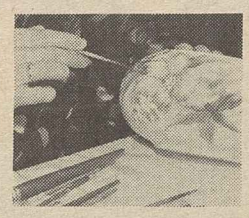


GCIU's Don Caswell mans lithograph press.

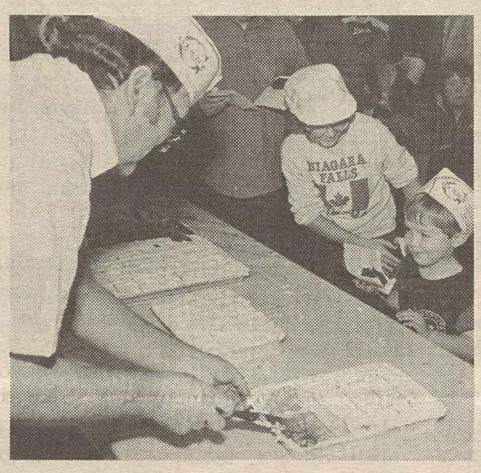


Charles Vaughan of the Painters produces "marble" finish.





ACTWU's Sol Stetin and Robert Bealieu of Fashion Institute on textile machine.



Baker Francis Spaulding lights up young eyes.

Labor's century of struggle

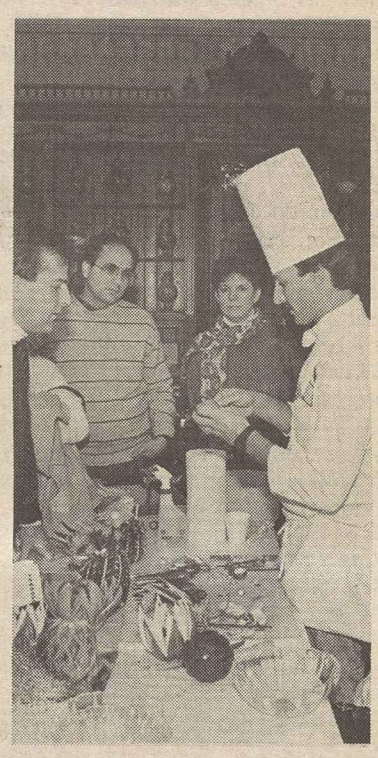
The skills of workers that bolstered the growth of the labor movement highlighted a three-day display at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington to mark the 100th anniversary of the formation of the American Federation of Labor.

The program, titled a Century of Struggle, explored the work, technology and culture of industrial America by having the museum's displays come to life as workers treated the public to union skills and services—past, present and future.

The activities, cosponsored by the AFL-CIO and the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, included printing, papermaking, glass decorating, maritime crafts, food preparation, confectionery skills, clothmaking, teaching, theater crafts, letter sorting and the use of fiber optics in communications.

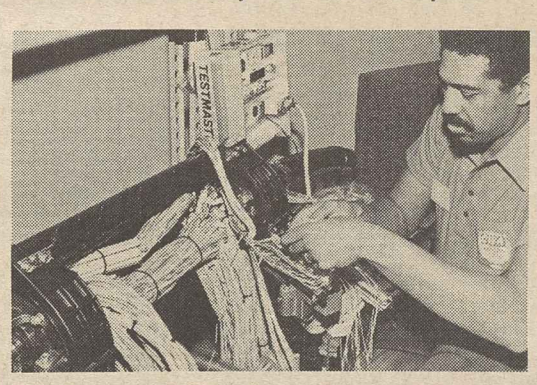
Museum visitors were also treated to live musical performances and history buffs were provided a two-day conference on the development of American labor. Throughout the weekend, visitors could view films, documentaries and videos about workers and their unions.

SEIU member Janet Thorne outside the operating room.

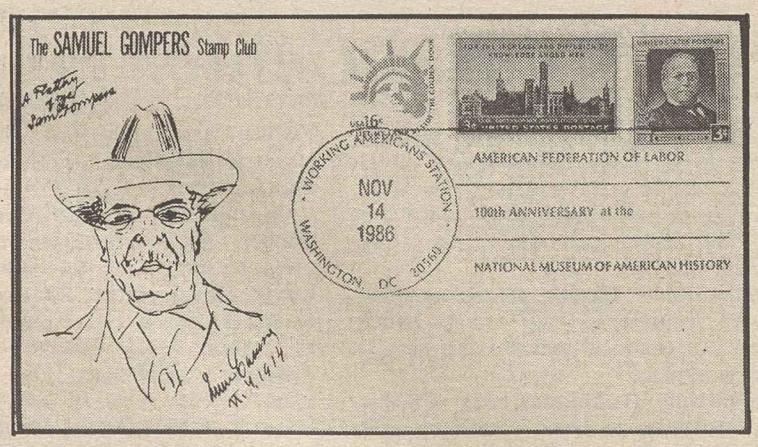


HERE Local 25 sous chef Thomas Heilman demonstrates fruit carving.

Singing songs of working women: Mary Trevor, Jeanne Mackey and Laurel Blaydes.

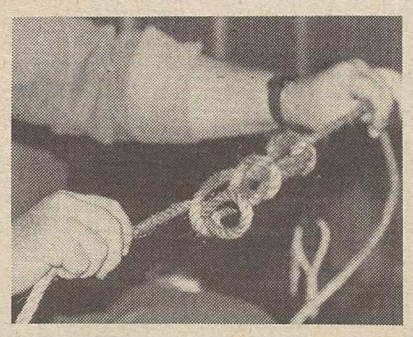


CWA Local 2336's Larry Pointer splices telephone cable.

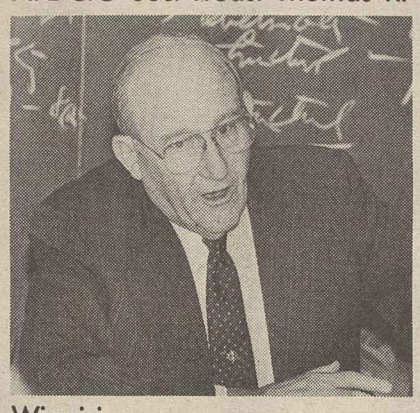


Commemorative letter at Postal Workers display with stamps featuring Smithsonian and Samuel Gompers, a 1914 sketch of Gompers by opera great Enrico Caruso and a hand-cancel from "Working American Station."

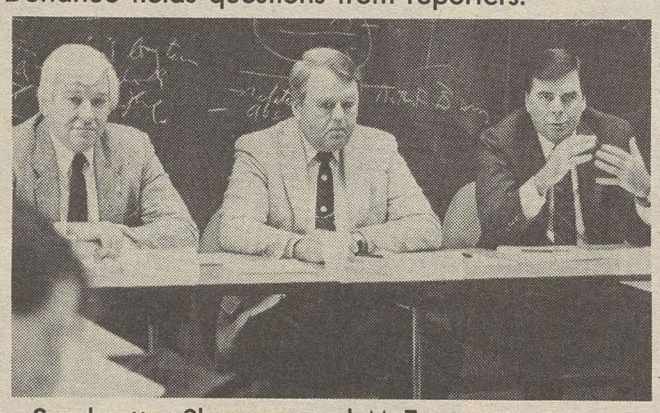
IATSE's Leo Gallenstein explains stage lighting design.



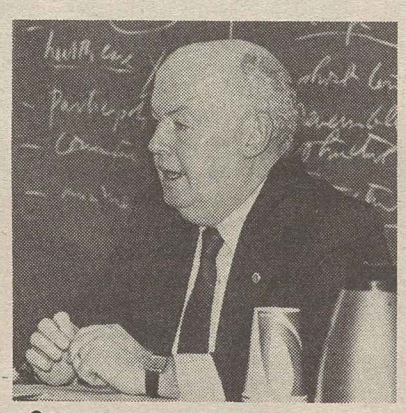
AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue fields questions from reporters.



Winpisinger



Sombrotto, Shannon and McEntee



Sweeney

Reporting on labor

Newspaper, radio and television reporters took part in a three day seminar on labor-management issues sponsored by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Information, Ford Motor Co. and Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, and coordinated by the National Press Foundation. Held at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, the seminar was the second in a series to improve the media's understanding of labor issues. The panelists included AFL-CIO Vice Presidents William Winpisinger, John Sweeney, Vincent Sombrotto and Gerald McEntee, and Thomas Shannon, executive director of the National School Boards Association.

Building Trades win pact to build new Toyota plant

Continued from Page 1

agreement, which also includes the unaffiliated Teamsters, will assure that workers hired under contracts covering the remainder of the construction schedule will work under union conditions. Under the agreement, Kentucky residents will be given priority in the hiring hall referrals.

Most of the 1,100 workers already on the job are nonunion and will stay on at whatever pay scale they are receiving. New workers, hired through the unions, will receive the higher wage scales for their crafts. The company estimates a peak of 3,500 construction workers.

The project agreement, effective Dec. 1, includes a standard no-strike assurance and establishes a labor-management panel with an impartial chairman to resolve any disputes over employment referrals.

The building trades decided to take the campaign nationwide, aware that other foreign construction companies were closely watching the Kentucky project, Georgine noted.

Keebler workers score pay gains

Scottsdale, Ariz.—The Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers won a new two-year agreement with Keebler Co., the nation's second largest biscuit producer, covering 3,500 workers at six plants.

The agreement provided a lump sum payment of $1,000 on Nov. 1, with a 50-cent-an-hour across-the-board increase set for a year later. The package, unanimously approved and recommended by the negotiating committee, was ratified overwhelmingly by the members at plants in Cincinnati, Atlanta, Denver, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Van Nuys, Calif., and Macon, Ga.

The company agreed to a 10.5-cent adjustment in the pay of journeymen mechanics, electricians and machinists, paid on Nov. 1, with another 10-cent increase next year. Health and welfare coverage will be maintained by the company with sickness and accident benefits going to $150 weekly from $140, accidental death and dismemberment coverage increasing to $15,000 from $11,000.

Night-shift premiums increased 2.5 cents an hour to 20 cents for the third shift and 17.5 cents for the second.

Pension levels for plans under the union fund will increase $25 on Dec. 1, to $675 and to $700 a year later.

Raging foreign trade deficit leaves U.S. economy in peril

Continued from Page 1

by $1.3 billion last month to top the $31.4-billion mark.

In the manufacturing sector, which has borne the brunt of the competition from abroad, U.S. imports increased from $2.24 billion to $24.5 billion while manufacturing exports rose a more modest $1.1 billion to $13.4 billion. "A 5-percent increase is hardly significant," Oswald pointed out.

The gloomy industrial output was reflected in another set of Commerce Dept. figures showing that new orders for heavy manufactured products nosedived 6 percent in October—the largest month-to-month decrease since April 1984.

The $6.5-billion slump from the previous month, to a $102.2-billion level, was widespread, hitting virtually all major industry categories, with transportation equipment suffering the most severe blow—a drop of 11.8 percent. Machinery orders fell 6.4 percent and there were setbacks in both electrical and non-electrical machinery.

On the trade front, the shortfall with Canada rose $90 million to $1.58 billion, while narrowing somewhat in respect to Western Europe and the Third World. And petroleum imports went down from $3.1 billion to $2.7 billion because of the continuing worldwide oil glut.

In other economic developments:

- Although machine tool orders in October bounced back from recent depressed levels to $176 million, they remained 23 percent below the $229.9-billion mark for the same month in 1985. Industry analysts took a gloomy view of the outlook for the rest of this year and the first quarter of 1987, warning that industry was still in a "quiet period."
- Consumer prices rose a modest one-tenth of 1 percent last month and were running at an annual rate of 2.5 percent. Once again, the cost of medical care led the upward movement, rising six-tenths of 1 percent to a 7-percent annual rate. Housing costs were up three-tenths of 1 percent, and are now 4.4 percent above the year-ago level. Energy prices continued down.
- Real earnings of America's workers—the value of wage increases after adjustment for inflation—inched up one-tenth of 1 percent last month. "The slow growth of buying power in the hands of workers and their families is a serious drag on the economy," said AFL-CIO economist Markley Roberts. Workers are only four-tenths of 1 percent better off in terms of buying power than they were in October 1985.
- The operating rate of American industry fell to 79 percent of capacity in October—the lowest level since December 1983 and almost 3 percent below the peak reached in mid-1984 at the height of the "recovery."

Schedule of Labor Studies Center courses

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies will offer 10 workshops during December and January. The schedule:

New Staff, Dec. 1-12—A two-week orientation to help newly elected officers and staff appointees make the transition from on-the-job activities to full-time representatives.

TV: The Cool Medium, Dec. 7-10—Three days of coaching for union officers on facing television cameras and working with TV reporters.

Public Communications: Working with the Media, originally scheduled for Nov. 2-6, has been rescheduled for Dec. 14-18. A workshop for business representatives and local union officers on how to use radio, television and newspapers to improve labor's image.

Alcohol & Drugs: Discipline & Discharge, Dec. 14-18—A class focusing on "just cause" in discipline and discharge, proof and evidence, alcohol-related misconduct and assistance programs for workers.

Organizing in the Construction Industry, Dec. 14-19—A workshop that trains organizers in oral, written communications, survey and targeting techniques, on-site recruitment and labor law.

Occupational Health & Safety, Jan. 4-9—An institute to help unions handle problems of chemical and physical hazards in the workplace.

Organizing Techniques, Jan. 11-16—An introduction to basic organizing skills for new organizers and a refresher course for veterans.

Labor Law in the Construction Industry, Jan. 11-16—An institute on new legal issues in construction labor law, practical applications through case studies.

Computers for Local Unions, Jan. 18-22—An institute to provide union staff with information about the uses of mini- and micro-computers for their unions.

Craft of Negotiating, Jan. 18-23—A study of negotiating tactics that avoid impasses in bargaining, grievance and leadership situations.

Organizations using the campus in December for their own staff training programs are: American Institute for Free Labor Development, Dec. 1-5; Government Employees, Dec. 1-5; AFGE Council 211, Dec. 7-10, Retirees' Association Teachers Conference, Dec. 11; United Labor Agency, Dec. 11, and the AFL-CIO Food & Service Trades Dept., Dec. 18.

Members of AFL-CIO affiliates will be in residence Jan. 25-29 to work on bachelor of arts courses through the center's college degree program with Antioch University.

More information about labor studies programs is available from Robert Pleasure, executive director, George Meany Center, 10000 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring, Md. 20903. Telephone 301/431-6400.

Eastern Air unions fight takeover deal

New York—A coalition of three unions said it would go back to court to block the takeover of Eastern Airlines by Texas Air Corp. even though Eastern shareholders approved the deal.

The unions—the Machinists, Air Line Pilots and Transport Workers—had fought unsuccessfully for an injunction to delay the stockholders' meeting, giving Eastern's employees an opportunity to buy the airline instead of having it fall into the hands of Texas Air's union-bashing boss, Frank Lorenzo.

Chief Judge James Lawrence King of the U.S. District Court in Miami denied the unions' motion less than 24 hours before 70 percent of the stockholders voted to hand the carrier over to Lorenzo at a bargain-basement price.

Sweetheart deal

The unions, whose 44,000 members formed the Eastern Airlines Employees' Coalition to handle their bid to keep the line from falling into hostile hands, said they would go into the 11th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in Atlanta to have the sale set aside on the ground that Texas Air's purchase amounted to a "sweetheart deal."

The stockholders accepted Lorenzo's bid of $10 per share—$6.25 in cash and $3.75 in the form of junk bonds—at a time when the workers' coalition was prepared to make a better offer of $11.25 in cash per share. Eastern's employees already own 25 percent of the stock under an employee-purchase plan the unions negotiated to cushion major wage concessions made to keep the airline flying.

Charles Bryan, president of IAM District 100 and one of the leaders of the employees' coalition seeking to acquire the airline, branded the decision to sell out to Lorenzo a "mockery."

In carrying its appeal to a higher court, the union coalition said it would pursue its charges that the board improperly failed to open up the bidding to anyone except Texas Air, and that Lorenzo had illegal insider information.

Van Arsdale re-elected by New York AFL-CIO

New York—Thomas P. Van Arsdale was re-elected president of the New York City Central Labor Council, edging out Victor Gotbaum in a close contest.

Van Arsdale, who is treasurer of the Electrical Workers and business manager of IBEW Local 3, polled 402,749 votes to 396,178 for Victor Gotbaum, president of District Council 37 of the State, County & Municipal Employees. John J. Sweeney, president of the Service Employees and first vice president of the central body, chaired the election committee.

The contest was a rematch of an election last March to complete the term of the late Harry Van Arsdale Jr., who headed the central body for more than 30 years. The Nov. 20 election was for a full two-year term, starting Jan. 1. All other incumbent officers had been re-elected without opposition in October.

EDITORIALS

Learning Experience

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS and their unions were not the only winners when the Ohbayashi Corp., a Japanese construction firm, wisely decided that it had gotten off on the wrong foot in refusing to use local union workers to build a Toyota auto assembly plant in Kentucky.

It was a valuable learning experience for the Japanese contractor.

Ohbayashi learned something about the determination of America's unions to fight for the workers they represent, quite a bit in fact.

Hundreds of miles away from Kentucky, building trades members demonstrated at the Japanese embassy in Washington and at a meeting of business executives in New York.

And Ohbayashi learned a most valuable lesson in the flexibility of the bargaining table as a means of resolving differences.

The negotiations weren't easy, as red-eyed participants in all-night sessions can testify. But the system worked and an honorable agreement was reached.

Executives of other Japanese firms operating in this country were following developments closely, and the lesson presumably was not lost on them. It applies, with equal force, to firms from other nations that are increasingly becoming part of the American industrial landscape.

For that matter, there are quite a few born-in-the U.S.A. corporations that can profit by a lesson in resolving differences through hard bargaining in preference to hard battling.

Corporate Raiders

THE ONLY good thing that can possibly come out of the takeover raid launched against the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. is a federal law that will enable a responsible management to protect a company without dismembering it.

That should be a priority issue for the new Congress and the Rubber Workers won't be the only union pressing for it. The destructive wave of corporate raiding has wiped out jobs and job security for members of nearly every private-sector union.

Goodyear thwarted the takeover bid of a British financier, but did not escape unscathed. It was helped to survive by a reservoir of good will. A record of intelligent bargaining with its union workforce proved a plus in terms of public and legislative support.

But the survival carried a high price tag, which is one reason legislation is needed. The casualty list includes workers at two plants scheduled for closing. And the victory left Goodyear so burdened with unnecessary debt that it will have to sell off profitable subsidiaries with all of the disruption that a change of ownership implies.

The Ivan Boesky scandal, involving hundreds of millions of dollars of profits to speculators with inside information of takeover targets, apparently has given only brief pause to the takeover mania.

EVEN A CURSORY skimming of a single issue of the Wall Street Journal, for Nov. 26, finds half a dozen major takeover stories.

Just one example: A company controlled by Minneapolis investor Irwin Jacobs is offering to buy shares of the Borg-Warner Corp. at a price well above the market value. That would give stockholders a substantial profit.

As for the maker of the generous offer, the news account notes his "reputation for buying companies and then selling them off in pieces to pay for the acquisition."

And if a company is willing to go heavily into debt to resist the takeover, the WSJ story reveals that "Jacobs also has a reputation for selling his stake back to the target company at a premium, a practice known as greenmail."

The huge amount of money that so easily changes hands is diverted from productive uses and enriches only the speculator. It is money that is not available for research and development, for improved machinery, for wages and benefits for workers.

It won't be a simple task to shape and enact legislation that can effectively stop such destructive practices. That's all the more reason to start the process as early as possible. Tens of thousands of workers have already paid with their jobs for the delay.

Washington Window

Bishops approve blueprint for full economic justice

By Press Associates

"People come first." That, according to Archbishop Rembert Weakland, is the basic message of the pastoral letter, "Economic Justice for All," which was approved by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Weakland chaired the panel that produced the 115-page document.

"People come first" is a pretty subversive idea in the pro-business climate of the Reagan era where the rich get richer and the poor multiply.

Still, the bishops' document may be one of those first steps needed to stimulate public debate over the nation's priorities.

The bishops' letter was not an overnight creation, such as the White House produces to help put a smile on its latest policy disaster. The letter was the product of public hearings and testimony from hundreds of experts, and three drafts over a five-year period. Finally, it was approved by a 225-9 vote.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland promptly welcomed the document on behalf of the labor movement because "an economic democracy to match America's political democracy has been our reason for existence."

A key part of what the bishops called for was a more active role by government in moving towards full employment, the abolition of poverty and the strengthening of family and community life. But the emphasis in the statement was not just on helping the poor, but helping the poor to help themselves.

Weighing decisions

"Decisions must be judged in light of what they do for the poor, what they do to the poor, and what they enable the poor to do for themselves," the bishops said.

"Harsh poverty plagues our country despite its great wealth," the statement declared. "More than 33 million Americans are poor; by any reasonable standard, another 20 to 30 million are needy. Poverty is increasing in the United States, not decreasing." What is disturbing, the bishops said, is the large increase in the number of women and children living in poverty, with children the largest single group among the poor.

"That so many people are poor in a nation as rich as ours is a social and moral scandal that we cannot ignore," the bishops declared.

The pastoral letter pointed to the dangerous trend of the increasing concentration of wealth. Excluding homes and other real estate, 54 percent of the nation's total financial assets were held by 2 percent of all families, those with annual incomes over $125,000.

Full employment needed

To make sure that "people come first," the bishops advocated full employment. A fair-paying job was seen as the best way to empower the poor and others to become more self-reliant.

The bishops recommended a range of policies: coordinating federal spending with fair tax and interest rate policies to achieve full employment; expanding job training and apprenticeship programs in the private sector; directing job creation at the long-term unemployed; using new strategies such as jobsharing, flextime and shorter hours; developing alternatives to welfare such as family or children's allowances and a "negative income tax," and carefully trimming the military budget to free up funds for social and economic reforms here and abroad.

The bishops supported the right of workers to form unions and condemned union-busting. They also backed labor law reform and a higher minimum wage.

As with earlier drafts, the bishops' letter came under fire from the political right wing. Former Treasury Sec. William Simon and writer Michael Novak complained that the bishops placed too much reliance on government and not enough on private enterprise. They may have a point at the moment, since their profit-rich big business friends raided the federal treasury in the 1981 tax cut, sinking the government deeper in debt ever since.

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MEMO FROM COPE

Vintage Year for One-Vote-Counts Buffs

Next: Dr. J., Larry Bird And Michael Jordan?

Tom McMillen is used to close finishes. Throughout his college career and 10-plus years as a professional basketball player, he participated in many a game that went down to the wire.

He went down to the wire again in his first try for elective office, and two weeks after November 4 finally was declared the winner in one of the closest of 1986 U.S. House elections.

Going for the open Maryland 4th District seat, Democrat McMillen edged his GOP opponent, Robert Neall, by 428 votes out of 129,714 votes cast—65,071 to 64,643.

McMillen will take his place in Congress on the other side of Capitol Hill from Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), also a former college and pro hoop star.

Now, if we could only add Dr. J., Larry Bird and Michael Jordan, the Congress could field one heckuva basketball team and possibly go into a full court press for vital labor legislation.

It was another full harvest of examples for one-vote-counts buffs November 4 (see accompanying items). Three House races so close they still weren't settled three weeks after balloting. Key Senate races so close, a relatively small number of switches or of additional voters could have turned around the result, and the same for a handful of contests for governor.

Forty-seven races for U.S. Senate and House and governor were won with 52 percent or less of the vote, 25 of these with 51 percent or less.

In Senate races, some of the closer votes were:

► Alabama (see separate item).

► Tim Wirth (D) over Ken Kramer (R) in Colorado, by 528,925 to 512,695—just 16,230 out of 1,041,620 votes cast.

► Wyche Fowler (D) over incumbent Mack Mattingly (R) in Georgia, by 621,295 to 598,340—22,955 out of 1,219,635 votes cast.

► Kent Conrad (D) over incumbent Mark Andrews (R) in North Dakota, by 143,764 to 141,489—2,275 out of 285,253 votes cast.

Cliff-hanger gubernatorial races included:

► Idaho, where Cecil Andrus (D) topped David LeRoy (R) 193,367 to 190,011—3,356 out of 383,378 votes cast.

► Oklahoma, where Henry Bellmon (R) beat David Walters (D) 384,701 to 363,971—20,730 out of 748,672 votes cast.

► Pennsylvania, where Bob Casey (D) defeated William Scranton (R) 1,704,845 to 1,632,365—72,480 out of 3,337,210 votes cast.

Among the narrowest House decisions, other than those covered separately, were:

► Illinois 21st District where Rep. Melvin Price (D) held off Robert Gaffner (R) 65,965 to 64,803—1,162 out of 130,768 votes cast.

► New York 27th District, where Rosemary Pooler (D) topped incumbent Rep. George Wortley (R) 82,865 to 82,354—511 out of 165,219 votes cast.

► North Carolina 11th District, where James Clarke (D) nipped incumbent Rep. Bill Hendon (R) 91,780 to 89,100—2,680 out of 180,880 votes cast.

* * * * * *

A few other nip-and-tuckers:

► In Maryland's state house of delegates 30th district, three votes out of 25,793 votes cast gave Don Lamb (D) the win over John Hammond (R) 12,898 to 12,895.

► In Minnesota, two mayoral races wound up in ties—325 each for Owen Smaby and Art Kunze in Long Lake, 145 apiece for Loretta Roden and Jim Walsh in Albertville. Smaby won on a coin toss, Roden when her name was drawn from a hat.

► In Arkansas, a proposal to ban state-financed abortions fell short by just 519 out of 636,487 votes cast—318,503 to 317,984.

FOR POWWs

(Political On-Going Worry-Warts)

Thought it was over for a while? Thought there'd be a breather in discussion about U.S. Senate races? Thought all the speculation about party control of the Senate was mothballed?

For you, maybe. But not for committed Political Ongoing Worry-Warts (POWWs).

Authentic POWWs of both parties started worrying away for 1988 the moment the results of 1986 were confirmed showing Democrats gained control of the Senate as a result of November 4 voting, 55-45, turning around the Republican 53-47 advantage.

POWWs immediately consulted their lists of which incumbent U.S. Senators would be up two years from now. They saw that the arithmetic of 1988 was almost the mirror image of 1986. This year it was 22 Republican and 12 Democratic seats that were contested. In 1988, it will be 19 Democratic and 14 GOP.

So, given the figures, Democratic POWWs fret about their chances of *holding* Senate control after 1988, and their GOP counterparts really worry if they can make a comeback and *retake* control.

Following is the list of incumbents POWWs already are agonizing over, with their AFL-CIO "right" and "wrong" vote totals, their cumulative "right" percentage through 1986 and their percentage of victory in 1982.

(Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi is expected to retire. Sen. Edward Zorinsky of Nebraska—before the election—hinted he might switch to the GOP. He hasn't said much about it since Democrats clinched control. He already switched parties once to run for the Senate as a Democrat.)

		AFL-CIO Votes			
STATE	**INCUMBENT**	**"RIGHT"**	**"WRONG"**	**% "RIGHT"**	**% VOTE '82**
Arizona	Dennis DeConcini (D)	105	67	61	57
California	Pete Wilson (R)	5	55	8	52
Connecticut	Lowell Weicker (R)	155	88	64	50
Delaware	William Roth (R)	48	217	18	55
Florida	Lawton Chiles (D)	139	124	53	62
Hawaii	Spark Matsunaga (D)	148	29	84	80
Indiana	Richard Lugar (R)	18	165	10	54
Maine	George Mitchell (D)	101	17	86	61
Maryland	Paul Sarbanes (D)	175	4	98	64
Massachusetts	Edward Kennedy (D)	263	21	93	61
Michigan	Don Riegle (D)	168	11	94	58
Minnesota	Dave Durenberger (R)	55	80	41	53
Mississippi	John Stennis (D)	102	236	30	64
Missouri	John Danforth (R)	51	132	28	51
Montana	John Melcher (D)	147	32	82	55
Nebraska	Edward Zorinsky (D)	62	124	33	67
Nevada	Chic Hecht (R)	2	62	3	50
New Mexico	Jeff Bingaman (D)	54	10	84	54
New Jersey	Frank Lautenberg (D)	60	3	95	51
New York	Daniel Moynihan (D)	163	16	91	65
North Dakota	Quentin Burdick (D)	274	50	85	63
Ohio	Howard Metzenbaum (D)	179	12	94	57
Pennsylvania	John Heinz (R)	113	65	63	59
Rhode Island	John Chafee (R)	82	100	45	51
Tennessee	Jim Sasser (D)	139	38	79	62
Texas	Lloyd Bentsen (D)	126	125	50	59
Utah	Orrin Hatch (R)	19	159	11	58
Vermont	Robert Stafford (R)	143	107	57	50
Virginia	Paul Tribble (R)	7	56	11	51
Washington	Daniel Evans (R)	11	41	21	55
West Virginia	Robert Byrd (D)	251	99	72	69
Wisconsin	William Proxmire (D)	230	120	66	86
Wyoming	Malcolm Wallop (R)	15	165	8	57

Democratic average percentage "right" 75.37 *Republican average percentage "right" 28.00*

Still Waiting: Ask Them About 1 Vote

Ask six candidates for the U.S. House involved in three as yet unresolved contests if one vote counts. They'll say you better believe it.

This is where they are now:

● In Indiana's 3rd District, challenger Thomas Ward (D) had formally requested a recount of the certified result showing incumbent Rep. John Hiler (R) leading him 75,952 to 75,886—66 votes out of a total of 151,838 votes cast.

● In Minnesota, where a state board declared incumbent Rep. Arnold Stangeland (R) the winner in the 7th District, Democratic challenger Collin Peterson seeks a recount. The tally: Stangeland 94,024, Peterson 93,903, a difference of 121 out of 187,927 votes cast.

● In North Carolina's 6th District, Robin Britt (D) seeks a recount of the ballots that now show him trailing incumbent Howard Coble 72,409 to 72,327—just 82 out of 144,736 votes cast.

* * * * *

Meanwhile, it was two weeks to the day after the November 4 election that Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R) conceded the Alabama Senate race to challenger Rep. Richard Shelby after late absentee ballots from military personnel overseas showed a final count of 609,360 to 602,537—only 6,823 out of 1,211,897 votes cast.

This is a Two-Way One-Vote Story

The North Dakota state senate never has been controlled by Democrats. Going into November 4, the GOP had a 27-26 edge.

When the vote-counting wound up election eve, Democrat Larry Schoenwald—a union member—held a two-vote lead over incumbent Republican Mike Timm.

All that remained to be counted—and they were left for the next day—were three late absentee ballots.

All three votes were for Timm.

He retained his seat 3,099-3,098, pending a recount.

If he holds at one vote, the GOP will maintain control over the state senate—by one vote.

If Schoenwald should emerge from the recount as the winner, the one-vote margin in the state senate will shift to Democrats.

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DECEMBER 6, 1986

Unions charge TV dumping destroys jobs

By David L. Perlman

Unions representing workers whose jobs are being wiped out by increased imports of color television picture tubes charged foreign manufacturers with illegal dumping tactics designed to take over the huge U.S. market by selling products at artificially low prices.

The dumping charges were filed with the Commerce Dept. in a joint petition by the Electronic Workers, Electrical Workers, Machinists, Steelworkers and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.

Picture tubes made in Japan, Korea, Singapore and Canada are being brought into the U.S. market at less than their selling price in their country of origin, the petition charges.

The union demand for a tariff surcharge to offset the dumping tactics is part of a continuing battle to prevent the near-total wipeout of U.S. television manufacturing and its component parts industries.

A labor-industry coalition won a partial reprieve in a 1984 Commerce Dept. finding that Korean and Taiwan manufacturers had been dumping color television sets in the U.S. market at prices less than they charged in their home markets. And the possibility that Congress will impose import restrictions has prompted several Japanese firms to set up some assembly plants in this country, usually buying up facilities abandoned by domestic manufacturers.

But union leaders charged at a news conference that predatory pricing of picture tubes from the major exporting nations is wiping out more American jobs. The picture tube is the most expensive component of a color television set.

Onslaught from Orient

IUE President William H. Bywater charged at the news conference that "the inability or unwillingness of the Reagan Administration to deal with the onslaught of low-priced imports from the Orient" has encouraged exporting countries to continue their market takeover tactics.

"Dumped picture tubes are now stealing the jobs we thought we had saved the last time around," he said.

The four unions joining in the petition represent more than 90 percent of the 10,000 workers still employed in the U.S. color tube industry.

The number is shrinking, the unions noted. Recent casualties included the North American Phillips plant at Seneca Falls, N.Y., which was closed last year, and GE's tube plant in Syracuse, N.Y., scheduled for closing in 1987. The Steelworkers had represented workers at Seneca Falls and the IUE represents the Syracuse workers.

IUD Sec.-Treas. Elmer Chatak told the news conference that while establishment of assembly operations in the United States by foreign producers is welcome, only a relatively small number of jobs are re-

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MEMO FROM COPE
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IUE President William H. Bywater leads protest of Commerce Dept.'s role in exporting American jobs.

Protest hits Reagan job-export scheme

By Gene Zack

Incensed members of the Electronic Workers picketed the Commerce Dept., protesting the Reagan Administration's promotion of job exports to Mexico.

Led by IUE President William H. Bywater, the unionists registered their outrage over the government's advice to American companies to take advantage of "extraordinary business opportunities" by moving assembly plants across the border.

Bywater carried with him a letter to Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige, calling the government's efforts "destructive of badly needed domestic employment opportunities" and sharply criticizing the Commerce Dept. for promoting the "emigration of U.S. plants and the attendant export of jobs" during a period of high unemployment.

Security guards prevented the IUE president from delivering the letter to Baldrige personally, claiming that the Cabinet officer was in a meeting with a foreign delegation.

The Administration spent $167,000 of taxpayers' money to promote a three-day exposition in the posh surroundings of Acapulco, Mexico, to lure American firms across the Rio Grande where there is a ready supply of underpaid, nonunionized workers.

When Congress put an end to the expenditures, the Commerce Dept. turned the promotional scheme over to a Mexican public relations firm—along with the names and $325 advance registration fees from more than 300 participating American companies.

"This will not be a merry Christmas

Continued on Page 6

Labor aids Oklahoma recovery drive

'Right-to-work' called wrong approach for economic woes

Oklahoma City, Okla.—Launching what could be a new era of labor-management accord in a state long viewed as hostile to unions, the State AFL-CIO, management and state officials are putting their heads together to help lift Oklahoma out of the economic doldrums.

Last month, for the first time since it was organized 22 years ago, the Oklahoma Academy for State Goals included the state labor federation in deliberations on how best to deal with an economy plagued by mounting unemployment, declining oil and gas revenues, tumbling farm prices and a rash of bank failures.

This marked a giant step toward what Oklahoma AFL-CIO President Jim Freeman has been calling for: "labor-management cooperation as the key to economic development to replace the divisiveness of 'right-to-work' provisions."

Gov.-elect Henry Bellmon (R) agreed. "Oklahomans should not look to 'right-to-work' as a cure for all their ills," the incoming chief executive said following the academy session.

The group—first organized in 1964 and revived two years ago—received a study commissioned by the legislature and prepared by Belton Daniel, a Boston consultant who helped spark an economic resurgence in Massachusetts.

Daniel told the 400 statewide civic leaders that "there is no statistical evidence" that having an open-shop law on the statute books "has anything to do with economic development." He laid out a five-year plan keyed to revitalizing existing industry and attracting new companies through public and private financing.

To be successful, Daniel said, any economic development program must have the endorsement of all parties—the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the governor and the State AFL-CIO. The inclusion of labor in the decision-making process was a radical departure in Oklahoma.

The action came as the National Right to Work Committee targeted Oklahoma

Continued on Page 5

Economy remains sluggish, new round of layoffs loom

The nation's economy appears headed on a continued sluggish course well into the new year, as the government reported a so-so advance of six-tenths of 1 percent in the leading economic indicators during October.

The slight increase resulted in large measure from a jump in the money supply and sharp upswings in prices of waste paper, raw cotton and aluminum scrap.

But in the areas that count in terms of putting the economy back on course—the average workweek, contracts and orders for new plant and equipment, net business formations, manufacturers' new orders for consumer goods and building permits—the indicators were on the downside.

Signaling further economic malaise, three major corporations announced layoff plans that will swell the ranks of the unemployed at a time when joblessness remains at recession levels.

At General Motors Corp. plants in Hamtramck and Orion, Mich., and Wentzville, Mo., 4,500 production workers are due for layoffs early next year. The announcement of further employment cutbacks in the import-battered auto industry came on top of an earlier GM disclosure that 29,000 workers at 11 plants in Michigan, Ohio and Missouri will lose their jobs over the next three years.

Unisys Corp., the nation's second largest computer manufacturer created by the merger of Burroughs and Sperry companies, said it will eliminate 1,830 workers by next July—the first stage of a planned 9,600-job reduction. The initial layoffs will come with the shutdown of plants in Eau Claire, Wis., and Bristol, Tenn.

And MCI Communications Corp. laid off 2,400 employees—15 percent of its

Continued on Page 2

Chemical Workers win fight to review fatal accident data

Cincinnati—A federal appellate court ruled that an employer who prevented a Chemical Workers' industrial hygienist from inspecting a fatal accident site violated labor law by denying the ICWU access to information needed to perform its collective bargaining duties.

The 6th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals upheld in part a National Labor Relations Board order for Asarco Inc. to grant the union access to the accident site and turn over to the ICWU photographs taken shortly after the July 31, 1984, accident. The court, however, set aside the NLRB's order that the firm provide the union with a copy of a self-critical internal accident report.

Wade Fields, an ICWU Local 700 member and an employee of Asarco, was killed when he apparently drove his tractor off a 30-foot ledge at Asarco's Young Mine, an underground zinc mine in Tennessee.

The accident was investigated by the company and a member of the union's safety committee as well as the Mine Safety & Health Administration.

Two days after the accident, ICWU

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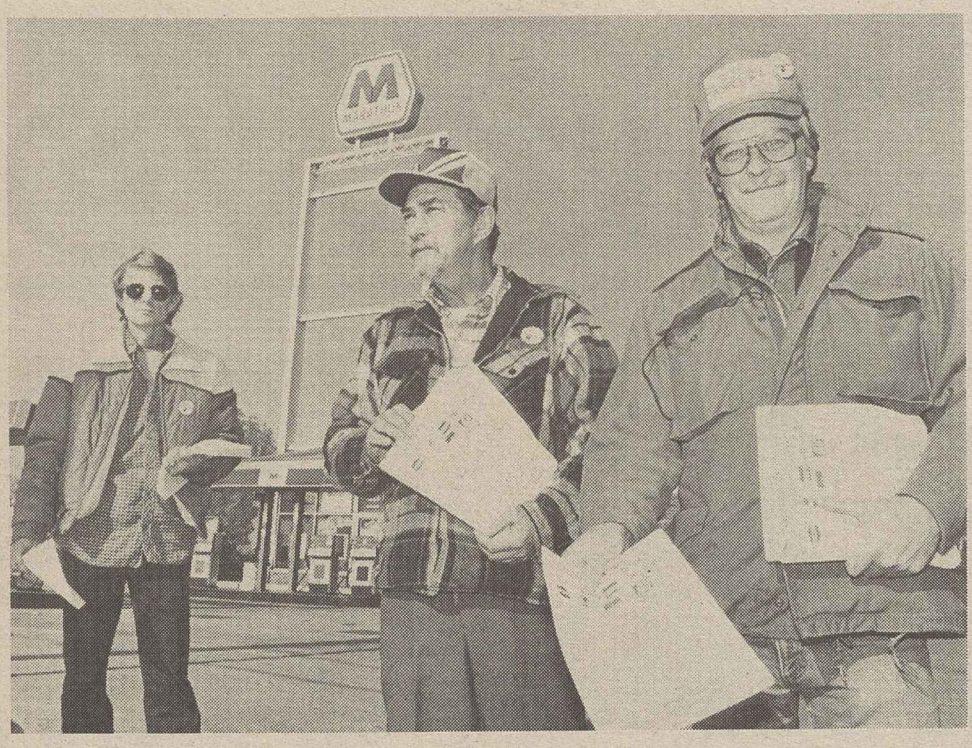


No sale

Steelworkers in Columbus, Ohio, spread the word about the Marathon Oil Co.'s connection with USX Corp., which has locked out 22,000 USWA members. Union members in six states leafletted the USX-owned gas stations, alerting consumers to the steel company's excessive takeback demands and asking them to consider buying gasoline elsewhere. From left, Bernard Tennant, Charlie Brown and Richard Nolan of USWA Local 1397.

USX negotiations bog down, lockout enters fourth month

Pittsburgh—Negotiations between the Steelworkers and USX Corp. bogged down over the steelmaker's refusal to limit contracting out work to nonunion firms and its continued demand for steep wage and benefit concessions.

USWA President Lynn Williams said his talks with USX Chairman David Roderick "reached some common ground in minor areas, but that was all." Williams reported the results of his one-on-one negotiations to a meeting of 50 USWA local union presidents. No new negotiations are scheduled between Williams and Broderick, but the union is waiting for a response to William's proposal that a three-member panel of mediators—to include former Labor Secretaries and academics—be called on to help settle the dispute.

Insisting on its right to contract out work to nonunion employees, USX is seeking further exceptions to existing subcontracting restrictions. The USWA said a tight limit on subcontracting is one of the union's top priorities.

Little agreement

In response to USX's announcement that the company had "1,500 more people than we need," the union won agreement for an early retirement option covering 3,000 workers. But on wages, benefits and profit-sharing alternatives, the USWA and the steelmaker remain far apart, with USX demanding hourly wage and benefit givebacks of about $3.30—the same as its pre-lockout proposal. While USX claims its wage and benefit offer is competitive with LTV Corp. and other steel companies with which the union negotiated agreements, negotiators differed on total labor costs and could not reach agreement on a profit-sharing plan that would allow workers to regain lost wages and benefits.

Under a four-year proposal, USX offered to build a continuous caster at its mill in Braddock, Pa., and agreed to modernize another Pittsburgh-area plant. However, in 1982, USX also pledged it would build a new rail mill at its South Works in Chicago in exchange for wage and benefit reductions and grants from the city and state. Although the company received tax breaks and won concessions from workers, it reneged on that agreement and similar promises to build a continuous caster in Pittsburgh's Monongahela Valley in 1981.

Marathon campaign

In a campaign organized by the AFL-CIO Steelworkers Support Committee, USWA members and supporters leafletted USX-owned Marathon Oil Co. service stations in six states, urging consumers to consider USX's anti-worker policies before they purchase Marathon products.

Meanwhile, in Utah, the Industrial Commission's board of review reversed the finding of an administrative law judge who ruled that 1,900 locked-out USWA members were not eligible for unemployment compensation benefits. The Utah workers will receive benefits for up to 26 weeks, retroactive to Aug. 1.

Now in its fourth month, the lockout of more than 22,000 USWA members is the longest work stoppage in steel industry history. The longest previous dispute was a 116-day industry-wide strike in 1959.

In other negotiations, USWA members at Armco Inc. ratified a new agreement by a 3,328-to-862 vote that "takes into account differing competitive realities at each of the company's locations," the union said.

In exchange for hourly wage and benefit reductions of $2.25 in Kansas City, $3.25 in Baltimore and a wage freeze in Ashland, Ky., workers won strict limits on contracting out, new restrictions on plant shutdowns, safety and health improvements and a ban on the use of lie detectors during the grievance resolution process. Workers at the Kansas City and Baltimore plants also won a profit-sharing plan.

The Armco pact covers about 5,500 active and furloughed workers.

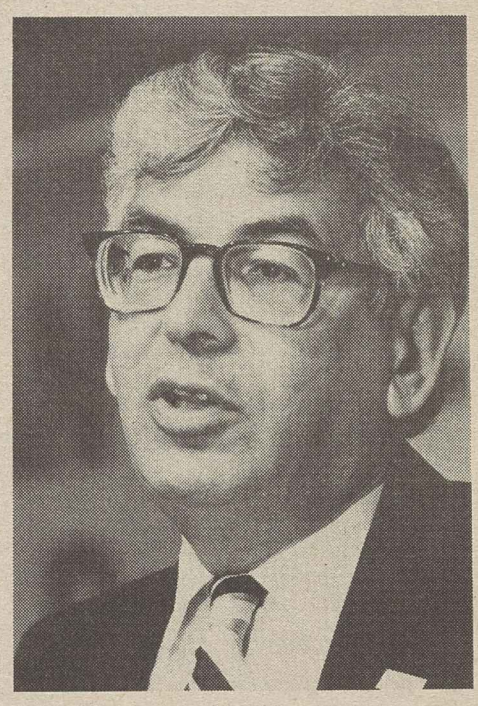
Sam Fishman dies at 62, Michigan Fed president

Sam Fishman, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO and an architect of the Auto Workers' political action program, died Nov. 27 at the age of 62 after emergency heart surgery. He was stricken in Washington while on a family visit.

Tributes from prominent public figures testified to the impact Fishman had made on both the state and national scene. Michigan's Gov. James Blanchard mourned the loss of "a true friend" as well as an "outstanding leader" of the trade union movement.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue expressed their "personal loss" in a letter to his wife Doris.

They recalled Fishman as "a strong and effective force for labor," whether lobbying for a workers' compensation bill in the legislature, advancing the cause of solidarity within the trade union movement, or striving for progress "in the wider political arena."



Sam Fishman

Through the ranks

Fishman, a native of New York who moved to the midwest in search of work after graduating from high school, joined the UAW when he took a job on the assembly line at the Ford plant in Highland Park, Mich. He was a UAW committeeman by the age of 20, and later was elected head of the Local 400 bargaining committee. From 1957 to 1962, Fishman served as president of UAW Local 36 at Ford's assembly plant in Wixom, Mich.

He was appointed to the UAW staff in 1962, serving first as an international representative and later as administrative assistant to then Sec.-Treas. Emil Mazey and to the late UAW President Walter P. Reuther. It was during Fishman's 12 years as Michigan director of the UAW's Community Action Program that he became an influential and prominent leader in state politics and Michigan's Democratic Party. He served as a member of the Democratic National Committee and of its executive committee.

After the UAW reaffiliated with the AFL-CIO, Fishman was elected executive vice president of the Michigan AFL-CIO at the 1982 unity convention. He was elected state president in 1983 after William C. Marshall retired.

Among the many tributes was an editorial in the Detroit News that termed him "a very special kind of advocate" for workers, a self-taught man with "a refreshingly open mind" who "earned his stripes by building bridges and honoring his word."

Funeral services were held in Washington Nov. 30 with burial at Mt. Lebanon cemetery in Adelphi, Maryland. In addition to his wife, survivors include two children, Ann and Philip.

A memorial service, at which Kirkland will deliver a eulogy, will be held Dec. 8 at UAW Local 600 hall in Dearborn, Mich.

Dow Jones union-busters scurry to keep out GCIU

Dow Jones & Co., whose publications include the Wall Street Journal, has hired professional union-busters in an effort to keep its employees from affiliating with an AFL-CIO union.

At stake is the future of the Independent Association of Publisher's Employees, which bargains for some 2,000 Dow Jones workers, including journalists and commercial employees. It has functioned for nearly 50 years with few resources, no staff, and reliance on the tolerance of a paternalistic employer.

In a series of decisive votes earlier this year, officers of the employee organization endorsed affiliation with the Graphic Communications Union, subject to membership approval.

No date has been set for the affiliation ballot, which will require approval by a two-thirds majority of members voting. But employees are already getting a heavy dose of management-paid attacks on the GCIU and the affiliation proposal.

The material was prepared by the union-busting Management Performance International which specializes in campaigns to repel union organizing efforts and to decertify existing unions.

An MPI letter in the files of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization & Field Services boasts of its "vast assortment of counter-union campaign materials" and its "complete dossier on virtually every union."

MPI said it will write anti-union speeches for management and provide "movies, slides, tapes, recordings, posters, handouts, letters" to persuade workers that "they want no part of unions."

Hard sell

Another MPI sales letter, quoted in an Editor & Publisher magazine article, claimed that its efforts will make it "almost impossible for your employees to vote for a union."

Dow Jones has a scattering of union contracts covering some of its printing and transportation operations. Ironically, the list includes GCIU.

But the employee association represents the largest bargaining unit. Originally composed of writers for the Wall Street Journal and Barron's Magazine, it now includes advertising and commercial employees, telecommunications workers and office staffs in Dow Jones operations across the country.

Eric Frankland, president of the employee group, said its officers were pushing for affiliation because a union run by part-time volunteers can't provide the effective representation its members need.

The Editor & Publisher article noted that since the employee association started moving towards union affiliation, top Dow Jones executives in New York have begun eating regularly in the employee cafeteria in what some saw as an effort to improve rapport with workers.

It quoted a Dow Jones spokesman as insisting that the only reason the executives were turning up in the employee cafeteria was that the food was so good.

Sluggish economy brings more job cutbacks

Continued from Page 1

workforce—in a major retrenchment brought about by what the company said was increasing price competition in the long-distance telephone market.

But the Communications Workers noted that MCI concentrated the layoffs at Southfield, Mich., ordering a complete shutdown of that installation in the wake of a National Labor Relations Board decision to schedule an election after more than half of its 400 telephone sales workers signed union authorization cards.

The CWA charged that Southfield was singled out because its workers—95 percent black and 85 percent of them women—were the first MCI workers to attempt to be represented by a union.

The government's key indicators—the broadest measure of future prospects—overstated the economy's performance, said John E. Silvia, an economist at Kemper Financial Services in Chicago. "You've got the financials moving up and the 'real' sector going nowhere," he declared.

In other developments:

- The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that productivity increased a weak two-tenths of 1 percent during the third quarter.

As it has done repeatedly in the past, the government had to make a downward revision in two key productivity estimates announced earlier. Business output in the third quarter ran at only a 3-percent annual pace, not 3.2 percent, and the gain in total hours worked was 2.8 percent.

- Despite higher prices and less jobs, moderate growth occurred in the industrial economy in November, according to the National Association of Purchasing Management. The business group attributed the upswing to a dramatic drop in inventory levels as management pushed to clear stockpiles before year's end.

Economists expressed concern that the construction field could weaken in coming months as the result of two factors—overbuilding of commercial property and changes in tax laws that close many loopholes previously available to investors.

Jury restores health benefit to pensioners

Kellogg, Idaho—The 2,000 pensioners of a once-flourishing mining and smelter operation will get back the health insurance benefits the Bunker Hill Co. tried to take away from them when it shut down most of its operations in 1982.

Attorneys for the Steelworkers, representing the retirees in a class-action suit, capped a long legal battle to get the case to trial by winning a jury verdict restoring their health insurance rights. The jury also agreed with the union position that Bunker Hill's parent firm, Gulf Resources & Chemical Co., should be liable for the insurance payments.

Announcement of the verdict touched off an emotional celebration in this close-knit community. Besides retirees and surviving spouses, the restoration of benefits will mean that workers too young for immediate retirement will receive health coverage when they become eligible for pensions.

The class-action suit initiated by the Steelworkers also covered members of several craft unions and nonunion salaried employees.

Lower court overruled

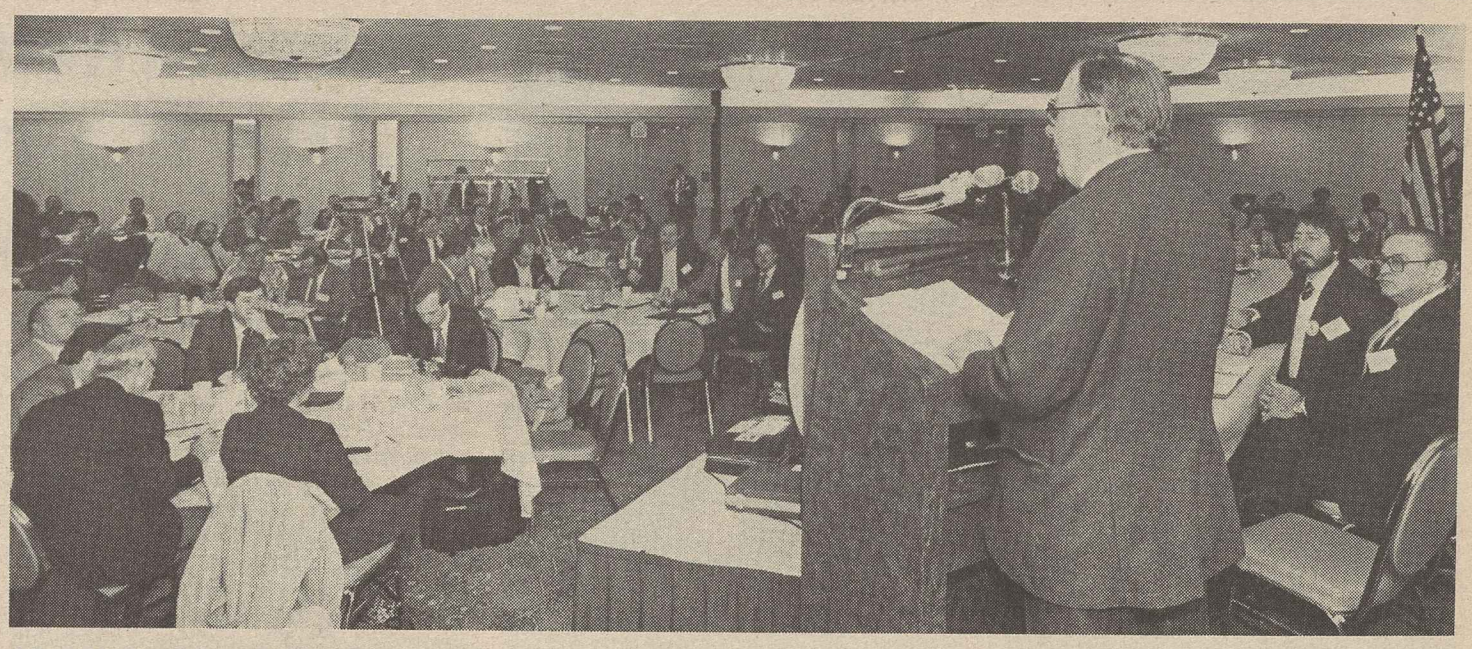
A federal district judge in Spokane, Wash., initially threw out the case, holding that the pension agreement did not specifically guarantee continued payment of health insurance for retirees and their survivors. But the union appealed the ruling and won the right to a jury trial.

While the trial established the right of pensioners to reinstatement of benefits, retroactive to the 1982 cancellation, a further trial to resolve the amount of damages due to the retirees lies ahead unless a settlement is reached out of court.

Bunker Hill had been engaged in silver, zinc and lead mining in addition to its smelting operations.

The jury's finding that the parent Gulf Resources & Chemical Co. exercised extensive control over Bunker Hill and was liable for its insurance obligations assures that pensioners will not have to rely solely on the depleted assets of Bunker Hill for their continued insurance coverage.

When in full operation, Bunker Hill was one of Idaho's largest employers. Estimates of the value of the recovered insurance protection range upward of $40 million.



AFL-CIO President Kirkland assails Reagan maritime policy. Metal Trades Dept. President Burnsky is at right.

Reagan policy scuttles U.S.-flag ships

Metal Trades gear up for revitalization effort in Congress

By Candice Johnson

Metal trades workers from 21 unions urged Congress to take the lead in adopting strong measures to revitalize domestic shipbuilding and maritime industries, warning that the Reagan Administration "risks catastrophe" by ignoring the nation's weakened merchant marine.

Nearly 150 delegates attended the two-day national shipbuilding conference, sponsored by the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept.

Representing workers in naval and private shipyards, participants criticized Reagan policies that have slashed employment in the shipbuilding industry and eroded the merchant fleet, potentially causing the nation to rely on foreign carriers for critical deliveries during military operations.

MTD President Paul Burnsky pointed out that the deterioration of the nation's nonmilitary maritime capabilities comes at a time of record investment in defense—with more than $1 trillion allotted by the Reagan Administration toward an "elaborate and expensive defense establishment."

He criticized Reagan's recent pocket veto of a measure that would have provided some funds for the construction of merchant marine ships, noting that only eight sea-going vessels are now under construction, with no new ships on order.

The Administration's maritime policies—including blanket waivers of the buy-American law that give companies in foreign countries preference over U.S. firms—put the nation's workers in the impossible position of competing with sweatshop and near-slave labor on foreign shores, Burnsky charged.

Foreign building hit

He also blasted Administration plans to seek legislation to limit federal shipbuilding subsidies "to operators who will build ships abroad at competitive prices." Burnsky rejected Administration claims that such subsidies will enable U.S. flag-carriers to acquire "modern, efficient ships without any cost to the taxpayer," pointing out that the costs of an "inadequate national defense and rebuilding a lost industry" will be far greater.

In his conference address, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland condemned Reagan's short-sighted maritime policies that have led to the shutdown of 25 shipyards and the loss of more than 60,000 jobs over the past six years.

But he added that shipbuilding workers should not feel "singled out by the Reagan Administration for this abuse," stressing that its policy has been "to build foreign in almost every industry."

Kirkland noted that hundreds of thousands of jobs in the textile, auto, steel and metals industries have been lost since 1980 and noted the irony of the nation's the high-tech industry, which was "once touted as our salvation," running a trade deficit of $2 billion for 1986.

The Administration has chosen a policy of "whittling our standard of living to the world's lowest common denominator, instead of raising the world's standards to ours," Kirkland charged. "At the rate our industrial base is being depleted, soon our only exports will be insurance policies and treasury bills," he warned, adding "and to transport those commodities, we don't need ships."

Delegates expressed strong opposition to the Administration's "build foreign" plan that would allow American operators to "acquire commercial vessels in sweat-shop foreign yards" and condemned contracting out and other "low-ball" bidding on naval projects that delay construction and penalize union workers.

They called for vigorous enforcement of laws that restrict domestic shipping to American-built and manned ships and set cargo preference requirements for military, government-sponsored and farm commodities shipping.

Other key recommendations included strengthened health and safety standards for shipyard workers, environmental differential pay for hazardous shipyard jobs and measures to compensate the victims of asbestos-related diseases and protect workers who handle nuclear materials.

Bargaining strategies

In workshop sessions, delegates reviewed contract bargaining at public and private shipyards and discussed bargaining strategies for unions confronting a hostile employer. They reviewed the lockout of 900 workers by Lockheed Shipbuilders in Seattle, and discussed ongoing demonstrations and strategies used by workers at the Dillingham Shipyard in Portland, Ore., where management has imposed a 40-percent wage cut.

Other workshops covered safety and health, federal affairs and legislation.

Speakers included AFL-CIO COPE Director John Perkins and Associate Director Margaret Seminario of the Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security; Rep. Roy Dyson (D-Md.); Jerry St. Pe, president of Ingalls Shipbuilding Division; Navy Vice Adm. William H. Rowden, and Director Raymond Ramsay of the Navy's office of Maritime Affairs.

NMU charges runaway fleet jeopardizes national defense

The National Maritime Union is pressing ahead with a lawsuit against the Reagan Administration for relying on runaway-flag vessels instead of promoting the U.S.-flag merchant marine as required by legislation enacted half a century ago.

The Justice Dept. has asked the U.S. District Court in Washington to throw out the NMU case, contending that Reagan made a determination that the runaways were under "effective U.S. control" and were therefore available in case of national emergency.

But the NMU urged that the case go forward, charging that the government lacks authority to requisition such vessels in emergencies because their crews of foreign nationals fail to meet the citizenship test of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act.

Since the end of World War II, runaway-flag shipping has devastated the American merchant marine as U.S. companies register their ships under the flags of such nations as Panama, Liberia and Honduras to avoid U.S. manning scales, wage rates and safety standards.

Varied approach

Although AFL-CIO maritime unions are united in their opposition to the ships in the "flags of convenience" fleet, they have adopted different approaches to dealing with the problem.

The Seafarers, for example, succeeded in having Congress include language in the Tax Reform Act of 1986 closing loopholes through which American owners dodged taxes on their runaway operations. Congress adopted a get-tough approach, ending the scheme under which American owners avoided taxation on their foreign holdings by "reinvesting" their profits in the runaways.

In presenting its case for ending the tax preference for the runaways, the SIU pointed out that crews aboard the foreign-flag vessels have the option to quit a vessel heading for a potential combat zone—something that has already occurred several times in the volatile Persian Gulf area.

The phrase "effective control" is a "misnomer," the SIU told Congress in its successful fight to close the tax loophole, and there is a serious question as to the "availability, suitability and reliability of these vessels, crewed by foreign nationals of understandably mixed loyalties," in devising a national military sealift strategy.

Dodging responsibilities

The NMU argument is that the Administration is dodging its statutory responsibility to provide operating subsidies and is neglecting its duty to "promote U.S.-flag vessels." The union pointed to a Navy report conceding that a manpower problem exists in mobilizing merchant vessels for emergencies.

The Justice Dept. claimed that the decline of the U.S. merchant fleet from its role as the predominant nation on the world's sealanes during World War II is solely the result of "market conditions" brought about by high wage levels and crew sizes.

The NMU dismissed the argument as "disingenuous," pointing out that it "totally ignores the purposes and provisions" of the 1936 law which mandated government support of the U.S. merchant marine precisely because of the disparity between wages in this country and abroad.

Chemical Workers win fight to review fatal accident data

Continued from Page 1

hygienist Thurman Wenzl visited the mine, but was denied access to the accident site by company officials who also denied him photographs of the accident site. Wenzl learned that the company was preparing an internal accident report, which he requested and the company refused to give him. The union's unfair labor practice charges against Asarco were upheld by an administrative law judge and a three-member panel of the NLRB.

The appellate court upheld the union's right to access to the accident site, but declined to decide whether the cases cited by the NLRB, (NLRB v. Holyoke Water Power Co.) or by the ICWU (Winona Industries Inc.) are the proper test to apply in situations involving a union's request for access to employer property.

Instead, the court noted that worker safety is a mandatory subject of collective bargaining, and the "information regarding the fatal accident sought by the union in this case was therefore clearly relevant and necessary to its duties as bargaining representative." It added that without access to the accident site, "the union could not fulfill its obligation to represent the employees."

Regarding the company photographs, Asarco contended it had no legal obligation to take them and should be under no compulsion to give "the fruits of its investigation" to the union. The court held the company's argument was "patently unsupportable." The fact that the union could get the photographs from MSHA did not dismiss the company from its duty "to provide readily available relevant information to the bargaining representative."

The court overturned the NLRB's order that Asarco's internal accident report be provided to the ICWU, saying that the union's interest in receiving "relevant information" does not always predominate over the other legitimate interests.

Further the three-judge panel held that Asarco's ability to engage in "unhindered self-critical analysis, which benefits both the union's and employer's substantial interest in increased worker safety and accident prevention would undoubtedly be chilled by disclosure" of those reports.

IBEW's Anthony Salamone tells of jobs lost to dumping by foreign firms. IUE President William Bywater is at right, attorney Paul Cullen at left.

Dumping of imported TV tubes short circuits electronic jobs

Continued from Page 1

gained if virtually all of the television components are imported.

He predicted that the new Congress, "with trade at the top of its agenda," will be "closely monitoring" the investigation the Commerce Dept. makes in response to the multi-union petition.

Anthony Salamone, representing IBEW President John J. Barry, noted that the erosion of U.S. jobs in picture tube production is part of a trade pattern that is afflicting such high-tech industries as semiconductors, personal computers and machine tools, as well as traditional basic industries.

While the increased value of the yen has somewhat lessened Japan's competitive advantage, Salamone noted that the Korean unit of currency, the won, has actually depreciated against the U.S. dollar and Korean imports of all types are gaining ground.

"A job lost to Korea, Taiwan or Singapore" and other low-wage nations "represents an American worker unable to support his family," he stressed.

The unions noted that imports had a 10-percent share of the U.S. color television picture tube market in 1983, and this year will account for an estimated 26 percent.

Korea has replaced Japan as the principal source of direct television tube imports, with Singapore coming up fast. Canada's involvement is largely the output of a Japanese-owned production facility.

But the Japanese share would be larger, the unions noted, if the television tubes shipped through Mexico and sent to the United States in a form just short of final assembly were included.

As the union officials explained it, Japanese-made picture tubes are repackaged in Mexico and combined with circuit boards assembled in Mexico. The package, complete except for the final assembly in cabinets, is then shipped to the United States under a category of television "kits" at a savings in tariff. The normal duty for imports of color television tubes is 15 percent. But when included as part of a kit, the duty is only 5 percent.

That's one of the trade law loopholes labor has been pressing Congress to close.

University educators explore study programs for workers

In a lively give-and-take exchange, leaders from organized labor and the education community explored the changing workplace and the role of higher education in meeting workers' needs during the annual meeting of the Labor/Higher Education Council.

Nearly 70 participants from universities, education associations and unions attended the two-day conference, held at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies.

Established in 1983, the council is a joint project of the AFL-CIO and the American Council of Education. It was designed to bring together labor leaders and educators to discuss common concerns and determine ways that the nation's colleges and universities can meet the educational needs of workers and the labor movement, AFL-CIO Education Director Dorothy Shields said.

Participants explored the role of higher education in promoting labor-mangement cooperation, reviewed labor curricula offered by several universities and discussed the need to improve access of workers to higher education programs.

Management's obligation

In his address, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue pointed out that too often, cooperation is viewed as an obligation for labor only. "Academics and critics of labor who are constantly lecturing us on the need to adopt a less confrontational approach" forget that "it takes two to make a contract and two to cooperate," he declared.

A glaring example is the lockout of more than 22,000 Steelworkers by the USX Corp., Donahue said, where the union, after taking a hard look at the steel industry, adopted "an approach to negotiation that called for cooperation, not conflict."

Donahue stressed that while cooperation can work well among groups with similar aims and interests, when workers want "a larger slice of the profits" they create, and the boss doesn't want to oblige, "we are in conflict, and ought to be."

The council's steering committee debated the group's legislative agenda and planned a future demonstration project to measure workers' involvement in and satisfaction with higher education programs.

Participants also agreed on the need for a survey of university and union higher education programs.

Teachers President Albert Shanker explored changes in both the nation's educational system and the workplace, recommending major reforms in public schools to help workers adapt to the changing work environment. He answered questions on the implications of the federation's "Changing Situation" report for education.

Other speakers included AFL-CIO General Counsel Laurence Gold, Labor Deputy Under-Secretary Stephen I. Schlossberg, President Robert H. Atwell of the American Council on Education, Chancellor Joseph Murphy of the City University of New York and political correspondent David Broder.

On pension assets

IBEW probes impact of Boesky stock deals

The Electrical Workers are weighing possible lawsuits against insider trading manipulator Ivan Boesky and the Securities & Exchange Commission for damages the union's pension plan may have suffered when the multi-millionaire was allowed to dump huge blocks of stock before criminal charges against him were made public.

IBEW President John J. Barry disclosed that he has ordered an investigation into the possible adverse effects on union pensioners when Boesky unloaded $440 million worth of stock, resulting in the fourth-largest one-day drop in the history of the Dow Jones industrials average.

Although Boesky was about to be hit with a total of $100 million in fines and penalties for illegal insider trading, particularly in hostile corporate takeovers, the SEC allowed him to continue his Wall Street activities which included the wholesale disposal of securities that drove the market down 44 points in one day of feverish trading.

Before he was nabbed by the SEC, Boesky made a killing in the market by manipulating stock prices based on illegally obtained information, Barry pointed out. And when the SEC held back public disclosure and permitted him to continue trading, Boesky was again involved in "illegal insider information abuse," the IBEW president asserted.

Major fiasco

The union ordered a preliminary investigation, Barry said, to assess whether these activities, carried out with the knowledge of the SEC, damaged the IBEW's pension fund portfolio. He branded the case, and the way the government handled it, a "major fiasco."

If it turns out that the IBEW fund suffered losses as a result, he continued, the union will consider filing a class-action lawsuit against both Boesky and the SEC for having "unnaturally depressed the market."

Union lawyers indicated that other pension fund trustees may also be taking a close look at their portfolios to determine whether they were damaged by Boesky's actions and the SEC's decision to delay making the charges against him public.

The federal agency, which oversees the investment community, "knew what the effects of Boesky's dumping actions would be," Barry said. "Yet they permitted him to do so," to the potential "detriment" of the IBEW pension fund because the sharp decline in market prices adversely affected a number of stocks, not only those junk bonds in which Boesky made his killing.

The IBEW noted that one investor—Angelo Oriolo of Pennsville, N.J.—has already filed a class-action suit against Boesky as a result of the scandal and Philadelphia attorney David Berger has urged other investors to follow suit in order to "hit the malefactor in the pocketbook where it hurts."

Said Barry: "Many people in the market are deservedly angered by what this one man—and possibly several others—got away with for so long, and by the kind of mixed signals the SEC has been sending to the entire investment community in its questionable handling of the entire incident."

SEC's defense

SEC Chairman John Shad has repeatedly defended his agency's action, not only in permitting Boesky to unload the $440 million in a day of frenzied trading but also in allowing him to stay on as a stock trader for another 18 months before he's barred from the stock market for life. Shad insists that forcing Boesky out immediately would have touched off panic on Wall Street to the disadvantage other investors.

But Barry sees it differently. It's quite possible, he said, that the SEC bungled the case and if so the union may hold the agency "accountable in any class-action suit which we decide to file against Boesky."

When the federal agency finally announced it was lowering the boom on Boesky, it ordered him to pay a $50-million fine and to make restitution to the tune of another $50 million for the illicit profits he made.

However, many Wall Street sources contend the amount of money Boesky made by trading on confidential information was much greater than the SEC claims. Financial World magazine, for example, estimated that Boesky amassed more than $100 million in profits last year alone.

The prevailing view in the industry is that Boesky got off cheap. Some knowledgeable stock dealers insist his illicit profits may have been as high as $200 million—four times what the government claimed—intensifying criticism of the way the agency handled the case.

Full-scale investigation

Congress is already planning a wide-ranging investigation into the whole deal. Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.), incoming chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, said he will call a range of witnesses—including Boesky, SEC officials, officers of corporations whose stock was manipulated in the takeover deals and investors who were hurt as a result of these activities.

And Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.)—who said Boesky should serve a prison term for his shady dealings—called for an overhaul of laws covering corporate takeover attempts to prevent a recurrence of the scandal.

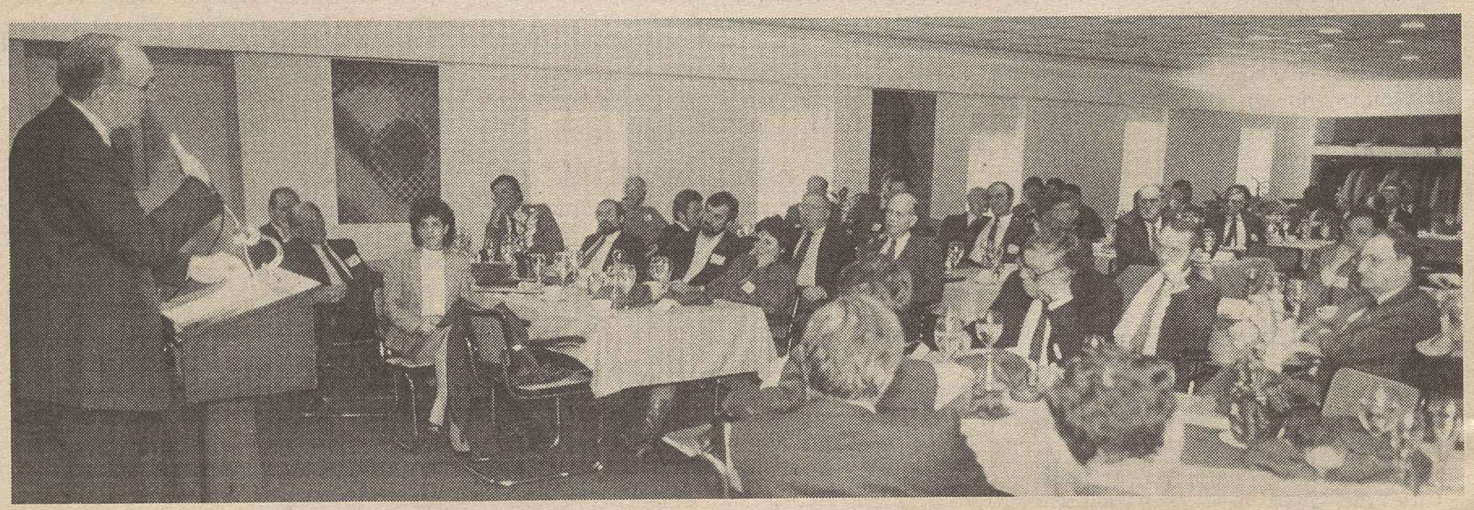
Operating Engineers expand disaster network

West Caldwell, N.J.—If disaster hits this area, the American Red Cross relief headquarters will be the facilities of Operating Engineers Local 68.

The agreement to make IUOE Local 68's Education Fund Building available to the Red Cross adds a northern link to the network established under the Coastline Disaster Project in a trade union program coordinated by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Community Services.

Thirty-three previous union hall designations involve locals of 19 unions spread across the southeastern coast from Louisiana to Virginia, an area that has been hit by severe hurricanes.

Local 68 President Thomas P. Giblin noted that the northern New Jersey area suffered heavy flooding in the spring of 1984 by waters of the Passaic, Pompton, Pequannock and Ramapo rivers. That time it took four days for the Red Cross to locate and set up a disaster relief headquarters.



AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Donahue addresses labor/higher education conference.

Unions press worldwide action on chemical hazards

By Arlee C. Green

A 14-step plan to prevent chemical disasters such as the December 1984 tragedy in Bhopal, India, that killed 2,500 people, has been endorsed by the AFL-CIO and labor federations around the world in prodding corporations and legislative bodies to adopt the measures.

The 14 principles were adopted by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The action is an outgrowth of an international study of the Bhopal disaster by a fact-finding team that included Federation safety specialist Margaret Seminario.

Given the volume of toxic chemicals produced worldwide, the potential for similar Bhopal-like tragedies is great, the report noted. "Americans should not regard Bhopal as unrelated to our workplace," Seminario said. "None of the conditions which led to the disaster would have been violations of specific standards or regulations" of the Occupational Safety & Health Administration or the Environmental Protection Agency.

Seminario noted, however, that as a result of the Bhopal accident, where a cloud of deadly methyl isocyanate was released from a Union Carbide-owned plant over a populated area, "a new federal law guarantees the public the right to know about chemical hazards in their communities."

She pointed out the efforts of American trade unions in gaining this measure and recommended the United States pay close attention to the other ICFTU principles, such as plant design and insurance compensation.

The ICFTU principles call for specific actions to be taken by corporations, Congress and the International Labor Organization, and pledge trade union bodies worldwide to share information and continue research on chemical dangers.

Could have helped

The ICFTU report stressed that adoption of the 14 points would have helped in preventing chemical disasters, such as the 1974 explosion at a Flixborough, England, plastics plant, the 1976 contamination of Seveso, Italy, with dioxin, and last month's enormous warehouse fire in Basle, Switzerland, that spilled toxic chemicals into the Rhine river.

Further, it pointed out, even though it was radiation and not toxic chemicals that were released in Chernobyl last May, that disaster, too, would have been prevented had the 14 points been in effect in the Soviet Union.

The ICFTU-adopted principles include:

- A formal safety analysis that contains a description of the process, equipment, crew size, maintenance, materials, training, possible release points and consequences, and safety systems.
- Coverage of facilities that produce, use, store, transport or dispose of toxic, flammable, explosive or reactive chemicals in quantities that could pose a serious risk. It urges development of an internationally agreed on list of hazardous chemicals and exposure limits.
- Notification of relevant government authorities, trade unions, and local and national emergency services by the management of such facilities of the chemicals, processes and safeguards at each location.
- Design of new plants and modification of existing plants to minimize a possibility of a release of hazardous chemicals. Management should demonstrate to unions and the government that it has taken "all necessary steps to prevent releases . . . before the facility is allowed to operate."
- Training should be provided to all workers and supervisors on the hazards of their jobs and the general hazards in the plant. It should include classroom instruction, on-the-job training and emergency drills.
- Protection of worker and trade union rights. Workers should be able to select their own safety representatives and unions should be consulted on every aspect concerning the design and operation of the plant. "Workers should have the right to refuse any task they believe endangers themselves or the public without fear of reprisal."
- All major accidents and control system failures should be thoroughly investigated and reported to the trade union and the government.
- Workers, unions and the public should have the right to know the hazards present at each site, and the precautions they should take. Workers should have the right to all information on the hazards of their jobs, names and hazards of chemicals in the plant. Unions should have the right to safety analyses, accident reports and other relative information.
- Emergency plans, both on-site and off-site, should be prepared in close consultation with the union, public representatives, local authorities and emergency planning agencies.
- No potentially hazardous enterprise should be allowed to operate unless it shows it has sufficient resources to "clean up possible spills, mitigate environmental damage and provide prompt compensation for the victims of any accident." (The report notes that two years after the Bhopal accident, the victims have yet to receive compensation.)
- Multinational corporations should not set up operations or export products that are considered too dangerous for their home countries.

Other points in the ICFTU plan cover responsibility for plant design and operation, plant location and local planning, and transportation safeguards.

Air Line Pilots chart course through merger turbulence

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The Air Line Pilots continued on course through the airline industry's deregulated skies by streamlining policies for dealing with mergers and expanding services to displaced and furloughed members.

Delegates to the union's biennial convention also elected Henry A. Duffy to a second four-year term as president. A four-way contest for the presidency ended with the delegates returning Duffy to office by acclamation in a show of solidarity.

Duffy pledged to continue a "long-range plan for the future of the union," including programs to increase the union's effectiveness and safeguard worker protections under deregulation and to maintain ALPA's role as the leading advocate for air safety. He also stressed his commitment to maintaining strong ties between ALPA and the AFL-CIO. ALPA represents 39,000 members at 47 airlines.

The 300 delegates elected Roger Hall as first vice president and Larry Schulte as secretary and returned Jack Magee to office as treasurer, all for four-year terms. Five executive vice presidents were also elected to two-year terms.

Delegates established a union-sponsored job hiring list for laid-off pilots and agreed that a national seniority system for furloughed pilots should be included in future contract negotiations with carriers.

They discussed the problems resulting from airline mergers—heightened under deregulation—and approved new ALPA policies to streamline pilots's concerns over routes and worker benefits. The pilots also stressed that ALPA will renew its fight for labor protections for workers confronted by airline mergers when Congress reconvenes.

Delegates adopted a drug rehabiliation program—similar to the successful alcohol treatment plan set up by the union 12 years ago—"to keep airline cockpits drug-free."

Multi-pronged program

Duffy said ALPA met with carriers and Administration officials to work out a multi-faceted program, including education, rehabiliation and re-employment of drug users, with stringent safeguards to ensure confidentiality and reliability of test results.

The ALPA president stressed that the union will continue to oppose random testing, but added that the ALPA plan will allow testing under four specific circumstances: pre-employment screening, after an accident, where probable cause of drug use exists, and during post-rehabilitation monitoring.

"Random drug testing, often cited as a cure-all for the problem isn't going to do the job," and has come under attack from the courts, Duffy said, adding that ALPA's approach "has been proven effective, is more humane and doesn't run afoul of Constitutional questions."

Both the drug and alcohol programs are designed to rehabiliate pilots and return them to the cockpit, Duffy said, noting that drug use among pilots was rare and could be "measured in the dozens."

ALPA President Henry Duffy keynotes biennial union convention in Bal Harbour, Fla. At right is First Vice President Roger Hall.

Hostility to labor abates in Oklahoma

Continued from Page 1

for its major push in 1987—flushed with victory after winning a referendum in November that made Idaho the 21st state with a compulsory open-show law.

After barely dodging the "right-to-work" bullet twice in the past two years, organized labor believes that the emerging climate of labor-management cooperation could face the RTW forces with opposition not only from unions but from state officials and at least business leaders as well. But the state federation is taking no chances.

AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten has responded to Freeman's request to help strengthen legislative action committees across the state and mobilize them to beat back the open-shop threat in the Republican-dominated legislature.

Organizing and training for the grass-roots lobbying campaign will be conducted by Mike Gildea of the Dept. of Legislation at two on-site training and education workshops this month—one in Oklahoma City, the other in Tulsa. Attending the orientation sessions will be local union leaders, shop stewards, political and legislative activists and other volunteers.

With the RTW forces focusing money and political influence on this state, McGlotten said, labor is going ahead with its "multi-faceted grass-roots lobbying campaign aimed at stopping 'right-to-work' dead in its tracks in Oklahoma." The key to success, he said, will be shop stewards who have the "potential for networking on the job site."

The stakes are high—and not just in Oklahoma.

Should the RTW forces succeed in making this the 22nd compulsory open-shop state, McGlotten warned, it would give momentum to their efforts in such vulnerable states as New Hampshire and New Mexico and would greatly enhance their fund-raising efforts.

Moreover, he added, the closer the Right to Work Committee comes to reaching the goal of having a majority of states with anti-labor legislation, the greater will be the intensity of its efforts at the national level to push through a federal compulsory open-shop law.

Court penalizes employer for sabotage of arbitration

Chicago—Cracking down on management's "frivolous" use of the courts to evade complying with an arbitration award, the 7th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals ordered a Chicago firm to pay attorney's fees run up by the Machinists during the protracted legal proceedings.

The court sharply criticized Dries & Krump Manufacturing Co. for "spinning out" the arbitration process "unconscionably" through the filing of "meritless suits and appeals," and sent the case back to U.S. District Court to calculate all the legal costs incurred by IAM District 8 once the arbitrator made his award in the union's favor.

The case dates back to 1982, when the company laid off one of its welders and subsequently subcontracted the work he had been doing. When the IAM took the issue to arbitration, the arbitrator held that subcontracting of work while an employee was on layoff violated the collective bargaining agreement and ordered management to pay the welder for the entire period of the layoff.

The company refused to comply, asking the arbitrator to reconsider the order. Management subsequently offered only a partial backpay settlement and when the IAM declined to accept the offer, Dreis & Krump filed suit in U.S. District Court, which dismissed the company's suit but also denied the union's request for attorney fees.

In overturning the lower court ruling and imposing the payment of legal fees on the company, the appeals court lashed out at management, pointing out that arbitration is "supposed to be a speedy remedy" for resolving collective bargaining disputes.

Not only was there "no ground for (management) challenging the decision in court," the opinion declared, management also filed its suit long after the 90-day statute of limitations had expired. The company did not go to court until nine months after the arbitrator's award. Even if the statute of limitations applied to the day the arbitrator rejected management's request for reconsideration, the court pointed out, the company still waited an additional five months before filing its suit in federal court.

The court declared pointedly that "any competent attorney" would have known that the company's suit had no merit and that it was, in any event, barred by the statute of limitations, adding:

"Mounting federal caseloads and growing public dissatisfaction with the costs and delays of litigation have made it imperative that the federal courts impose sanctions on persons and firms that abuse their right of access to these courts."

10,000 A&P workers win pay increases

Some 10,000 members of the Food & Commercial Workers, employed on a full- and part-time basis at Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. stores in New York and New Jersey, approved new three-year contracts that will increase weekly pay scales by $80 to $95 over the term.

The agreement was ratified in mail balloting by members of New Jersey Local 464, representing workers at 128 A&P food stores, and at membership meetings of New York Locals 342 and 174.

The contract raises the pay of meat department heads from $600 to $695 a week over three years, while the weekly rate for full-time journeymen meatcutters will go up from $551 to $641. The clerk scale will go to $526 from $446.

HHS rapped on health plan to dun elderly

The AFL-CIO assailed a proposal to garnishee social security checks of beneficiaries who do not pay their full share of Medicare hospital costs as "cruel and unconscionable."

Director Bert Seidman of the Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security declared that the proposal, made by Inspector General Richard Kusserow of the Dept. of Health & Human Services in his semi-annual report to Congress, is "altogether wrong."

Seidman pointed out that Medicare pays for less than half the medical care costs of the elderly and those social security beneficiaries who have not paid their portion of their hospital costs are likely to be "the elderly and disabled who are on limited incomes, often relying solely on their social security payment."

There should be no ties made between the "financial obligations" of the elderly under Medicare and payments to which they are entitled under social security, Seidman emphasized.

Since 1966, Medicare has had a policy of reimbursing hospitals for the uncollected debts of Medicare patients to prevent hospitals from shifting the costs to others.

Reimbursement policy

Medicare patients are currently obligated to pay $492 of the first day of each hospital stay. Then they must shell out $123 for each day between the 61st and 90th day, $246 per day for the 91st to 150th day and all costs thereafter.

Kussero said that policy now costs Medicare $240 million a year. He suggested that the Health Care Financing Administration, which overseea Medicare, "either discontinue Medicare payments for beneficiaries with bad debts," or seek legal authority from Congress to deduct those charges from social security checks.

While Congress would have to act to garnishee the social security checks, HHS officials believe the department can administratively change the rules to deny payments to hospitals for Medicare patients who are in arrears.

Vigil for Soviet Jewry

Members of the Jewish Labor Committee and Washington Building & Construction Trades Council participate in a daily vigil outside the Soviet embassy in support of oppressed Jews in the USSR. From left: Organizer Bill Taylor of Bricklayers Local 6; Assistant to Bricklayers president, John Flynn; Bricklayers President John T. Joyce, chairman of the JLC's National Trade Union Council for Soviet Jewry, and Chairman Bert Seidman of the JLC Washington chapter. Seidman is the director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security.

Protest hits Reagan job-export scheme

Continued from Page 1

for many IUE members who are losing their jobs because of imports," Bywater told the demonstrators. "For the Reagan Administration to increase the flow of foreign goods to our store shelves is inexcusable, Sec. Baldrige and his jolly Commerce Dept. underlings deserve Christmas Eve visits from the ghosts of job losses past, present and future."

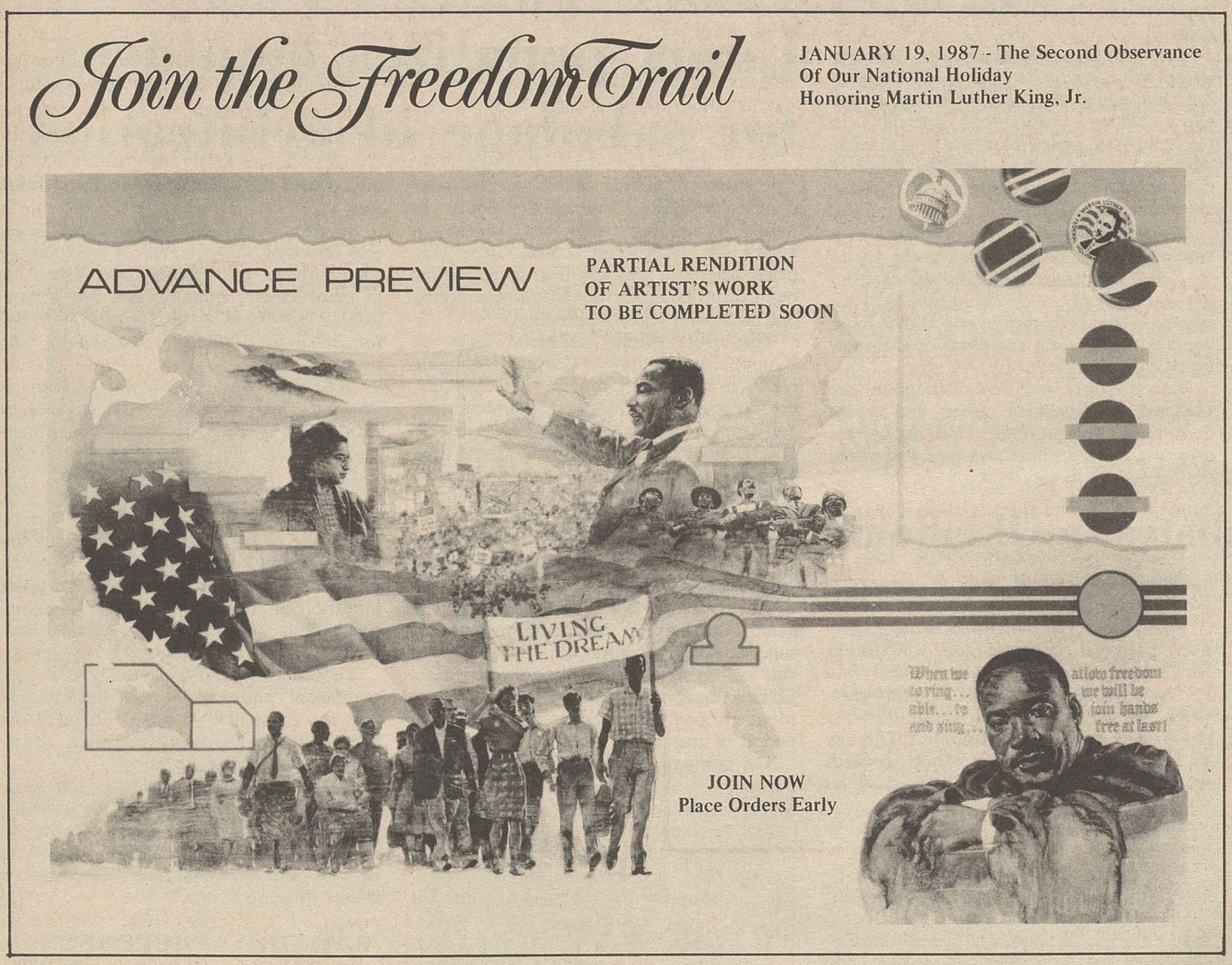
The letter to Baldrige assailed the department for "aiding and abetting programs which result in the runaway of companies to foreign soil or encourage still higher importation of products made abroad."

Bywater emphasized that the Administration's policies in this regard fly in the face of the "clearly expressed" wishes of Congress and the American people in support of programs that "preserve U.S. industries and safeguard U.S. jobs."

The Mexican connection came to light this fall when it was disclosed that the Commerce Dept. had mailed 120,000 brochures to American firms, touting the benefits of transferring assembly operations into the mushrooming industrial complex across the Rio Grande.

From this base—aided by tariff trade-offs between Mexico and the United States—American firms have exploited a low-wage workforce comprised mainly of women between the ages of 16 and 21 for assembly work once done in U.S. plants.

American companies have invested nearly $2 billion in the so-called maquilladoras—"golden mills"—and have wiped out the jobs of tens of thousands of U.S. workers in the process. Mexico now accounts for nearly half of all the subassembly imports plaguing the U.S. economy.



Let freedom ring

A "freedom trail" poster, tracing the life of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., has been commissioned to honor the slain civil rights leader as part of the national holiday celebration on Jan. 19. A project of the Martin Luther King Jr. Federal Holiday Commission, the poster has received the support of the AFL-CIO's Labor Committee for the King Holiday, headed by Clothing & Textile Workers President Murray Finley. Groups or individuals can have their name imprinted on the 18-by-28-inch poster which can be ordered from the Martin Luther King Jr. Federal Holiday Commission, 451 Seventh St., S.W., Room 5182, Wash., D.C. 20410.

Stock buyout tied to closing at Goodyear

The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. fended off the attempted takeover raid by a British financier, but the high cost of a stock buyback agreement will force the closing of two tire plants and the probable selloff of profitable subsidiaries.

The damage to the company was less than the total dismemberment anticipated if Sir James Goldsmith had succeeded in his takeover bid, and URW President Milan Stone termed the outcome "the closest thing to a victory we could expect."

The URW, which strongly opposed the corporate raid, said a union-backed bill passed by the Ohio legislature helped turn the tide in the takeover battle. The bill, now signed into law, permits an Ohio-based company to take defensive actions against raiders by allowing other shareholders to buy additional stock at below-market prices.

The union's executive board strongly urged federal legislation to arm corporations against hostile takeover threats, and will make passage of such a law a major legislative goal for the new Congress.

Stone had testified the previous week for legislation to curb corporate raiders and prohibit "greenmail" at a hearing on the Goodyear raid held by the House Subcommittee on Monopolies. URW retirees turned out in force to back up their union's concern. His testimony also urged that legislation to curb hostile takeovers include a provision that would require anyone who gains control through stock manipulation to operate a corporation in its form at the time of a takeover for at least three years.

Paying the price

For Goodyear workers, the price in jobs will be paid by more than 3,000 employees at two older tire plants.

The company served the six-month plant closing notice required by the URW contract for the Goodyear plant in Toronto and the company's Kelly-Springfield tire plant in Cumberland, Md.

Goodyear officials said the closing is necessary to reduce costs in the aftermath of the debt incurred to fight off the takeover raid.

The company paid Goldsmith $49.50 a share to buy back the 11.5 percent of the outstanding stock that he had acquired. The cost of the buyback came to $618.8 million. That's $87.5 million more than Goldsmith paid for the stock, the Wall Street Journal estimated.

The company also offered $50 a share for up to 40 million shares from Goodyear stockholders at a potential cost of $2.26 billion. Most of the funds are expected to come from the sale of its aerospace unit, its Celeron Corp. oil and gas operations and a wheel-manufacturing unit.

ILA locals settle East Coast pacts

The Longshoremen reached agreement with shipping management at all East Coast ports on local issues to augment earlier master settlements with the New York Shipping Association and the Council of North Atlantic Shipping Associations.

The local contracts involve a scaleback of guaranteed annual income payments that vary from port to port, reductions in crew sizes and, in some instances, early-retirement incentives for dockworkers.

Past contracts guaranteed pay for 2,080 hours a year—the equivalent of 52 weeks of 40 hours each. The new settlements provide for guarantees of 1,900 hours the first year with reductions in future years, depending on the individual port.

The New York and Boston agreements give longshoremen who retire before May 1987 lump-sum bonuses of as much as $2,000 a year for each year of the three-year contract.

All of the port settlements provide 10-percent increases in pension benefits, improved employer funding for ILA medical clinics, and some reductions in the size of work crews handling specialty cargo.

Under the master settlement, the present $17-an-hour pay scale is retained for the first two years, with a $1-an-hour increase in the final year.

EDITORIALS

Downsizing America

IN THE LAST few years, we have lost 25 shipyards and 60,000 shipbuilding jobs. When the eight commercial ships now being built are completed, there are no new orders to replace them.

It is not that there is no need for ships. The problem is that the Reagan Administration has chosen to pursue a policy of whittling our standard of living to the world's lowest common denominator, instead of raising the world's standards to ours.

But shipyards workers should not feel singled out. It has become national policy in this decade to "build foreign" in almost every industry.

In the last five years, 250 American textile mills have shut their doors. Thirty thousand employees at General Motors alone are now looking at layoffs, perhaps indefinitely. Thousands more workers already displaced in auto and related industries will probably never return to their old jobs.

This year, we will run a $2 billion trade deficit in the high-tech industries once touted as our salvation. It is our first trade deficit in that sector—ever.

In this decade, we have lost more than 450,000 jobs in the primary metals industry, and more than a quarter-million in fabricated metals.

Companies are "downsizing" and hollowing themselves out across the board. It seems that our only growth industry is defense attorneys for stock manipulators accused of insider training.

In the next year, we will have a chance to start the job of rebuilding the American economy. The election has served up a Senate with more members who have a stronger grip on the reality that this nation needs a strong industrial base if it is to prosper and defend itself.

Many of the newly-elected senators are good friends. Nevertheless, it will not hurt, now and then, to remind them how and why working people supported them and voted for them.

—From AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's address to the Metal Trades Dept.'s shipbuilding conference, Washington, D.C., Dec. 1, 1986.

On the World's Agenda

ONCE AGAIN, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions raised an important issue that needs to be addressed by the nations of the world.

Its proposals for worldwide standards and policies to lessen the risk of chemical disasters were prompted by the tragedy in Bhopal, India, two years ago that killed 2,500 people.

Like other major disasters of recent years—in England, Italy and Switzerland—and like the Soviet Union's nuclear disaster at Chernobyl, it was avoidable. That is the real tragedy. Unlike earthquakes, hurricanes or volcano eruptions, these were disasters that need not have taken place.

The ICFTU safety proposals, developed by an international fact-finding group that included the AFL-CIO's Margaret Seminario, are designed to minimize the risk of future chemical disasters.

The recommendations, let it be emphasized, are aimed at the United States as well as the supposedly less advanced nations of the world. We shouldn't have to wait for an American Bhopal to prompt Congress, the Occupational Safety & Health Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency to act.

Knowing what should be done and not doing it would be criminally negligent. Thanks, ICFTU, for the prod.

Heart of the Matter

UNIONS ARE involved in politics, Sam Fishman said when he took office as president of the Michigan AFL-CIO, because the bargaining table will only determine "what we get for our labor if we are working." But "what we do at the ballot box will determine whether we are working—whether there is anything to bargain over."

Sam Fishman's ability to cut to the heart of the matter will be missed. His untimely death diminishes the labor movement he loved so well.

Washington Window

Wall Street raiders leave takeover targets bleeding

By Press Associates

The Wall Street stock manipulation scandal involving Ivan Boesky put the spotlight on a multi-billion dollar game of chess where the players are rich speculators like Boesky and the pawns are working people, retirees, communities and the very health of the American economy.

Boesky agreed to pay a $50-million fine and return $50 million of an estimated $203 million of illegal profits he made from inside tips about corporate takeover attempts. But "Ivan the Terrible" Boesky, as he is called on Wall Street, is only the tip of the iceberg of a profiteering frenzy in which no corporation in America is safe from "raiders," "greenmail" and "restructuring."

Workers in Cumberland, Md., learned the meaning of this Wall Street lingo as they prepared for their Thanksgiving celebrations. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. announced that it was closing its Kelly-Springfield plant there, putting 1,675 people out of work.

Goodyear said the shutdown was part of the "restructuring" needed to raise $93 million in "greenmail" to get "raider" Sir James Goldsmith, a British financier and stock speculator, to abandon his bid to buy the company. It isn't known yet how further cost-cutting by Goodyear will affect its 24,000 other production workers.

Fighting the raiders

Goodyear's fight to keep itself out of Goldsmith's clutches was supported by the Rubber Workers. It was commonly feared that Goldsmith would break up the company and sell it off in pieces to repay his debt incurred in buying it, pocketing what was left.

URW President Milan Stone, testifying at a special post-adjournment hearing of a House Judiciary subcommittee just before Goldsmith withdrew his bid, noted the fate of two other rubber companies that have been takeover targets. B.F. Goodrich ended up paying greenmail to buy off a raider, and Uniroyal "ceased to exist as a manufacturing company."

Stone called these hostile takeovers and greenmail extortions ways "to make enormous profits for the already rich, the raiders, without creating anything new in the way of jobs, products, or enhanced competitiveness." The result of these raids, however, is a wasteful drain on resources that leaves a company weaker and its workers more vulnerable.

High-stakes game

Pressure from raiders, actual or feared, has produced "a late-1980s version of monopoly played in fast forward: a frenzied blur of buybacks and spinoffs, mergers and acquisitions, leveraged buyouts and recapitalizations. This game is for real, and the stakes are as high as you can get—the future economic prosperity of the U.S.," said Business Week magazine.

Business will spend $200 billion in 1986 on these non-productive activities, four times the amount spent just three years ago, the report said. Nearly half a million employees have been dismissed or offered early retirement because of firms "restructuring" in the past three years.

Another unfortunate result is that "corporate managers are so busy trying to preserve themselves that the entire focus of business has turned to short-term payoffs," economist Pat Choate of TRW Inc. said. "They're too busy fighting Wall Street to fight Japan."

Raiders have even used employee pension funds to finance takeovers. Raider David Murdock used pension funds of workers and retirees of Cannon Mills to make a $60-million greenmail profit in a move on Occidental Petroleum. The Clothing & Textile Workers are suing Murdock for the return of his profits to the pension fund and another $25 million "surplus" he skimmed from the fund.

Legislation to dampen the takeover craze died in the 99th Congress, but leaders of the House and the new Democratic Senate have pledged to respond to the current public outcry over the Boesky scandal by making a strong push for needed legislation in 1987.

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MEMO FROM COPE

76 PERCENT

AFL-CIO member/family vote for COPE-endorsed Senate candidates

AFL-CIO members and their families voted overwhelmingly for COPE-endorsed U.S. Senate candidates November 4 and were decisive in shifting Senate control from 53-47 Republican to 55-45 Democratic.

This is the key finding in a national election night survey of AFL-CIO members and other union family voters conducted by COPE. A total of 1,333 interviews were completed in the poll, a sampling as large—and as representative within AFL-CIO ranks—as Gallup, Harris and other major polling operations rely on when they question the public.

The COPE poll shows that 76 percent of union/family voters cast their ballots for COPE-endorsed U.S. Senate candidates.

The impact for labor-endorsed candidates of such landslide support among a large portion of the electorate is significant, and obvious, in itself. Its importance is heightened by the finding that union/family members *voted* in substantially higher percentages than the electorate at-large. Nationally, about 37 percent of *all* eligible voters participated November 4, while *more than 50 percent* of eligible union/family members turned out.

The decisive nature of the *percentage* of the union/family vote for endorsed Senate candidates, combined with higher *turnout,* becomes clear through a look at the narrow margins of victory of many of the COPE-suported candidates in key races that determined Senate control:

- **In Alabama,** COPE-endorsed Richard Shelby (D) defeated incumbent Jeremiah Denton by only 6,823 votes out of 1,211,897 votes cast.
- **In California,** Alan Cranston (D) retained his Senate seat with a margin of little more than 100,000 votes.
- **In Colorado,** Tim Wirth (D) held the seat for Democrats vacated by Sen. Gary Hart (D) by only 15,000 votes.
- **In Georgia,** Wyche Fowler (D) defeated incumbent Mack Mattingly by little more than 20,000.
- **In Nevada,** Harry Reid (D) took the seat vacated by Sen. Paul Laxalt (R) by 14,000.
- **In North Dakota,** Kent Conrad (D) won by only 2,000.
- **In South Dakota,** Tom Daschle (D) won by fewer than 10,000.
- **In Washington,** Brock Adams (D) ousted incumbent Slade Gorton by less than 30,000 out of 1.2 million votes cast.

Union/family votes were vital, as well, in important Senate victories somewhat less close in Florida and North Carolina, and in Barbara Mikulski's solid win in Maryland.

Even in three defeats for COPE-backed Senate candidates—Missouri, Wisconsin and Idaho—union/family votes kept the races close.

Union/family voting in U.S. House and gubernatorial races, the COPE survey showed, was in line with Senate figures: 72.4 percent Democratic in House, 70.1 percent in gubernatorial, races.

Most endorsed candidates are Democrats, and the union member vote figures far exceed support for Democratic candidates among the electorate at-large, which an ABC-TV exit poll pegged at 51 percent each in Senate, House and governor's races.

COPE Makes a Difference

AFL-CIO members polled were asked two party-preference questions. Responses follow.

Which political party do you favor?

Mostly Democratic	43.3%
Leaning Democratic	14.2%
Completely independent	15.4%
Mostly Republican	10.9%
None/not sure	7.0%

Which party is best qualified to lead in the next two years?

Democratic Party	48.8%
Republican Party	20.2%
Neither	8.4%
Not sure	22.6%

The sharp contrast in polling results showing 76 percent support for COPE-backed candidates but only 48 percent for the Democratic Party itself should be sobering to party leaders. Some elected Democratic officials and party leaders have attempted since 1984 to distance themselves from the labor movement and essential people programs in an effort to move the party rightward. It seems instead they've "distanced" a lot of working people from the party.

Overview of Poll Sample

AFL-CIO households except where noted.

Union Status	
Union members	79.4%
Union households	20.6%
Sex	
Male	56.5%
Female	43.5%
Age	
18-24	2.2%
25-29	4.3%
30-39	19.4%
40-49	21.7%
50-59%	20.6%
60-64%	12.6%
65 and over	18.3%
Type of Union (Union Members)	
Manufacturing	25.3%
Construction	18.4%
Government	15.5%
Sales	3.4%
Transportation	7.5%
Communications	6.2%
Service	13.4%
Other	10.2%
Race/Ethnic	
White	78.5%
Black	12.8%
Hispanic	6.8%
Other	1.9%

ABC Exit Poll Confirms COPE's

An election day exit poll by ABC-TV strongly confirms results of COPE's survey. The network's poll, showing slightly lower figures, reflects *all* U.S. Senate races, whereas the COPE poll's Senate percentages provided here deal only with contests in which *a COPE endorsement was made.* ABC found "union household" voters—including members and their voting family members voting Democratic 68.3 percent in Senate contests, 71.8 percent in House races and 68.3 percent in gubernatorial races. Sample ABC survey results in some key Senate states of "union household" voting for COPE-backed candidates:

Alabama 67 percent, North Carolina 67, Florida 66, Louisiana 67, South Dakota 73, Maryland 72, Colorado 73, California 69, Missouri 72 (Figures range 3-5 points *lower* than COPE poll by state reflecting normal margin of error in such surveys).

For folks who love statistics

How Union/Family Sub-Groups Voted

The chart below shows party voting performance of AFL-CIO members and union families by sub-groups within the overall COPE election night sample. Particularly noteworthy are the huge black and Hispanic AFL-CIO/family vote for Democratic candidates, the stronger support among women for Democrats and the down-step trend of Democratic support from older to younger age groups. (Note: The chart covers all contests, including those where no endorsement was made.)

SENATE CANDIDATE VOTE BY SUB-GROUP

	OVERALL	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER-30	30-44	45-59	60+	HISPANIC	WHITE	BLACK
DEMOCRAT	67%	64%	70%	60%	68%	67%	67%	72%	64%	84%
REPUBLICAN	33%	35%	30%	38%	32%	33%	33%	27%	36%	16%
OTHER	0%	1%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%

HOUSE CANDIDATE VOTE BY SUB-GROUP

	OVERALL	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER-30	30-44	45-59	60+	HISPANIC	WHITE	BLACK
DEMOCRAT	72%	72%	73%	57%	72%	74%	75%	78%	69%	90%
REPUBLICAN	27%	28%	26%	43%	28%	25%	25%	22%	31%	10%
OTHER	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%

GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE VOTE BY SUB-GROUP

	OVERALL	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER-30	30-44	45-59	60+	HISPANIC	WHITE	BLACK
DEMOCRAT	70%	67%	74%	54%	74%	73%	68%	76%	66%	94%
REPUBLICAN	29%	32%	26%	43%	25%	26%	32%	24%	34%	4%
OTHER	1%	1%	0%	3%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	2%

AFL-CIO news

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The 1987 LABORITE

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Low-paying new jobs sap living standards

As America loses its industrial base

By Arlee C. Green

Labor's dire warning that the unchecked erosion of the nation's industrial base would mean hard times and low pay for America's workers is borne out in a new study released by the congressional Joint Economic Committee. The findings show that since 1979 all of the net growth in employment occurred in jobs paying under $14,000 annually, with nearly three-fifths paying under $7,000.

"The JEC's study clearly demonstrates the adverse effects of Reagan economic policies on workers," declared AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald. The report is "further evidence substantiating the deindustrialization of America, the decline of real wages for workers and the growing dual wage structure."

It points up, too, Oswald said, "that a small group of the wealthy are doing well, while a growing number of low-wage workers are falling further away from achieving the American dream."

Oswald stressed that the nation's severe trade imbalance has "contributed to the loss of middle-level, decent-paying jobs, including 2 million manufacturing jobs." He warned that until "Congress does something about the trade deficit, the situation won't turn around."

As for workers at the bottom, he said, inflation's erosion of the purchasing power of the minimum wage has created further misery. The lop-sided tally of low-wage jobs "really means that there will be more and more working poor—those who, in spite of holding jobs, are still in poverty," Oswald observed.

Current JEC chairman, Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.), and the incoming chairman, Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.), said in a joint statement: "We find this data deeply disturbing. Although more Americans are working, there is less opportunity for a good job or even a reasonably good job. Under these circumstances, the only way that the standard of living for the average family can be preserved is through increased borrowing and eventually that will have to be repaid."

The JEC report stressed that the U.S. economy's ability to create jobs—a net increase of 8 million jobs between 1979 and 1984—masks the stark fact that 4.7 million of these new jobs are low-wage positions paying under $7,000. The report

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Nurses picket Kaiser health care center in San Francisco as union and management negotiators meet to hammer out a tentative three-year accord.

Intense corporate campaign prods Kaiser into settlement

San Francisco—Buoyed by a broad-ranging corporate campaign, 10,000 members of the Service Employees and Marine Engineers reached tentative agreements with Kaiser Permanente Health Plan of Northern California to wind down a strike that began Oct. 27.

The settlement, scheduled to be put to a vote of union members on Dec. 13, beat back a three-year wage freeze demanded by the nation's largest and most profitable health maintenance organization and cut in half Kaiser's proposed two-tier pay plan.

The accord was reached within days after 9,000 SEIU members and 1,000 MEBA members rejected an earlier management proposal by a 55-percent majority, even though strike benefits were exhausted and management was threatening to cancel health insurance coverage and hire scabs.

The two unions credited the victory in part to a telegram sent by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland to Kaiser Chairman James Vohs, warning that management's refusal to negotiate a fair contract "jeopardizes your long-standing and positive relationship with organized labor."

Kirkland had urged Vohs to reconsider the company's bargaining position so that the dispute can be resolved quickly "without a further deterioration of Kaiser's standing in the labor community."

Instead of the wage freeze, the unions won $1,000 bonuses in the first year, $850 in the second and a 3-percent wage hike the third. Negotiators also agreed to a 15-percent wage differential for new hires in clinics outside the San Francisco Bay Area—half of what Kaiser had proposed.

The agreement also calls for establishment of an annual labor-management patient care conference. And Kaiser agreed to moderate an important subcontracting issue

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Court slams NLRB switch on bypassing union role

By David L. Perlman

A federal appellate court sharply rebuked the National Labor Relations Board for approving a "highly questionable" settlement of unfair labor practice charges negotiated by an employer-paid lawyer over the objection of the union representing the workers and the administrative law judge hearing the case.

Judge Harry T. Edwards, writing for a unanimous three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia circuit, said the NLRB had abandoned a long-established policy by approving a settlement that did not remedy an alleged unfair labor practice, without explaining or justifying its about-face in terms of the goals of federal labor law.

He said the appellate court also found it "disturbing" that the labor board "foreclosed all inquiry into the ethical conduct of the attorney for the individual employees." The company agreed to pay him $450 for each employee who waived his rights and accepted a settlement.

The successful court challenge was brought by the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers, which has been pressing for reinstatement with full back pay for union members who struck a Jonesboro, Tenn., munitions firm in 1981 to remedy on-the-job health hazards.

The approximately 100 OCAW members walked out when their contract expired after failing to get any government agency to investigate the cause of respiratory and kidney ailments that were afflicting TNS workers.

OCAW District Director John Williams said the illnesses have been clearly linked to the depleted uranium used in the manufacture of artillery projectiles and the inadequacy of the respirators given workers as protection against uranium dust. The union is demanding that the company establish a contingency fund to cover future health costs related to the job hazards, he said.

The solid OCAW strike forced the plant to shut down, but it later opened with "permanent replacements" for most of the strikers.

The union filed unfair labor practice charges, asserting that the workers had a protected right to leave their jobs because of dangerous working conditions and could not be permanently replaced. The NLRB's general counsel agreed with the union interpretation and brought an unfair labor practice complaint against TNS.

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Labor mobilizes members for emergency blood drive

The AFL-CIO launched an emergency blood donation drive to help the American Red Cross overcome a critical nationwide shortage.

AFL-CIO Vice President John Sweeney is spearheading the nationwide campaign, sponsored by the federation's Dept. of Community Services. Sweeney announced the effort at a news conference with American Red Cross President Richard Schubert.

The drive is the labor movement's first all-out blood donor campaign since 1942, at the height of World War II, Sweeney said. Union members and officials will be asked to donate blood in January and August, the months during the year when Red Cross blood supplies are at their lowest.

Local AFL-CIO councils in 43 cities will appoint a coordinator to work with affiliated unions on increasing blood donations. More than half the coordinators have already been assigned and "plans are well underway," Sweeney said. Working with the central body coordinators is Merlin Taylor, apprenticeship director for the Bricklayers.

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Trade barriers keep out U.S. goods

Reagan Administration pursues failing free trade myth

By Gene Zack

While the Reagan Administration pursues a policy of "free trade," scores of countries around the globe have erected insurmountable barriers to American exports, according to the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

From Argentina to Yugoslavia, 40 countries and two regional trading bodies—the European Community and the Gulf Cooperation Council—have in place hundreds of policies that impede the entrance of U.S.-made goods into their markets, Ambassador Clayton Yeutter conceded in his second annual report to Congress.

The AFL-CIO said the report—mandated by the Trade & Tariff Act of 1984—"clearly proves the ineffectiveness of the Administration's insistence that the world is composed of 'open markets.' Unless the Administration alters course, there will be no way that we can resolve our record-breaking trade deficit" that ran at an annual rate of $170.5 billion in the first three quarters of this year.

The report provides "a different perspective" on the trade issue than the one being promoted by the White House, said Federation economist Mark Anderson. "President Reagan can talk all he wants to about an 'open-market' philosophy, but the report makes clear that the world doesn't function that way."

Other nations take advantage of America's open-door policy on imports, he said, while using a variety of devices to curb the sale of American goods in their market. The trade imbalance "is undercutting America's industrial base, destroying the jobs of American workers and driving American communities into economic stagnation," he warned.

The new Congress must move quickly to enact the tough trade measure that

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12/13/86

Federal cuts pass buck—but not bucks—to states

With the Reagan Administration abandoning federal programs on job creation, civil rights, environmental policy and social support systems for the poor, the burden has shifted to state governments to take the initiative.

That's the message of "America's States: Building a Progressive Future," a 336-page report by the National Center for Policy Alternatives, a research group that focuses on making state governments the laboratories for progressive social change.

"By both determination and default, state and local governments are the only real arenas" for such activity, said NCPA President Linda Tarr-Whelan. "For many years the federal government has been seen as not only the center ring for policy action, but the only ring. That is not the case today."

The study lays out an ambitious agenda for the two-year period ahead, including:

• Generating jobs through youth programs, repairs of infrastructure, creating economic development corporations, targeting investment of public pension funds, setting up small business centers and creating a climate to attract new industry.

• Training for job skills in demand, retraining for older workers, on-the-job training and development of "early warning" systems to deal with plant closings or payroll cutbacks.

• Improving unemployment insurance coverage, emergency health care benefits for displaced workers, mortgage foreclosure relief for those who are laid off and raising the minimum wage to at least 50 percent of the average private industry wage.

• Reforming taxes to conform to the new federal law, removing loopholes that allow corporations and the wealthy to escape their fair share of the tax burden and repealing regressive taxes including sales and excise taxes.

• Enacting or expanding "right-to-know" laws to safeguard workers and their communities against toxic hazards, providing relocation relief to toxic victims, requiring users of toxic chemicals to reduce accident risks and legislating a reduction in the production, use and disposal of toxic materials.

• Providing funds to eliminate wage discrimination, implementing pay equity through collective bargaining and joint labor-management studies, encouraging private employers to undertake voluntary compliance in the pay equity field and enforcing anti-discrimination laws in the private sector.

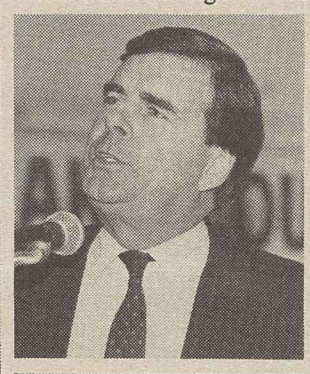
• Extending unemployment insurance coverage to part-time workers, those entering or reentering the workforce and displaced homemakers.

• Establishing day care centers and encouraging private employers to do likewise so that workers will not be forced to "choose between providing for and caring for their families."

• Insuring that occupational safety and health laws provide strict penalties for employers' failure to abate unsafe working conditions and for repeated violations and ensuring that workers retain the right to sue for loss of health or life because of workplace hazards.

• Strengthening civil rights laws by enacting tougher penalties for violations, extending coverage to smaller companies, large subcontractors and personnel placement agencies and making voting easier by permitting election day registration and developing programs to identify unregistered citizens.

Contributors to the NCPA action program included Virginia Diamond of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization & Field Services; Judith Gregory, a former research associate of the Dept. for Professional Employees; Enid Kassner of the National Council of Senior Citizens; Linda Lampkin, research director of the State, County & Municipal Employees; Franklin Wallick, editor of the Auto Workers Washington Report; Barbara Warden, a legislative representative for the Ladies' Garment Workers, and David Wilhelm, executive director of the labor-backed Citizens for Tax Justice.



AFSCME President Gerald McEntee assails anti-union tactics at "high noon" rally.

Demonstration in Gary

'High noon' battle for union jobs

Gary, Ind.—Union members from Indiana and Illinois gathered for a "high noon" rally to protest the anti-labor tactics of several local employers and to spur labor's cavalry.

The event was sponsored by the Lake County AFL-CIO, Northwestern Indiana Building & Construction Trades Council and District 31 of the Steelworkers.

More than 1,000 trade unionists joined the demonstration to show their strong opposition to the union-busting campaign of the Veterans Administration, which contracted with a nonunion firm to build a new clinic. The contractor has refused to pay prevailing wage rates and is appealing a Labor Dept. ruling that prevailing rates apply.

Also on the firing line were Hammond Valve Corp., which replaced its workers—members of the Steelworkers—with scabs and the Chicago Tribune, where pressmen, mailers and typographical workers—members of the Graphic Communications Union and the Typographical Union—have been on the picket line for 15 months.

Union-busting tactics

The lockout of more than 7,000 USWA members at USX Corp.'s Gary Works and the tactics of Sprague Industries where 125 Machinists are on strike also came under fire as union members pledged to fight the swell of anti-unionism spawned by the Reagan Administration and pursued by corporate officials.

State, County & Municipal Employees President Gerald McEntee blamed the "greed and arrogance" of USX management for the four-month old lockout. He charged that corporate managers, running overseas in search of cheap labor are prepared to throw workers and their communities "in a trash heap."

USWA Vice President Leon Lynch reviewed negotiations with USX, noting that no new sessions are scheduled. Locked-out USX workers received some good news from Mayor Richard Hatcher, who announced that USWA members picketing an entrance at the Gary Works will not be arrested. Earlier, 43 union members were arrested and charged with criminal trespass after the steelmaker claimed they were picketing on company property. Those charges were dropped by the Lake County prosecutor.

Earlier, Lake County AFL-CIO President William Willett said that employers are "challenging the very existence of the labor movement in northwest Indiana." Labor must show these anti-union firms that "we are ready to fight to protect our jobs," he asserted.

AFL-CIO Regional Director Charles Stott blasted White House efforts to wreck prevailing wage rates for government construction projects. He also criticized U.S. trade laws that permit firms that exploit workers and children—paying 25 cents a day in some countries—to sell their goods in the United States.

Representing the Northwestern Indiana BCTC, attorney Bernie Mamet declared that the nation's labor laws no longer protect working people and urged union members to "vote your pocketbook" and elect leaders who will represent the interests of workers. Indiana AFL-CIO President Ernest Jones agreed, urging the crowd to stand together to "combat the attack on the labor movement."

Marchenko dies in hunger strike for human rights

The AFL-CIO expressed its profound sadness over the death of Soviet trade union and human rights activist Anatoly Marchenko, who went on a hunger strike in August to protest torture at the hands of USSR prison camp guards.

The 48-year-old building tradesman spent more than 21 years in Soviet prisons and labor camps for his leading role in the fight for democratic freedoms in the Soviet Union. "Now he has paid the highest price for his commitment to freedom," the federation asserted.

"Anatoly Marchenko's death is a tragic waste of human potential," the federation statement said. "It has claimed a talented writer, a tireless activist and a courageous defender of the rights of working people."

The AFL-CIO recalled that Soviet authorities prevented Marchenko from participating in the federation's 1977 convention at a time when that government was attempting to send "their counterfeit trade unionists into this country."

At that time, Marchenko sent a message to convention delegates declaring: "In the USSR, the administration, the labor union, the organs of power and those of repression are all links in one chain which has totally fettered our entire nation."

Marchenko's death is "another in a long string of political deaths occasioned by the severity of the Soviet penal system," the federation said, noting that since 1982 that system has claimed the lives of ten union leaders, journalists and civil rights activists.

This loss of life "testifies to the cruelty of the Soviet state" in its "stifling of dissent and the annihilation of those who dare to speak for human freedom and the dignity of labor," the AFL-CIO said.

OSHA lab standard called too weak

Stronger federal curbs on health hazards are needed for laboratory workers than those outlined by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration.

A standard proposed by OSHA covering laboratories in the chemical industry, hospitals and universities "is so weak and so vague that it will provide little protection to laboratory workers who are exposed to hazardous substances," said AFL-CIO safety expert Margaret Seminario.

In similar comments to OSHA, the Chemical Workers and the Public Citizen Health Research Group charged jointly that the agency "seems far more concerned about saving laboratory employers some money than protecting laboratory employees from well-documented health hazards."

In a letter to the agency, Seminario stressed that OSHA's proposed rule which would pre-empt other federal standards, would actually "diminish protections afforded these workers" currently.

The proposal would permit laboratories to develop plans for protecting workers based on their "unique" working conditions. OSHA's performance-oriented proposal notes that laboratory workers will be exposed to lesser amounts of a higher number of chemicals, but those workers and their supervisors are "usually highly trained and knowledgeable" about the hazards involved with the chemicals they use.

Seminario pointed out that because of this attempted rationalization OSHA's proposal would excluded "almost all specific protective requirements found in other standards."

Employer 'discretion'

"No level of performance is specified" other than compliance with existing limits on toxic exposures, she said. And while the employer's chemical hygiene plan must include operating procedures for handling toxic substances, a requirement that fume hoods are functioning, information and training procedures for workers, medical consultations, and provisions for evaluating exposures, "the content of these measures and the degree of protection afforded is left totally to the discretion of employers."

Seminario declared that a meaningful laboratory standard should provide for coverage of all safety and health hazards, proper storage, handling and use of toxic substances and hazardous agents, appropriate emergency equipment, and routine monitoring of worker exposures with medical surveillance and tracking of exposed workers.

She also stressed that training requirements should be at least as strong as those in the hazard communication standard, and special procedures and control measures for work with chemicals of acute toxicity should be required.

The ICWU and the health research group questioned whether any proposal that gives employers "broad license to comply or not comply" can even be considered a standard.

In their written comments to the agency, the two organizations strongly criticized OSHA's failure to include short-term exposure limits, noting that the proposed rule would pre-empt existing standards, thereby reducing current protections for the workers. They pointed out that short bursts of high exposures may occur during many lab procedures and be more hazardous than accumulated exposures over a longer period of time.

Top of House agenda

Wright pledges action on foreign trade deficit

Jim Wright, the Texas Democrat who will become Speaker of the House when the 100th Congress convenes on Jan. 6, put legislation to reduce the nation's trade deficit at the top of his agenda.

Other priorities set by Wright at a meeting of House Democrats include revival of America's farms, improved job training programs and action to hold down the federal deficit—preferably by putting off scheduled tax cuts for the very wealthy rather than curtailing essential programs. His goals also include quick action on a clean water bill and a highway construction measure.

He acknowledged that delaying a cut in the top tax bracket would be difficult to enact over President Reagan's opposition. "The President wants the wealthiest people to have big tax cuts," he noted.

Wright, who has been majority leader under retiring House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., was unopposed at the Democratic caucus.

When the new Congress convenes, tradition dictates that all House Democrats will vote for Wright and Republicans will cast their ballots for Robert Michel (Ill.), who continues as minority leader. It has been 32 years since Republicans were the majority party in the House.

Senate Democrats chose their leadership team earlier, with Sen. Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.) moving up from minority leader to majority leader when party control switches in January.

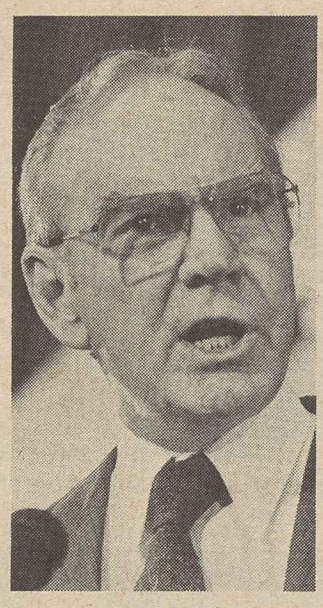
Rep. Thomas S. Foley (Wash.) will succeed Wright as the House majority leader. Foley has been the Democratic whip, or assistant leader.

The third member of the House leadership triumvirate will be Rep. Tony Coelho (Calif.), who was elected party whip in a contest with Rep. Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.). Coelho has been chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, an important fund-raising group.

All three are mainstream Democrats, elected with COPE support, and with voting records reflecting their constituencies. On key votes during his 32 years in the House, Wright voted in accord with labor's position 76 percent of the time. He had a 100-percent record in the last session.

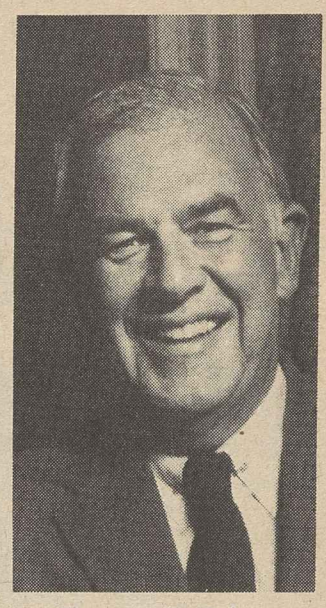
Foley compiled an 80-percent "right" voting record in his 22 years in the House. Last year he voted "wrong" on overriding President Reagan's veto of import restrictions on textiles and apparel but supported passage of a labor-backed bill to impose trade sanctions on nations that have used unfair tactics to penetrate the U.S. market.

Coelho compiled an 85-percent record during his eight years in the House, with a perfect score last year.



Jim Wright

Tony Coelho



Thomas S. Foley

Court slams NLRB switch on bypassing union role

Continued from Page 1

While the case was being heard by an NLRB administrative law judge, a private attorney acting as representative of a group of union members worked out a deal with TNS management that would give the workers he represented cash payments if they agreed to abandon any claim for reinstatement or for any personal injury compensation based on exposure to on-the-job health hazards.

The administrative law judge, who had concluded testimony on the OCAW's unfair labor practice charges, refused to approve the settlements.

It was a move to bypass the union's role as the exclusive representative of the workers, the ALJ protested. It raised questions regarding both the propriety of the company's payments to the attorney and the adequacy of the representation he had provided for the interests of the workers.

But the NLRB approved the settlement despite the objections, and dropped the 56 employees who initially signed the settlement from the unfair labor practice case. The board said its action was in accord with a policy of encouraging private resolution of disputes without resort to NLRB proceedings.

The appellate court noted that the NLRB's policy of deferring to negotiated settlements of disputes applied only to agreements negotiated by the union and the employer through collective bargaining.

Union bypassed

In this case, the court stressed, the settlement bypassed the union's role as the bargaining representative of the workers.

Further, the court noted the public interest in remedying unfair labor practices. It cited the NLRB's own past pronouncements as making clear that an important factor in assessing a proposed settlement is whether the agreement provides for such remedies as reinstatement, back pay and the posting of a notice. These elements were all lacking in the Tennessee case, the court said.

It reversed the NLRB's action in separating the individuals who had signed the settlement agreement from the unfair labor practice proceedings and sent the case back to the board "for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

Housing Trust boosts labor jobs at Florida site

West Palm Beach, Fla.—The $20 million Prosperity Oaks Retirement Community to be constructed here will be 100 percent union built.

That's the assurance which cleared the way for financing by the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust, whose labor-management governing board seeks to assure that pension fund investments generate jobs for union workers and produce a reasonable return.

Roger L. Hudspeth, president of the Palm Coast Building & Construction Trades Council, said there's "no question" that the project would have been built nonunion if HIT funds hadn't been available.

Mike Arnold, HIT's director of investor relations, coordinated negotiations between the building trades unions and the developer, the Babcock Co. Once agreement was reached with the local building trades unions, the firm received both construction and long-term mortgage financing.

HIT has invested over $600 million in such projects on behalf of its union and pension fund investors.

In the Palm Beach area, unions have been encouraging pension fund investments in union-built projects through a local group called PAIR, for the Palm Coast Affirmative Investment Roundtable.

At all-union site, Mike Arnold of Housing Investment Trust, developer Gary Carothers and building trades officials George and Roger Hudspeth.

Trading nations bar goods as U.S. turns other cheek

Continued from Page 1

passed the House this year but that was allowed to die in the Republican-controlled Senate, Anderson stressed.

"We have to lower the boom on unfair trade practices, the exploitation of workers abroad, and the denial to American producers of the opportunity to compete in world markets—because the present system of protectionism abroad has resulted in piling up unconscionable trade surpluses by other countries to the detriment of the American economy," he insisted.

In covering letters to Chairmen Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) of the Senate Finance Committee and Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) of the House Ways & Means Committee, Yeutter admitted that the foreign restrictions have a "trade-distorting impact on U.S. commerce."

Assault on U.S.

Many of the practices listed in the 300-page report are permitted under international law and "are not, therefore, 'unfair' in a legal sense," Yeutter said. But they still "impede U.S. exports," the trade representative said, and the Administration is "seeking to eliminate them."

Although the report reveals a wide range of techniques employed worldwide to block U.S. sales abroad, it still doesn't tell the whole story, Anderson declared. "It covers only direct barriers to U.S.-made goods and doesn't deal with barriers against imports from third countries that also damage the U.S. economy."

Anderson pointed out that Italy and other European nations, for example, have strict ceilings on the number of Japanese-made automobiles that can enter their market.

"With those markets effectively insulated against Japanese competition," Anderson explained, "Japanese carmakers intensify their assault on the American market in order to utilize their capacity to the fullest."

Yeutter's report to Congress listed these types of practices that inhibit the sale of American goods and services abroad and promote exports to the United States:

- Tariffs and other import charges, used both to raise government revenues and shield domestic industry from competition, have "proliferated" in recent years and "significantly discriminate" against U.S. products. American producers "have complained most frequently about the issue of tariff disparities in the case of Canada and Japan"—this country's most active trading partners.
- Restrictions on the import volume of specified products. While they are "generally" prohibited under the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade, the report said, exceptions and waivers are granted to protect foreign industries "from serious injury caused by imports."
- Import licensing is often required and the result is to "curtail trade by creating uncertainty, delays and discrimination in licensing issuance" and adding additional cost to the price of U.S.-made goods.
- Imposing "arbitrary or fictitious customs values" on products from abroad "can impinge upon the free flow of goods," and there is a need for action to ensure "fairness and simplicity" in this area.
- Although there may be justification for other countries setting product standards to assure quality and protect health, some governments use unnecessary or discriminatory standards as "disguised trade restrictions."
- Other countries have "buy national" policies regardless of the comparative merits of goods made in this country. These "discriminatory" procurement practices "constitute a significant nontariff barrier to trade since governments are among the world's largest purchasers of goods and services."
- Export subsidies are employed on a regular basis to encourage manufacturers to ship their goods abroad—primarily to the United States. Although the GATT code is intended to curb this practice, Yeutter told Congress, the rules are "weak and virtually unenforceable."
- Most foreign countries do not provide protection for U.S. holders of patents, trademarks and copyrights, with the result that "foreign parties are copying their products and technology" and their governments close their eyes to this "piracy and counterfeiting."
- Many countries demand that American companies either allow the co-production of their goods in that country or require them to invest in production facilities unrelated to the export product" as a condition for allowing U.S.-made goods to enter their market.

More than 70 nations impose such conditions and requirements, the report said, as a way for them to "acquire technology and domestic production capability in sophisticated products."

- A wide range of government measures curb the ability of such U.S. service industries as telecommunications, transportation, data processing, construction and engineering "to compete effectively," the report said.

It added that these limitations are "specifically directed toward protecting domestic services and industries."

- Government investment policies "strongly dampen and distort world trade," Congress was told. Sometimes a "host government restricts a foreign firm's ability to establish itself" in that country, while in other instances it offers incentives to "attract foreign investment." Both actions "distort trade and investment flows," the report concluded.

Steelworkers President Lynn Williams addresses Training & Education conference.

Education key to salvaging unemployed

Conference explores labor's role in skill training, upgrading

Baltimore—America's unions are committed to education and training programs to upgrade worker skills and help workers displaced by industrial decline move into new occupations.

That commitment, expressed by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland at the opening of the AFL-CIO's first national training conference, ran through three days of meetings and workshops attended by some 250 union people involved in skill training and job upgrading.

"Workers want to learn, to advance and to improve their lives," Kirkland declared. "They want to master new technologies and share in their benefits. They want the best training they can get, and they're looking to their unions to supply it."

They're looking in the right place, Kirkland declared, because "that's one of the things unions are created for."

Three AFL-CIO departments—Economic Research, Education and Community Services—and the federation's Human Resources Development Institute sponsored the conference. Staff experts from the federation and affiliated unions led and participated in 18 conference workshops. Labor central body officers, state and federal government administrators and university experts were among the participants.

Adult education need

At general sessions, speakers dealt with issues of job creation and what Kirkland termed a national need for "an adult education program on a scale and of a design that's never been tried before."

Unions will be negotiating "learning programs and learning time" at the bargaining table, Kirkland said. "We need to bring to the workplace all the skills that it takes to get along in this world, not just to hold a particular job."

He said unions are prepared to cooperate with management "in any way we can." But management's idea of cooperation, Kirkland noted, is too often defined as "longer hours in return for smaller paychecks, reduced benefits, fewer and less rewarding jobs."

Apprentice programs

President Robert A. Georgine of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. said building trades unions already are spending more than $500 million a year to train apprentices and upgrade skills of journeymen. "That's our dollars that were negotiated," he stressed, "not government dollars."

Georgine termed skill training "the lifeblood of the labor movement."

Steelworkers President Lynn R. Williams reported on his union's massive involvement in programs to help the huge number of steelworkers whose jobs have been wiped out.

The USWA is operating more than 50 training and job search centers under contractual arrangements with steel companies and with support from the federal Job Training Partnership Act, trade adjustment assistance and local agencies.

Williams stressed the need for a national industrial policy to produce jobs at decent wages. He noted that wages in new jobs obtained by displaced workers average less than $6 an hour.

Apparel and textile workers, although at the lower end of the industrial pay scale even when employed, also have had to take pay cuts after plants close, Vice President Joyce D. Miller of the Clothing & Textile Workers told the group.

She said funding limitations and the limited scope of the JTPA program point up a need for unions to set up "watchdog state groups" to get involved in planning programs for dislocated workers. "Training must be done before plant closings, not after the door is shut," Miller urged.

Former Labor Sec. Ray Marshall warned of a grim job outlook if present patterns are allowed to continue.

Unemployment will rise even beyond current "almost obscene levels," he warned. The United States will become "more and more like a Third World country" with a small, affluent elite while most people experience "job insecurity and low wages."

In the apprenticeship system, Marshall said, "labor had one of the oldest, best training systems." The concept is "absolutely sound" and should be expanded, he declared.

Black workers suffer

Norman Hill, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, said increased unemployment in manufacturing and cuts in public-sector jobs have hit the black community especially hard.

He praised outreach programs which, "drawing on the resources of committed black trade unionists," placed thousands of minority youth in apprenticeship programs before funding was cut off by the Reagan Administration.

But "the bottom line," Hill stressed, "is that union and other training programs will be effective only if there are jobs for those who are trained."

Workshops give union training specialists a chance to compare experiences.

Kirkland sees new challenges

Workers Defense League turns 50

New York—The Workers Defense League marked its 50th year of working for human rights and social justice, pausing only briefly for a birthday celebration before resuming the battle.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, addressing the anniversary dinner, said the league's job isn't done despite a half century of progress in expanding freedom and battling discrimination.

The WDL was founded to help struggling tenant farmers and to defend the right of workers to organize.

In its early years, Kirkland noted, it "exposed and fought peonage in rural America." That particular battle may have been largely won. But "in much the same manner, unscrupulous employers today are preying on immigrant labor," he said.

"Throughout its history," Kirkland said, "the WDL aided workers in their efforts to bargain collectively for fair wages, decent working conditions, and health and other insurance benefits. Today, you're helping workers who have unfairly been denied unemployment compensation, and you are exploring work-sharing arrangements to help people keep a paycheck coming despite the continuing recession and its pernicious levels of joblessness."

Shared responsibility

Along with the labor movement, Kirkland said, the WDL shares the premise of a democratic society that "no human being has a right to kick other human beings around, and that we are all responsible for doing what we can to prevent it."

He quoted approvingly the comment of Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader who founded the WDL, that there are no "lost causes," but only "causes not yet won."

Kirkland was presented the David L. Clendenin award, named for an early leader of the WDL, by William H. Bywater, president of the Electronic Workers. Bywater, a former recipient of the award, said the league will be found "wherever there is injustice being done."

In presenting the award, Bywater said the labor movement has shown its ability to respond to new challenges. Under Kirkland's leadership, he said, America's unions are "fighting back."

Ladies' Garment Workers President Jay Mazur, the dinner chairman, cited the league's noted battles against the Ku Klux Klan and for free speech in Jersey City.

Harry Fleischman, the WDL chairman, spoke of the founders and early leaders of the league. And labor folk troubadour Joe Glazer composed a song for the occasion that included a line summing up the evening's theme:

"Look at the things we've done
But we've only just begun."

ICFTU admits Chilean unions to membership

Brussels—A group of democratic Chilean trade unions was admitted to full membership in the 83-million-member International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

ICFTU General Sec. John Vanderveken termed the executive board's decision a "perfect reflection of what the ICFTU stands for: trade union freedom and democracy."

The new Chilean affiliates are the Democratic Trade Union Center (CDT) and a key grouping of unions operating within the National Workers' Command (CNT). Together they represent some 300,000 unionists "committed to the restoration of freedom and democracy in Chile," Vanderveken said.

The admission of Chile's workers came at the same time that both the ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor, in a rare departure from past practice, granted joint membership to Solidarnosc, the Polish trade union movement. The last simultaneous membership came two decades ago and involved the Basque trade union center (ELA/STV) in Spain. On both occasions, the ICFTU and the WCL acted in concert to protest martial law and the outlawing of unions by military dictators.

Nicaragua protest

In a related Central American development, leaders of the Nicaraguan Labor Center (CTN) and the Confederacion de Unificacion Sindical (CUS) sent a strongly worded letter to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega protesting the closing of La Prensa, the only newspaper in that country not controlled by the government.

The muzzling of the newspaper, the Nicaraguan union leaders charged, was an "insult to freedom of expression, political pluralism and trade union freedom," and proved that Ortega's government is not "interested in public and open debate" on a new constitution "now being discussed in near secrecy in the Legislative Assembly."

The CTN and CUS officials accused the dictatorship of acting in an "unfair and arbitrary" manner in "closing the only organ of independent expression remaining in the country."

At the same time, they voiced concern over the fate of the 230 La Prensa workers thrown out of their jobs by the shutdown of the newspaper last June. The action had "virtually condemned them, their wives and children to hunger," the union leaders said, at a time when raging inflation and a shrinking domestic economy have "choked the labor market."

State Dept. snubs HERE offer to staff Moscow embassy

Rejecting an offer from the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees to provide support personnel at no cost to the government, the State Dept. awarded a $10-million contract to a Los Angeles firm to fill 90 service posts at the U.S. embassy in Moscow and the consulate in Leningrad.

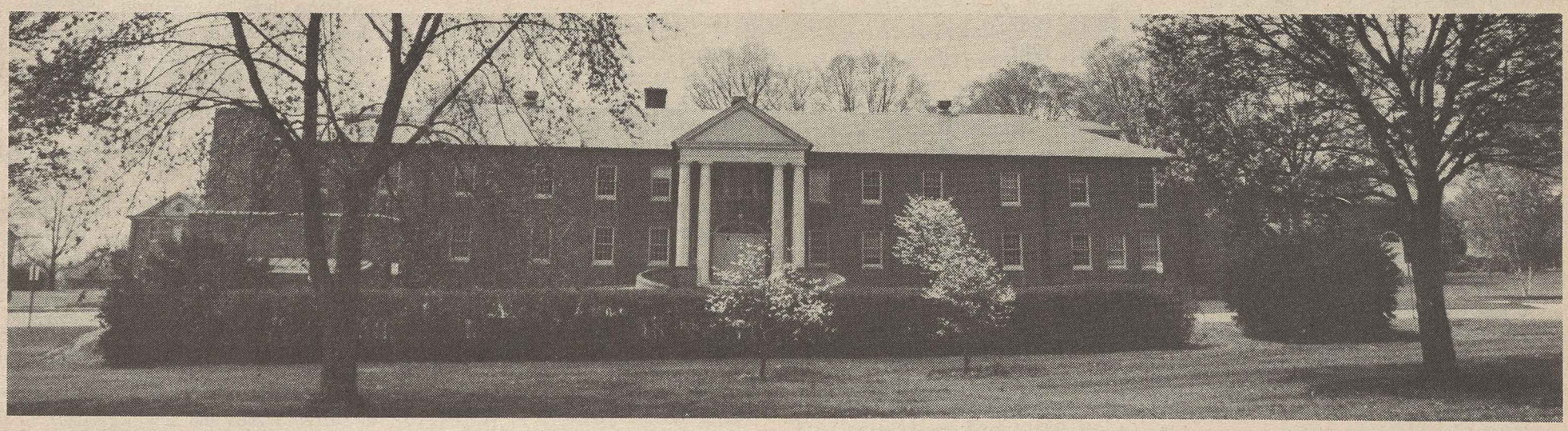
After the Kremlin withdrew 260 of its nationals from their embassy duties during an escalating round of diplomatic expulsions and the reductions of embassy staffs, HERE President Edward T. Hanley offered Sec. of State George Shultz "a carefully selected team of union food preparers and service and housekeeping personnel" to tend to the needs of U.S. diplomats in the Soviet Union.

Hanley told Shultz that HERE would assume all of the costs, including transportation, for members taking the overseas assignments in order to insure the embassy staffs of "the most highly skilled culinary and housekeeping professions in the world." He also proposed to "personally accompany these teams of professionals to insure that the highest quality of service is provided."

Instead, the State Dept. hired the Los Angeles firm of Pacific Architects & Engineers Inc. to supply drivers, laborers, mechanics and other support personnel. The contract covers a five-year period.

The 1987

LABORITE



37 Programs for Union Leaders

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies will offer AFL-CIO unionists 37 opportunities to increase their leadership skills during the first six months of 1987.

Dates and descriptions appear on the following pages. Nine of the programs appear for the first time in the George Meany Center offerings.

Twenty-eight others study courses are up-to-date versions of institutes popular with union officers and staff. They all focus on developing the knowledge and skills needed by active union leaders in today's vastly changing workplace environment.

Institutes, except for the College Degree Program, are tuition-free. The college program also requires a special application form, available on request. The application to register for all other institutes is on the third page of this bulletin.

In addition to the 37 center institutes, various unions and federation departments have scheduled 40 programs at the George Meany Center during the first six months of 1987.

George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Inc.

10000 New Hampshire Avenue
Silver Spring, Maryland 20903
301/431-6400

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Service Employees International Union

William H. Wynn, *President*
United Food & Commercial Workers

George Meany Center Calendar

Enrollment is open for institutes and programs listed in **bold type.** See following pages for course descriptions and registration form.

JANUARY

4-9
American Federation of Teachers

4-9
Occupational Safety & Health

4-23
Communications Workers of America

11-16
AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education

11-16
Organizing Techniques

11-16
Labor Law in the Construction Industry

18-22
Computers for Local Unions

18-23
Craft of Negotiating

18-Feb. 20
American Institute for Free Labor Development #130

25-30
College Degree Program

FEBRUARY

1-4
AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department

1-6
Effective Leadership Styles

1-13
Communications Workers of America

2-6
Pension Trustee Training for Public Sector Unions

8-13
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees

8-13
Arbitration Techniques: Preparation & Presentation

8-13
Negotiating Profit Sharing

13-19
The Newspaper Guild

17-20
Association of Flight Attendants

22-27
Newswriting & Editing for Union Publications

22-27
Basic Labor Law

22-27
Teaching Techniques for Labor Education

22-27
American Federation of Teachers

MARCH

1-5
AFL-CIO Department of Organization & Field Services

1-6
Amalgamated Transit Union

8-11
Amalgamated Transit Union

8-13
Union Administrator & Business Agent

8-April 10
American Institute for Free Labor Development #131

11-13
AFL-CIO Department of Community Services

15-18
Amalgamated Transit Union

15-20
Organizing Techniques

15-20
Evolution of Work and the Labor Movement

22-27
Service Employees International Union

22-25
Association of Flight Attendants

24-27
Frontlash

29-April 3
Amalgamated Transit Union

29-April 3
American Federation of Government Employees

APRIL

5-8
Association of Flight Attendants

5-9
Effective Union Action for Civil Rights

12-15
TV: The Cool Medium

12-17
Advanced Arbitration

12-17
United Brotherhood of Carpenters

12-17
United Association of Plumbers & Pipefitters

20-24
Organizing in the Construction Industry II

21-24
Artists' Equity

21-24
International Association of Fire Fighters

25-May 15
African-American Labor Center

26-May 1
Organizing Techniques for Public Employees in Certified Units

26-May 1
Union Issues for Working Women

26-May 1
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees

26-May 29
American Institute for Free Labor Development #132

MAY

3-8
Amalgamated Transit Union

10-15
Organizing II

10-15
Advanced Editing Skills

10-15
Individual Rights in the Workplace

10-22
Communications Workers of America

17-21
Computers for Local Unions

17-22
Negotiating with State & Local Agencies

17-22
Researching a Private Employer

25-29
Pension Trustee Training for Public Sector Unions
(at University of California, Berkeley)

26-29
Opinion Polling for Organizers

26-29
International Union of Electronic Workers, District #1

26-29
Frontlash

30-June 6
American Institute for Free Labor Development

31-June 5
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen

31-June 5
Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers International Union

JUNE

7-12
Alcohol & Drugs: Discipline & Discharge

7-12
Amalgamated Transit Union

7-12
Certified Employee Benefits Specialist (Pensions)

14-19
Labor Law for Organizers

14-19
Arbitration in the Federal Sector

14-19
Negotiating for Employee Benefits

14-19
American Federation of Teachers

14-July 17
American Institute for Free Labor Development #133

21-26
Arbitration Techniques: Preparation & Presentation

21-26
Service Employees International Union

28-30
Great Labor Song Exchange

28-July 2
Contract Negotiations: Private Sector

29-July 2
TV: The Cool Medium

George Meany Center Institutes January to July 1987

Occupational Health & Safety

Jan. 4-9, 1987

Every year hundreds of thousands of workers become ill and die as a result of exposure to toxic substances on their jobs. Thousands more are killed in the workplace because of hazardous conditions. And thousands are injured because of unhealthful or unsafe conditions that could have been prevented.

After this five-day program a union representative should be able to use a mix of problem-solving approaches: contract negotiations, grievance procedure and arbitration, the National Labor Relations Board, safety and health committees, OSHA inspections, the OSHA appeals process, other government safety and health agencies, and mobilizing community support around health and safety issues.
Coordinator: Richard Dwyer

Organizing Techniques

Offered twice:

Jan. 11-16, 1987
Mar. 15-20, 1987

A program for international and local staff members who have responsibility for organizing. It is an introduction to basic organizing skills for new organizers, as well as a refresher course for those with organizing experience.

Participants examine a campaign from start to finish, with a focus on planning. Targeting and research skills will be covered. Through role play and discussions, participants learn improved communications skills and their application to house calls, other one-on-one contacts and meetings.

Major emphasis is placed on developing and working with the workplace organizing committee, the key to successful campaign. Strategies are examined for dealing with anti-union techniques being used by employers and management consultants. An overview of the law concerning organizing and NLRB procedures will be covered.
Coordinators: Jeffrey MacDonald and Sharon Simon.

Labor Law in Construction

Jan. 11-16, 1987

The construction industry has always been treated separately by federal labor law.

Many of the accommodations in the law that once facilitated prehire agreements and protection of contract rights have fallen away and construction unions are forced to deal with new doctrines that appear to make agreements virtually terminable at will.

This new institute will bring together new ideas developed at the national construction labor lawyers' conference; participants will work on practical applications, through case studies, small group discussions and problem solving exercises to develop understanding of new legal issues in construction labor law. Solutions to these challenges will be compared and evaluated.
Coordinator: Robert J. Pleasure

Computers for Local Unions

Offered twice:

Jan. 18-22, 1987
May 17-21, 1987

This institute will provide union staff members with information about the use of mini- and micro-computer systems for their organizations. Uses and applications of union computer systems will be discussed with suggestions for staff training and computer maintenance.

Classes are taught in plain, non-technical terms by instructors who are computer specialists and unionists as well. There will be hands-on workshop sessions for participants using state-of-the-art mini-computers.

Information will help union staff assess their computer needs, and give practical background for dealing with computer vendors.
Coordinator: David Alexander

The Craft of Negotiating

Jan. 18-23, 1987

In difficult economic and social climates, union leaders can maximize existing bargaining strength through skillful negotiating techniques. This institute, on the Craft of Negotiating, will explore successful techniques.

Negotiations between trade union administrators and lawyers, merchants, and providers of services are discussed. Negotiating theory is explored. The aim is to improve the skill of the participants in collective bargaining, grievance handling and union administration.

This institute differs from courses in negotiating techniques in that the Craft of Negotiating institute will focus on sharpening individual skills and developing tactics for all types of negotiations—at the bargaining table, in grievance resolution, and in everyday administration and leadership situations.
Coordinator: Jeffrey MacDonald

Effective Leadership Styles

Feb. 1-6, 1987

Every union officer has his or her own style of leadership. Some sell their programs, some encourage participation, some delegate authority, some dictate what has to be done.

This institute will help you recognize different leadership styles and understand better how and when to change your style to fit your problem, to adapt your style to the experience of your union's members, their knowledge, their maturity and sophistication.

This class will discuss techniques on how to motivate and stimulate groups, committees and staffs, how to handle stress and anger in yourself and others.

This institute is for successful leaders who want to increase their abilities and effectiveness.
Coordinators: Gene Morrill and Richard Dwyer

College Degree

Jan. 25-30, 1987

Officers, staff and other union activists will attend this year's first college week in residence to work toward an Antioch University bachelor's degree at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies.

Each person chooses two courses to study for each six-month term. During the week on campus they meet daily with their two professors and do the first written assignments. Then they go home and complete the remaining assignments over the next five months, sending each to the instructors and getting back comments.

For more information and a College Degree application form, contact the College Degree Program, George Meany Center, 10000 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md. 20903.

Pension Trustee Training for Public Sector Unions

Offered twice:

Feb. 2-6, 1987, at the George Meany Center
May 25-29, 1987, at the University of California, Berkely

For fulltime union officers and staff members of public employee unions who are serving, or expect to serve, as pension fund trustees or on pension fund Boards of Administration as a result of collective bargaining or legislation.

The program will focus on the basics of pension plan structure and operation; analysis of actuarial, trustee and other financial reports; pension fund investment performance, and a review of public sector union activity.
Coordinator: Jeffrey MacDonald

Arbitration Techniques: Preparation & Presentation

Offered twice:

Feb. 8-13, 1987
June 21-26, 1987

This institute concentrates on developing the necessary skills for preparation and presentation of cases in arbitration. Discussions focus on what matters can be arbitrated, the selection of arbitrators and the law of arbitration. Since discipline and discharge cases cause more than half of all grievance arbitrations, special attention is paid to the investigation of such cases and to the rules that arbitrators use in deciding them.

This institute is for union representatives newly assigned to arbitration, or who will have arbitration as part of their responsibility. It will help experienced representatives analyze and brush up on their techniques. Those who concentrate on the final steps of the grievance procedure will also find it helpful.
Coordinator: David Alexander

Negotiating Profit Sharing and Employee Stock Ownership

Feb. 8-13, 1987

This new program is designed for fulltime union officers and staff who negotiate contracts in the private sector. It will include sessions on the designing and writing of profit sharing and ESOP programs, how to read and analyze key financial documents such as profit and loss statements, and how to represent your members' economic security needs effectively at the bargaining table.
Coordinator: Jeffrey MacDonald

Basic Labor Law

Feb. 22-27, 1987

The basics of labor law for staff and fulltime officers is the focus of this program. Emphasis will be placed on the fundamentals of labor law, as well as current trends and new decisions.

Participants will examine the law as it affects bargaining, servicing and union administration. (Organizing will not be covered.) The approach will be practical—how to recognize and deal with legal problems as they arise, and how to recognize more complex legal issues that require the assistance of an attorney.

Major topics to be covered are:

Law dealing with internal union affairs; the duty of fair representation; law affecting bargaining, and equal opportunity obligations.
Coordinator: Sharon Simon

Newswriting & Editing for Union Publications

Feb. 22-27, 1987

Here's an opportunity for a union editor to be coached on the basics of newswriting and editing and to learn ideas from other union editors on how a publication might be made more effective. Classes focus on newswriting, feature writing, headline writing, photo editing, makeup and layout. Participants will hear from specialists on:

- How to make a union publication more readable, more credible and more useful to union members.
- How to cope with problems of delayed mail deliveries and skyrocketing postal rates.
- How to avoid suits for libel and slander, copyright infringement, and violations of the Landrum-Griffin Act.

This workshop is co-sponsored by the International Labor Communications Association. It is open to any union editor or would-be editor of a local, district council or state publication.
Coordinator: Louise D. Walsh

Teaching Techniques for Labor Education

Feb. 22-27, 1987

Unions today are emphasizing new programs to increase members' participation and knowledge, and this program is designed to provide union staff with the skills they need to teach and run all types of educational programs.

Co-sponsored with the AFL-CIO Department of Education, the institute explains theory and demonstrates techniques needed to build solidarity and provide knowledge. Whatever your field, this program will help you do a

better job when you are called upon to teach in local unions, conferences and labor schools.

Individual sessions will demonstrate techniques—lecture, discussion, buzz groups, role playing, films, and use of materials. Modern education theory stresses that adults need to participate in order to really learn, so this institute will emphasize techniques to get students talking and hold their interest.
Coordinator: Marjorie Rachlin

The Union Administrator & Business Agent

Mar. 8-13, 1987

If you are a full-time officer or business agent with major responsibilities for the day-to-day activities of the union, you juggle a variety of problems, all requiring skills and insights that this program can provide.

This class will focus on several major concerns: identifying and solving problems, organizing your time and your support system, organizing the backup system in the office, monitoring finances and budgeting, reaching members, and keeping out of trouble with the law.

This institute is set up for fulltime presidents, business agents, managers, secretary-treasurers, or other paid leaders of locals where one or two people carry the fulltime load. It is not for directors of large councils or multi-local districts, who should consider the course on Effective Leadership Styles.

The institute will not deal with the skills of bargaining or arbitration since the Center offers several specialized institutes on these subjects.
Coordinators: Richard Dwyer and Jacqueline Brophy

The Evolution of Work & the Labor Movement

Mar. 15-20, 1987

This course seeks to examine the unions' role in the changing workplace. Discussion will center on how unions will deal with the new technology, the new workplace and the new workforce.

Participants examine new methods of managing the workplace: Quality of Work Life and Employee Involvement programs and the unions' role in planning and carrying out these programs and their results in the workplace.

Strategies unions have adopted for organizing when confronted with such programs are studied.

The course analyzes the effect of economic dislocation and changing technology on workers and industries. Participants review union programs developed to assist workers hurt by economic dislocation, from severance pay and pension rights to transfer rights and retraining. Collective bargaining rights of the union and legislation to assist workers and communities are covered.
Coordinator: David G. Alexander

Effective Union Action for Civil Rights

Apr. 5-9, 1987

The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's annual conference on Effective Union Action for Civil Rights is planned especially for Civil Rights and Women's Rights Designees of AFL-CIO unions. The conference is useful as well for all union staff members and elected officers interested in this important subject.

The conference includes reports and discussion on current issues of civil rights activities and law. Participants have an opportunity to exchange ideas with government officials, with academics and leaders of organizations with a particular commitment to civil rights and equal opportunity.
Coordinator: Jacqueline Brophy

Advanced Arbitration

Apr. 12-17, 1987

This institute is designed to provide advanced training for grievance arbitration to help participants polish their techniques.

There will be exercises in the preparation and writing of post-hearing briefs, and discussions to assist participants in the examination and cross-examination of witnesses. Special attention is paid to evidence in arbitration and the problems of remedies in arbitration.

Participation in this institute is limited to those who have attended the basic arbitration institute, or who are experienced advocates in grievance arbitration.
Coordinator: David Alexander

TV: The Cool Medium

Apr. 12-15, 1987

This is a three-day workshop to coach union leaders who are confronted occasionally by television reporters and television cameras.

Participants will have three exercises facing video cameras: a hostile confrontation, a panel discussion and an in-studio interview.

One session focuses on working with TV reporters—controlling an interview, recognizing deadly questions and avoiding no comment. Another concentrates on relating to the camera, gestures, posture, eye contact, dress and makeup, body language, relaxation techniques and visual aids.

This workshop is co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Department of Information.

The Labor Institute of Public Affairs assists in the coaching.
Coordinators: Gene Morrill and Louise D. Walsh

Organizing in the Construction Industry II

Apr. 20-24, 1987

This second building trades organizing course will cover Media Techniques for Organizers, Davis-Bacon Enforcement, Organizing and the Law, and Bidding Strategies among Successful Union Employers. Organizing in the Construction Industry I is not a prerequisite.
Coordinator: Robert Pleasure

Union Issues for Working Women

Apr. 26-May 1, 1987

Today more and more unionists are discussing issues important to women and the family. Pay equity, child care, sexual harassment, occupational segregation, VDTs, family leave and many other words have become part of the union vocabulary, as unions push for action on these problems. Active unionists need to know the facts and keep abreast of developments on these issues, and the Center's yearly institute provides this information.

This institute has a two-fold focus, on issues of most current concern and on the leadership skills needed to achieve effective union action by local and national unions on women's issues.
Coordinator: Marjorie Rachlin

Organizing Techniques for Public Employees in Certified Units

Apr. 26-May 1, 1987

This institute will study successful methods of attracting and signing public

Who Is Eligible, General Rules

Eligibilty

To participate in labor studies institutes or programs at the George Meany Center, one must be a fulltime officer representative or staff employee of an AFL-CIO affiliate.

Registration

Early registration is advised. Labor studies institutes are limited to 25 participants, not more than three from the same union. The Center reserves the right to postpone or cancel any institute.

Hours

Registration for most labor studies institutes begins at 3 p.m. on Sundays with the first session at 7 p.m. Morning classes begin at 9 a.m. running until noon. They resume at 1:30 p.m. and run until 4:30 p.m. Advance notice will be given of evening events.

Accommodations

Unless their homes are within commuting distance, participants are expected to live on campus. The campus guest quarters can house 141. Most rooms are singles with queen-size beds; a few are doubles with twin beds. Each room has its own private bathroom and study desk. Maid service is furnished. The rooms are spacious and pleasant. Participants are invited to bring their spouses.

Meals

Meals are served cafeteria style in the Dining Hall. Breakfast is from 7:30-8:30 a.m.; lunch, 12-1; dinner 6-7 p.m. Wakeup calls are made at 7 a.m. for all students.

Costs

There is no tuition charge at the George Meany Center. Room and board charge for a student in residence is $70 a day, single occupancy; $50 a day, double. This includes three meals. Students who commute are charged $7 a day to cover lunches at the Center.

Deposit

A deposit is required with each application for registration in an institute, workshop or program at the George Meany Center. For students who do not live in the area, the deposit is $70 which will be credited to the final bill for room and board. For commuters living in the Washington, D.C. area, the deposit is $35. Those applying for an institute at the University of California, Berkeley must enclose a deposit of $25.

The deposit is refundable if registration is cancelled and notice of cancellation is received by the Wednesday before the program. Please make check payable to the George Meany Center for Labor Studies.

The Center asks each participant to settle the bill by cash, personal check, American Express, Master Charge, Visa or Bank Americard before leaving the campus.

Dress

Dress is informal at all times. Those who want to take part in athletic activities should bring sports clothes.

Rules and Regulations

A labor studies institute is no junket. All who come should do so with serious purpose. All sessions start on time. Participants are expected to be prompt. The George Meany Center is free to cancel anyone's registration at any time.

Certificates of Completion

Participants are expected to attend all sessions. The Center will award certificates on the basis of full attendance.

Application to Register for Labor Studies

Registrar
George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Inc.
10000 New Hampshire Avenue
Silver Spring, Maryland 20903

_____, **1987**
date

Please enroll me in the following institute. Enclosed is a deposit of $ _____

_____
subject dates location

Name of applicant: Mr./Ms. _____
please print

Address _____

_____
city state zip

Sponsoring Union _____ ☐ Check Box if fulltime officer or employee or rep.

Applicant's Union Office or Position _____

Office Phone _____ / _____ _____
area code Signature

Please enclose a check for $70 per institute as a deposit to be credited to room and board charges. $35 is required of registrants living in the Washington, D.C. area who commute to class. This covers commuters' lunches for one week.

A $25 deposit is required for enrollment in the institute at the University of California. This deposit will be refunded after the individual has completed the institute.

Deposits will be refunded if notice of cancellation is received by the Wednesday prior to the program. Please make all checks payable to the George Meany Center for Labor Studies.

employees in units where the union is already the certified bargaining agent.

The class, co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Public Employee Department, will concentrate on the basic attitudes and concerns of public workers, and techniques to identify and develop internal organizing issues.

Sessions will be devoted to recruiting, developing and rewarding internal organizing volunteers and new programs to attract members.
Coordinator: Jeffrey MacDonald

Organizing II

May 10-15, 1987

This one-week course, co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Department of Organization & Field Services, has been revised in response to the AFL-CIO Report, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions." Organizing II explores practical applications of the report's mandate to renew emphasis on organizing, increase membership participation, and improve organizing techniques. It is designed for those who have completed Organizing Techniques or who have had organizing experience, or who anticipate assuming more demanding organizing responsibilities.

The class focuses on: internal organizing in the private sector, recruiting and training of union members in the organizing process, the dynamics of small-group decision-making, corporate campaign research in small unit organizing, reporting procedures, issue-oriented campaigns, the role of central bodies in organizing, involving the community, progress analysis and cooperative organizing.
Coordinator: Alan Kistler

Advanced Editing Skills

May 10-15, 1987

This is a class for union editors who have completed the Newswriting and Editing workshop and are ready for more coaching. Instruction will focus on three editing skills: layout and makeup, picture editing and headline writing.

The workshop is limited to 20. Participants will be asked to bring copies of one recent issue for critiquing on layout, pictures and headlines.
Coordinator: Louise D. Walsh

Individual Rights in the Workplace

May 10-15, 1987

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has identified the union need to "continually seek out and address new issues of concern to workers." These new needs often go beyond the scope of collective bargaining. Among professional employees, for example, individual rights are becoming a central workplace concern. The desire for the freedom to provide quality work, to be free from abuses and to limit intrusion by employers into personal lives are now vitally important to many individuals in the workplace. Therefore, they must concern union leaders.

This institute will examine the role of the union representative in protecting the individual rights of union members at work. Emphasis will be on such subjects as workers' rights on the job, the use of polygraph tests, the testing of employees as a condition of employment and collective bargaining agreement provisions relating to alcohol and drug abuse.
Coordinator: David G. Alexander

Negotiating Contracts with State and Local Agencies

May 17-22, 1987

This institute is for union officers and staff who negotiate labor agreements with state and local agencies. Federal sector negotiations are not addressed.

Early sessions will discuss the role of the chief negotiator including the preparation and design of initial proposals, developing committee work and record-keeping procedures; the structure and function of opening statements, styles of language and economic bargaining, and preparing for and directing the ratification process.
Coordinators: Jeffrey MacDonald and Richard Dwyer

Researching a Private Employer

May 17-22, 1987

To succeed in organizing and bargaining, "knowing the employer" is critical. This institute is for national, international and local staff members with organizing or bargaining responsibilities who want to develop their research and analytical skills. Understanding how a corporation is structured, the ins and outs of corporate finance, and a corporation's links to other organizations and individuals, gives the union a foundation on which to develop its organizing or bargaining strategy.

The goal of the program will be to enable participants, based on their research, to develop an "employer profile." This includes information such as position of the workplace or company in the larger corporate structure, ownership of the corporation, who sits on the board of directors, finance, linkages to suppliers and customers, unionization and labor relations information, and connections to banks, insurance companies and other corporations.
Coordinator: Sharon Simon

Opinion Polling for Organizers

May 26-29, 1987

This workshop explores the advantages of incorporating opinion polls in organizing activities, and gives participants hands-on experience in planning and conducting organizing polls. It is intended for organizers interested in introducing opinion polls into their selection of targets and development of campaign strategies.

The workshop combines case studies of campaigns that relied on opinion polls and practice sessions in which participants will design and develop questionnaires, samples and analyses of poll results.

Organizing directors will discuss situations in which they found organizing polls helpful and the roles these polls played in the campaigns. Special concerns like confidentiality and sample design will be treated as they apply to the organizing context. Practical exercises will involve developing survey plans and materials from poll design through report preparation.
Coordinator: Carol Keegan

Alcohol & Drugs: Discipline & Discharge in Arbitration

June 7-12, 1987

This institute examines in detail the standards of discipline and discharge, and related issues of misconduct, applied in grievance arbitration hearings. Participants will hear from arbitrators and examine case studies.

Participation in this institute is limited to those who have attended the basic arbitration institute, or who are experienced advocates in grievance arbitration.
Coordinators: Richard Dwyer and David Alexander

Certified Employee Benefits Specialist Program

June 7-12, 1987

This is the first course in the Certified Employee Benefits Specialist Program, a series of ten courses and corresponding examinations in the employee benefit field. The entire program covers the legal, financial and institutional framework within which employee benefit plans must operate, and includes Social Security, savings plans and other retirement arrangements. Emphasis is placed on the fundamental principles underlying the design and operation of individual benefit programs.

This first course is on Pensions.
Coordinator: Jeffrey MacDonald.

Negotiating for Employee Benefits

June 14-19, 1987

For union staff and officers who have the responsibility for negotiating labor agreements in the private sector and who would like to improve their knowledge and negotiating skills in the area of employee benefits.

Part of the program is devoted to discussion of two benefit programs—pensions and health insurance.

The program also includes presentations on group life and disability insurance, group dental plans, and deferred income programs such as Employee Stock Ownership Plans.
Coordinator: Jeffrey MacDonald

Labor Law for Organizers: Traditional & New Approaches

June 14-19, 1987

An institute on organizing and the law in the private sector. Organizing in the building trades is excluded. The program is planned for national and local staff members who have responsibility for and experience in organizing.

"Traditional" subjects include the National Labor Relations Act as it relates to organizing campaigns and representation elections (bargaining unit issues, solicitation/distribution rights at the workplace, employer and union conduct during the campaign). The Board's representation procedures will be examined, as well as election and post-election proceedings.

In view of union problems with Board elections, the program also deals with "New Approaches," alternative routes to obtaining recognition. Included are tactics to pressure employers to agree to voluntary recognition and the legal issues those tactics involve. Tactics that can be used at the workplace, as well as putting pressure on employers through "corporate campaign" tactics, will be the main focus of "New Approaches." Using other laws, such as anti-discrimination and OSHA, as leverage in a campaign will be examined.
Coordinator: Sharon Simon

Arbitration in the Federal Sector

June 14-19, 1987

This institute concentrates on the arbitration process in the Federal Sector. Although many of the procedures and practices developed by private-sector arbitration are applicable at the federal level, significant differences do exist and will be discussed in detail.

Discussions will focus on the scope of the duty to bargain, rights, the degree of adherence by the arbitrator to laws, rules and regulations and the review of the arbitrator's decision. There will also be sessions on what matters can be arbitrated, rules of evidence in arbitration, and the selection of arbitrators.

This institute is for representatives in federal sector unions who are or will have arbitration as part of their responsibility. It will help experienced representatives analyze and brush up on their techniques.
Coordinator: David Alexander

Contract Negotiations: Private Sector

June 28-July 2, 1987

This institute on the techniques of contract negotiating is for full-time officers and staff who negotiate agreements in the private sector.

Early sessions will discuss the role of the chief negotiator at different points in the bargaining process including the preparation and design of initial proposals, developing committee work and record-keeping procedures, the structure and function of opening statements, styles of language and economic bargaining, and preparing for and directing the ratification process.

Actual bargaining table tactics such as the timing and structure of counter-proposals, avoiding bargaining bottlenecks, effective communications at the bargaining table and the use of mediation will be developed through the use of case problems.
Coordinator: Jeffrey MacDonald

Chuck Hogan Memorial Scholarship fund

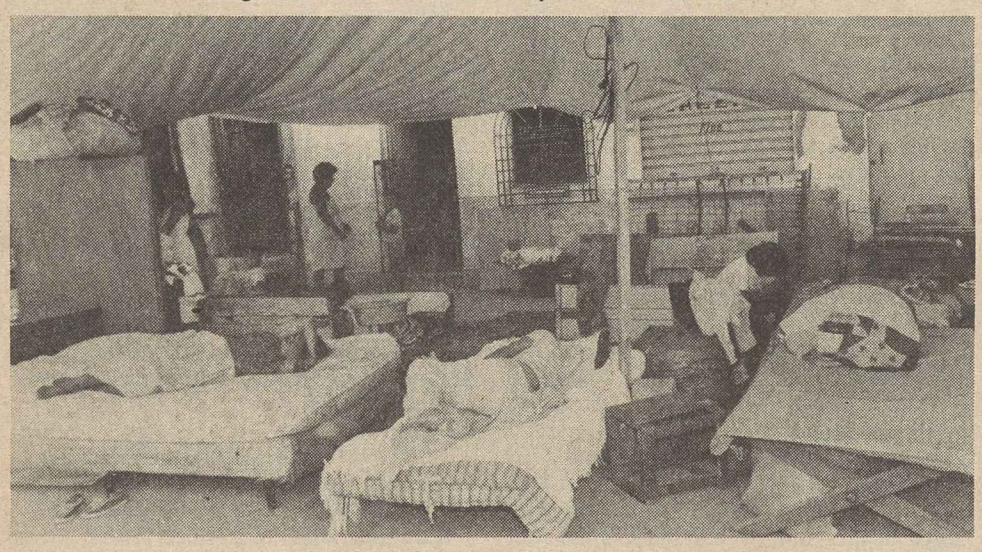
Starting in the fall of 1987, scholarships covering room and board at regular institutes at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies will be available to union officers, representatives, staff and members of AFL-CIO unions affiliated with Los Angeles and Orange County Central Labor Councils.

These scholarships come from the Memorial Fund set up to honor Chuck Hogan who was appointed to the AFL-CIO staff in 1963 and rose to director of AFL-CIO Region 6, a position he held until his death in 1978.

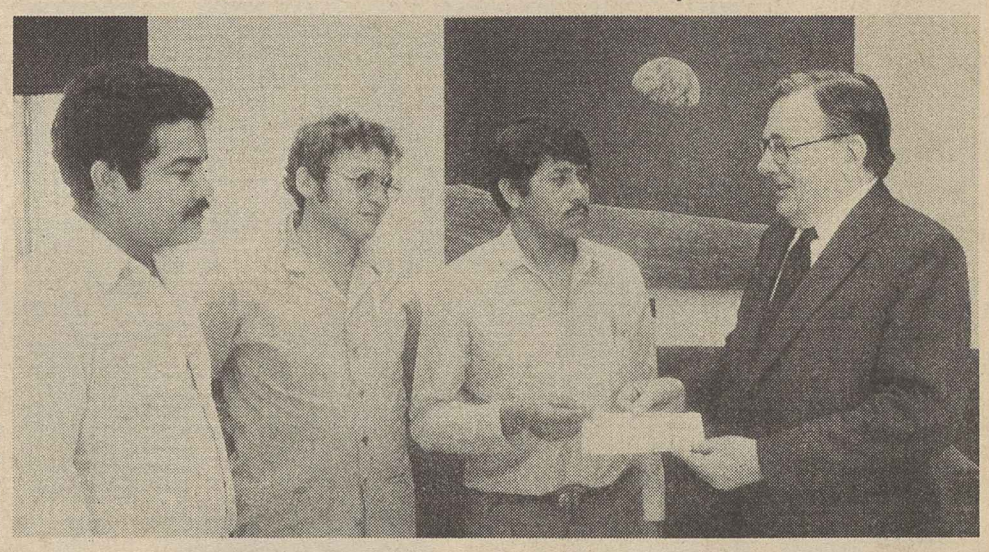
For information, brochure and application, contact the Chuck Hogan Memorial Scholarship Program, c/o Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, 2130 W. 9th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90006, 213/381-5611.

Rescue workers dig for survivors in earthquake's aftermath.

Farm workers distribute food to needy.



Labor helped provide emergency shelter for homeless.



Kirkland presents $50,000 contribution raised in emergency drive.

Labor extends aid to Salvadoran quake victims

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland presented checks totaling more than $50,000 to three leaders of El Salvador's democratic trade union leaders—the down payment on labor's pledge to help provide long-term aid for victims of the October earthquake that devastated that Central American country.

In addition to providing relief assistance, Kirkland said, the contribution from the federation and its affiliates underscores labor's continued support for Salvadoran unions in their fight to protect basic human and trade union rights.

The presentation was made at a meeting at AFL-CIO headquarters with Vice President Ricardo Soriano of the Confederation of Democratic Workers, President Simon Parada of the Association of Integrated Agropecuarian Producers Cooperatives and Arturo Magana, adviser to the Union of Salvadoran Campesinos.

The struggle of El Salvador's labor movement to restore democracy to a nation torn by communist insurgency on the one hand and right-wing death squads on the other, Kirkland told them, has "inspired and revitalized the cause of free trade unions here and everywhere else in the world."

Told by Soriano that Salvadoran unions are under assault from both the far left and the far right, Kirkland commented that "we've had some of the same problems in the United States."

The Salvadoran union leaders, whose visit to this country is being coordinated by the American Institute for Free Labor Development, painted a grim picture of the devastation left behind in the earthquake's aftermath—over 2,000 dead, 200,000 families left homeless, and soaring unemployment caused by the destruction of business and industry.

Unemployment has skyrocketed from an already devasting 25 percent before the earthquake to more than 40 percent today, the Salvadoran union leaders declared, and many employers are using the disaster as an excuse to cut back on their workforces even though their businesses escaped relatively unscathed.

Workers in El Salvador's major cities suffered the brunt of the earthquake's impact, the union leaders stressed, because of the high concentration of housing in the urban areas. More than 12,000 unionists and their families are homeless—put up in temporary shelters, camping out in open spaces or living with relatives in the countryside where there was less damage.

Tons of food

Their basic food needs have been met largely through the generosity of the nation's farm workers, who voluntarily contributed part of their personal grain supplies to provide three tons of the basic commodity for the union-sponsored relief effort. These members of the farm workers' union also baked and distributed hundreds of thousands of tortillas, provided two tons of cheese, and contributed beans and other staples to the victims.

Some of the original relief money received in El Salvador, including a $5,000 AFL-CIO contribution to CARE for emergency action, went to provide temporary plastic shelters for the homeless. But winds and weather have damaged most of these emergency facilities, and the Salvadoran unions will channel much of the money received from the federation into a major housing rebuilding effort.

American unions not only responded generously with money, the Salvadoran labor leaders pointed out, but also provided essential services in the aftermath of the disaster. Five volunteers from Fire Fighters Local 1403, Dade County, Fla., flew to the scene within hours after the earthquake to help in the rescue operation. And a Bricklayers' team is now in the country to help provide on-the-job training for unionists engaged in the massive reconstruction effort.

El Salvador's free trade unions have joined with government and business leaders in the creation of a National Emergency Commission struggling to restore such essential services as water, electricity and health care. The commission will also help relocate workers whose homes were destroyed and provide financial assistance in rebuilding damaged homes and businesses.

The Salvadoran union leaders—who were accompanied by Sam Haddad, AIFLD's deputy executive director, and Bob Cazares, the AIFLD regional director in Central America—plan to visit a number of international unions in this country to express their gratitude for American labor's generosity.

Union donors

In addition to the AFL-CIO, contributors to the relief fund include the Operating Engineers, Letter Carriers, Communications Workers, Railway & Airline Clerks, National Maritime Union, Food & Commercial Workers, Electronic Workers, Transport Workers, Longshoremen, Ladies' Garment Workers, Service Employees, Chicago Federation of Labor, Greater Hartford, Conn., Labor Council, Hancock County (Ohio) AFL-CIO Council and Local 47 of the Elevator Constructors.

Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO renewed its call to affiliates for continued support of the federation's relief efforts on behalf of the disaster victims.

Contributions can be sent to the Salvadoran Earthquake Relief Fund, in care of the AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Intense corporate campaign prods Kaiser into settlement

Continued from Page 1

to limit such practices only to new clinics, and then only for a maximum of three years.

In the successful drive to apply economic pressure on management, 270 local unions in the region urged their 750,000 members to drop Kaiser and switch to other health plans, and 30 large union trust funds with nearly 100,000 members began withholding nearly $10 million in monthly payments pending settlement of the contract dispute.

Nationwide campaign

Similar union campaigns were launched at Kaiser operations in the states of New York and Massachusetts and in Atlanta, Dallas, Kansas City, Baltimore, Hartford, Conn., and Raleigh and Durham, N.C.

The strike affected 27 Kaiser clinics and hospitals in northern California along with the 2 million plan members who patronize them. In a reverse twist, the unions launched a "Don't Take No for An Answer" campaign, urging unionists to cross the picket lines and demand services. It was their way of answering Kaiser's million-dollar radio and television blitz that urged patients to defer medical treatment until the strike ended.

Kaiser rose to prominence in the last 40 years because of labor's championship of the HMO concept. About 40 percent of the health care plan's 5 million enrollees are union members and their families.

California unions were among the chief sponsors of the program, especially when it was under fire from the medical establishment. The unions have bargained the Kaiser alternative into their contracts and many union and jointly administered trust funds have made Kaiser the sole choice for coverage.

As part of the corporate campaign, the SEIU and MEBA succeeded in getting state legislative hearings into charges that Kaiser had refused to deliver quality patient care during the strike.

They also exerted efforts to block Kaiser expansion plans in Northern California as a "lever" to force the HMO to settle the contract dispute. Sixty unions in Reno, Bakersfield, Fresno, Stockton, Visalia, Modesto, Santa Cruz and Monterey pledged to oppose Kaiser's plans to move into their cities, and unions outside California were urged to take similar action.

IAM votes strike at McDonnell Douglas

Some 4,800 Machinists voted overwhelming to strike McDonnell Douglas Corp. installations in Huntington Beach and Torrance, Calif., after rejecting management's contract proposals for the second time.

Members of IAM District Lodge 720 cast identical 77-percent majorities in voting down the contract offer and authorizing a walkout. The union said it would strike the company early next year unless the dispute is resolved.

The company's proposal called for a combination of bonus payments and general wage increases totaling 6 percent in the first year and 4 percent in each of the remaining two years. It also would require employees to begin paying part of their health care coverage costs.

The same offer was turned down by 11,000 Auto Workers members in Long Beach, Calif., Tulsa, Okla., and Melbourne, Ark. Talks have continued sporadically since then in an effort to reach an agreement to replace the old contract that expired in October.

Low-paying 'new jobs' depress living standards

Continued from Page 1

also found that "all of the employment increase experienced since 1979 has been generated by the creation of jobs which paid less than the median wage for 1973," which was $14,024 when expressed in 1984 dollars.

President Reagan's rosy pronouncements that the economy has never looked better wilt under the weight of the new study which presents the results of the Administration's disregard for the devastation of high-wage manufacturing jobs.

Titled The Great American Job Machine: The Proliferation of Low Wage Employment in the U.S. Economy, the study shows that the impact of low-wage jobs is hitting at every sector of employment, in every area of the country, and at all workers—regardless of education, age, race or sex. Even the high-tech industries, touted by many as the sector of future high-paying jobs, "has not completely escaped the trend," the report said. Since 1979, one of every eight new high-tech jobs created has been in the low-wage range.

Researchers Barry Bluestone of the University of Massachusetts and Bennett Harrison of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in their report for the JEC, said the proliferation of low-wage jobs points to a growing income inequality in the United States.

They warned that "if this pattern of development continues, the standard of living of a growing proportion of the American workforce will be significantly jeopardized."

By modifying Census Bureau employment and wage data to account for inflation, the researchers compared job growth in the 1973-1979 period with that occurring during the 1979-1984 period. They defined low-wage workers as those earning under $4,900 in 1973 and $7,012 in 1984. High-income earners were those making more than $19,600 in 1974 and $28,068 in 1984. The range between those figures covered middle-income workers.

The proliferation of low-wage jobs was at the expense of the other segments, with the percentage of middle-income jobs shrinking and the tally of high-paying jobs actually falling by 5.5 percent.

'Working poor' expands

The report shows that no longer are the "working poor" restricted to women and minorities. The impact of this economic shift hit hardest on the largest and highest-paid sector of workers—white males.

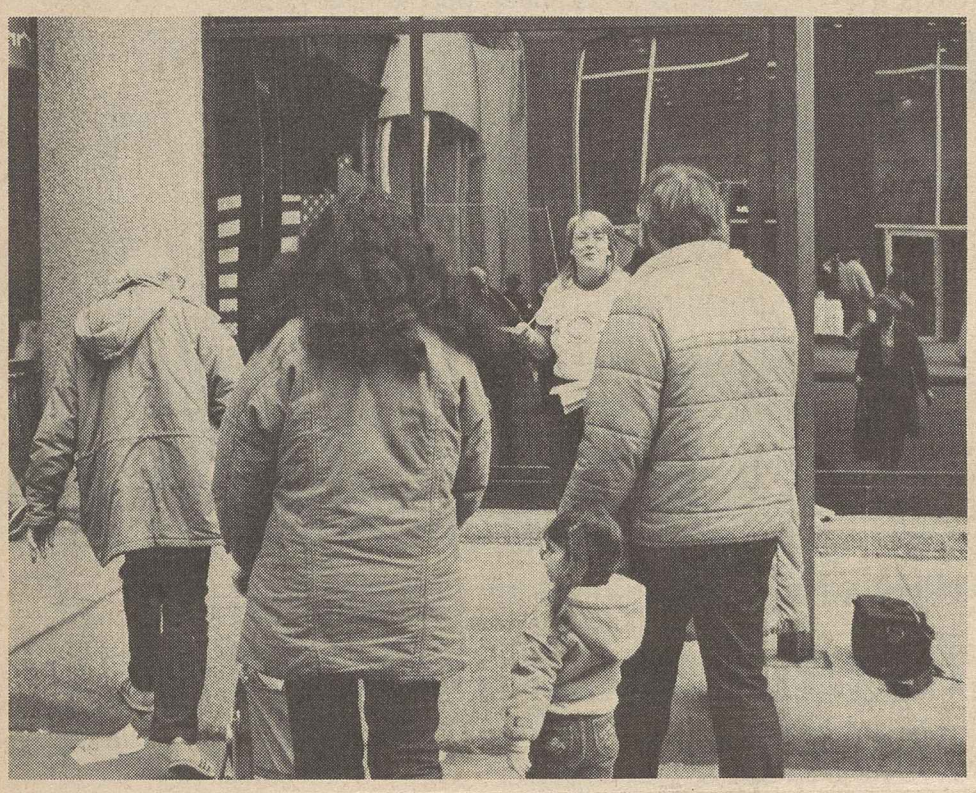
In the 1973-1979 period, nearly 77 percent of the net new employment for white males fell in the middle and upper strata. But in the subsequent period, "there was an astonishing collapse of high-wage employment and virtually all of the net job growth occurred in the low wage sector. Only 3 percent of the 2 million net additional white male earners were found in employment outside the low stratum," meaning 97 percent were at work in jobs paying under $7,000 annually. Since 1979, the number of jobs paying more than $28,000 held by white males dropped by more than 1 million, or nearly 7 percent.

For minority men and women, the report shows a renewed trend toward low wages. For minority men, this represents a reversal of the movement in the 1970s of black men moving into higher paying positions.

Young workers, generally thought to be the ones holding low-wage jobs due to a lack of experience, were joined by workers over age 35 in the low-wage market. Thus, the researchers noted, the "shift toward low-wage employment cannot be dismissed simply as a consequence of the baby-boomers entering the workforce in the 1970s."

Further, the study indicated that the tendency toward low wages holds for full-time, year-round workers as well as part-timers, suggesting that it is not merely the increase in part-time work that is responsible for low annual wages.

The report identified the import-battered Midwest as the area of the nation where low-wage employment is "substantially more pronounced," as it suffered a decline of 1 million middle- and high-income jobs from 1979 to 1984, while gaining 900,000 new low-paying jobs.



Frontlash volunteer Cheryl Graeve handbills shoppers in St. Paul, Minn.

Holiday shopping message: 'buy American, buy union'

Union members and their families during the Christmas holidays can use their buying power to bolster the interests of America's workers and to attack the nation's deep trade deficit.

Labor's "buy American, buy union" message is being presented to holiday shoppers by Frontlash volunteers who are leafletting shopping malls, car dealerships and other businesses. The youth group's activities will continue through the end of the year.

December is the year's largest consumer buying month and as Americans feast, party, give gifts and donate to charitable causes, they can aid workers who are enduring hardships by boycotting products of the companies on the AFL-CIO's Don't Buy list.

Workers can also make a difference in the trade deficit. Weak trade laws and consumer indifference are pushing the trade deficit to a record-setting $180 billion this year. Each $1 billion means 22,000 more Americans will lose their jobs; thus, hundreds of thousands more will land on the scrap heap of import-battered workers. By seeking out American products made by union labor, organized workers and their families can cut the tally of jobs lost, and perhaps even save their own.

Wholesale and retail outlets often enjoy higher mark-ups and greater profits on foreign made goods, at the expense of the consumers and American jobs. The AFL-CIO Union Label & Service Trades Dept. is urging shoppers to let store owners know when they are unable to find union-made, American-made quality products. Likewise, stores carrying labor-boycotted items should also be advised by consumers of their displeasure at finding such products for sale, Department Sec.-Treas. John E. Mara stressed.

Such actions by union members and their families may take a little extra effort when shopping, but the results will aid all American workers, Mara pointed out.

Marval told to take turkey and stuff it

As union families prepare for their holiday meals, they are being reminded of labor's nationwide boycott against Marval Poultry Co., now called Rocco Enterprises. The boycott is in its third year.

In June 1984, 500 Food & Commercial Workers went on strike in Dayton, Va., to protest Marval's inhumane and degrading work rules and unsafe working conditions.

The Marval boycott, which includes a series of well-publicized ads featuring actress Vicki "Mama" Lawrence, covers turkeys marketed under the brand names: Shady Brook Farms, Marval, Rocco, Kroger, Top Frost, Shop Rite, Pathmark, Super True, Sure Fresh, Pride of the Farm, Winn-Dixie, Price, Publix, Manor House, Montco, Wishbone Kroger, Schweigman and Giant.

ATU rejects Greyhound takebacks

Phoenix—For the second time this year, 6,200 Transit Union members turned down a proposed two-year contract at Greyhound Lines Inc. that demanded 9-percent pay cuts on top of 11.8-percent givebacks agreed to in 1983.

Following rejection of the proposal by 60 percent of the members, the ATU's council of Greyhound local presidents voted unanimously to ask the members for strike authorization, which requires a two-thirds vote.

Meanwhile, ATU President James La Sala said the union's negotiating team would return to the bargaining table Dec. 18 and would attempt to hammer out an acceptable agreement. The strike ballots will be tabulated on Dec. 29.

In 1985, with a year still to run on the three-year contract negotiated in 1983 after a seven-week strike, Greyhound proposed a four-year agreement freezing wages and eliminating one-fourth of its workforce by turning terminal operations over to individual entrepreneurs, whose employees would not be part of the bargaining unit.

ATU members rejected that proposal by a 4-to-3 margin earlier this year, and Greyhound proceeded to restructure its bus lines and converted 120 terminals to "commission agencies." An estimated 40 percent of those whose jobs were affected accepted the new arrangement while the rest were given severance pay by the bus line.

Meanwhile, the old contract expired Oct. 31 but was extended by mutual agreement with either party having the option to cancel the pact on 72 hours' notice.

La Sala said that since 1983, when Greyhound began its massive wage and job cutbacks, ATU membership at the bus line has shrunk from 14,000 to about 6,200.

Former Molders official William Cates dies at 70

Cincinnati—William F. Cates, retired secretary-treasurer of the Molders, died Dec. 8 of heart failure at the Good Samaritan Hospital. He was age 70.

Cates, who joined Molders Local 374 in 1942, was appointed as an international representative in 1956 and served as an organizer in Los Angeles. He was elected secretary of the union in 1973. When that office was expanded to secretary-treasurer in 1980, he served in that post until his retirement in 1981.

DON'T BUY

National Boycotts Sanctioned by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

ARMOUR PROCESSED MEATS CO.
Armour Hams, Armour Bacon, Armour Hot Dogs
This UFCW boycott does not include processed meat products made by Armour-Dial.
United Food & Commercial Workers

BASF A.G. CORP., Geismar, Louisiana
Video, Audio and Computer discs, Lurotin brand vitamins, Alugard 340-2 protectant in anti-freeze
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union

BROWN & SHARPE MFG. CO.
Measuring, cutting and machine tools and pumps
Machinists & Aerospace Workers

BRUCE CHURCH, INC.
Iceberg Lettuce:
Red Coach, Friendly, Green Valley Farms, Lucky
United Farm Workers

CALIFORNIA TABLE GRAPES
Table grapes that do not bear the UFW union label on the carton or crate
United Farm Workers

ADOLPH COORS CO.
Beer: Coors, Coors Light, Herman Joseph's 1868, Golden Lager, Killians Irish Red
AFL-CIO Brewery Workers Local 366

FABERGE, INC.
Personal care products:
Aphrodisia, Aqua Net Hair Spray, Babe, Cavale, Brut, Ceramic Nail Glaze, Flambeau, Great Skin, Grande Finale, Just Wonderful, Macho, Kiku, Partage, Tip Top Accessories, Tigress, Woodhue, Xanadu, Caryl Richards, Farrah Fawcett and Faberge Organics
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union

FORT HOWARD PAPER CO.
Green Bay, Wisconsin and Muskogee, Oklahoma
Mardi-Gras, Page, Sof-Knit tissues and napkins, Antique towels, Pom-etts, Edon and Dolly Madison tissues, Sweetheart cups
United Paperworkers International Union

HARPER & ROW PUBLISHERS, INC.
Children's books, college textbooks, fiction and non-fiction novels
United Automobile Workers International Union

HOLIDAY PAPER CUPS, Div. of Imperial Cup Co.
Holiday Paper Cups brand name
United Paperworkers International Union

INDIANA DESK CO.
Medium and high priced desks
United Furniture Workers

LOUISIANA-PACIFIC CORP.
Brand name wood products:
L-P Wolmanized, Cedartone, Waferwood, Fibrepine, Oro-Bord, Redex, Sidex, Ketchikan, Pabco, Xonolite
Carpenters & Joiners and Intl. Woodworkers

MARVAL/ROCCO TURKEY, INC.
Turkeys and turkey parts: Marval, Shady Brook Farms. All products bearing USDA stamp #P-18
United Food & Commercial Workers

NIXDORFF-LLOYD CHAIN COMPANY
Heavy duty chains sold in hardware stores. The Nixdorff-Lloyd brand name appears on the chain spool.
Machinists & Aerospace Workers

R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.
Cigarettes: Camel, Winston, Salem, Doral, Vantage, More, Now, Real, Bright, Century, Sterling, YSL/Ritz
Smoking Tobaccos: Prince Albert, George Washington, Carter Hall, Apple, Madeira Mixture, Royal Comfort, Top, Our Advertiser
Little Cigars: Winchester
Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers

SEATTLE-FIRST NATIONAL BANK
Withdraw funds
United Food & Commercial Workers

SHELL OIL COMPANY
Subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell (parent company of Shell South Africa). Gasoline, petroleum and natural gas products.
AFL-CIO

STERLING RADIATOR
Baseboard heaters for the home
United Automobile Workers

Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO

November 1986

EDITORIALS

Recycling Workers

WE HEAR a great many calls for more cooperation between labor and management. We like that. We're all for it. We stand ready to cooperate in any way we can with anybody who's willing to cooperate with us.

But all too often, workers are told that "cooperate" means doing what management wants: working longer hours in return for smaller paychecks, reduced benefits, fewer and less rewarding jobs, and a general downgrading of their family living standards and their human worth.

Our own history teaches a different lesson. We've learned that the way to strengthen the economy is to improve the lives and the skills of working people, raise the standards of health and education, and improve the quality of life—including work life—of all Americans.

Unions and employers are indeed finding ways to work together in apprenticeship training, in joint programs to enhance skills, train workers for new jobs, to provide training and a way to make a living for displaced workers.

Unions are also breaking new ground. Workers want to learn, to advance and to improve their lives. They want to master new technologies and share in the benefits. They want the best training they can get, and they are looking to their unions to supply it. They're right to do so. That's one of the things that unions are created for.

THERE'S ANOTHER dimension of worker education whose need becomes more urgent with every new collapse of old job patterns.

When workers are laid off by the thousands in changing industries, we find that huge numbers lack the skills they need to find new jobs commensurate with the ones they've lost.

They don't need educating from the ground up, but they do have gaps. A decent society has a responsibility to help all citizens to repair those gaps and realize their highest potential.

To do this job, America needs an adult education program on a scale and of a design that's never been tried before. And where union members and working people in general are concerned, it's our job to see that everybody gets that chance.

We need the cooperation of universities and colleges, labor, business and government—and, of course, teachers—to create such a system.

And we need to develop programs that can be conducted at the workplace, where the people who need them can be served. Unions will be going to the bargaining table to negotiate learning programs and learning time, along with work time.

We need to bring to the workplace all the skills that it takes to get along in this world, not just to hold a particular job.

—From remarks by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland at the federation's Training & Education Conference, Baltimore, Md., Dec. 3, 1986.

Two-Tier America

THE WAGE STUDY just compiled by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress provides grim documentation of the effect that deindustrialization has had on the earnings of America's workers. It reflects a two-tier economy, with the bottom level growing at the expense of the middle.

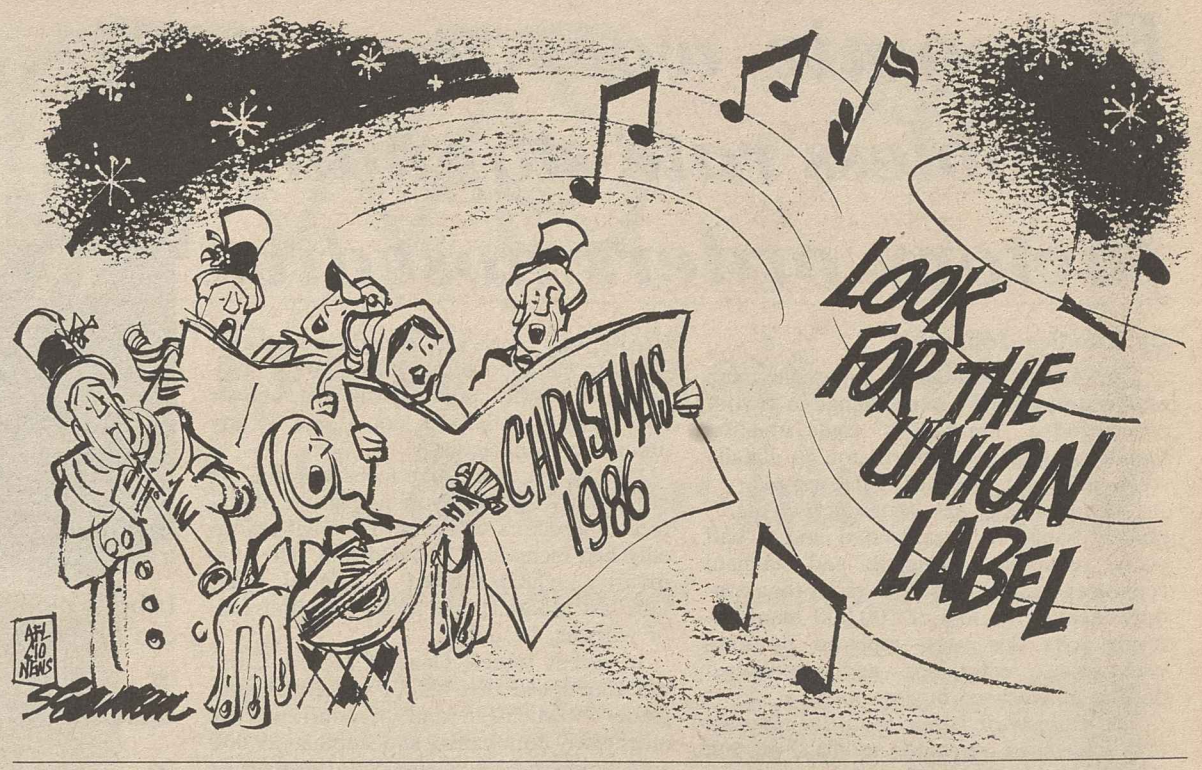
The jobs that disappeared in a continuing wave of plant closings were mostly of the type that have enabled industrial workers to become middle-income homeowners. The jobs that replaced them are creating a new army of working poor.

You don't pay off mortgages on $4-an-hour wages.

Two-income households once were an option that offered a bonus of higher living standards. But increasingly, two incomes are becoming necessary for economic survival.

Is there any connection between the findings of this congressional report and the fact that it is increasingly difficult to find American-made products in Christmas shopping? The Administration doesn't seem to think so. We do.

The new leaders of both the House and the Senate have promised to place action to reduce the trade deficit at the top of the congressional agenda. We shall hold them to that promise.



Washington Window

Jobless look to Congress for solutions to poverty

By Press Associates

When the 100th Congress convenes in January, the new Democratic Senate will join the House in addressing a problem that fell out of fashion in the first six years of the Reagan presidency even as the problem—poverty in America—grew worse.

Welfare reform, health care reform, overhaul of the shattered unemployment compensation system, job creation, job training, compensatory education, and raising the inflation-shrunken minimum wage are likely to be issues of sharp controversy.

Congressional and public debate on these vital questions will be better informed as a result of a new study on family poverty and government programs aiding the poor and jobless. The report, based on the latest Census Bureau figures, was prepared by the Center on Budget & Policy Priorities, a non-partisan research group that specializes in public policy issues affecting low-income Americans.

The report studied families with children under age 18 because poverty has grown fastest in this group in recent years and because of the upcoming debate on welfare reform, said Center Director Robert Greenstein.

Major findings

The study includes these findings: Far fewer families with children are being removed from poverty than they were several years ago by government cash aid such as public assistance, unemployment insurance and social security. The reduced impact of these programs on poverty resulted largely from the 1981 social security cuts, from reductions enacted at President Reagan's request in federal-state Aid to Families with Dependent Children and in the federal-state extended unemployment insurance program. States also failed to raise AFDC and jobless benefit levels to keep pace with inflation.

Had the government cash aid programs continued to raise the same proportion of families with children out of poverty as in 1979, some 458,000 fewer families would have been poor in 1985. These programs in 1979 lifted 949,000 families with children above the poverty level—about 19 percent of the 5 million families who would otherwise have been poor.

In 1985, these programs only lifted 735,000 families with children above the poverty line—just 11.6 percent of the 6.3 million families who would otherwise have been poor.

The impact of the programs was severely reduced in the 1979 and 1980 period, when inflation substantially outpaced benefits, and in 1981 and 1982 as the first and largest round of Reagan budget slashes took effect. In 1981, Congress cut social security benefits for several categories of families with children, including student and survivor benefits.

Hardest hit

The programs' anti-poverty effect hit hardest on female-headed families with children. Nearly 40 percent of the poverty increase since 1979 in the number of these households results from the cutbacks and erosion in these programs compared to 30 percent for all families with children.

The study once more pierces the fog of the Administration's claim that its cutbacks didn't weaken the "safety net" for the poor and needy. In fact, former Budget Director David Stockman now admits that he dreamed up the "safety net" term as a propaganda tool against critics of the now admits that he dreamed up the "safety net" term as a propaganda tool.

While Reagan's aim of ending government aid for the needy may have been held in check, its legacy will remain for years to come. The huge Reagan-generated federal deficits overshadow all questions involving public spending.

Still, the Administration hasn't given up trying to shape the course of public debate. A White House Working Group on the Family recently issued a draft report contending that federal anti-poverty programs have failed and should be slashed further.

For now, the poor and the unemployed are depending on Congress and the states for help and some real answers.

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Economic woes mount as jobless rate stagnates, factory orders nosedive

By Candice Johnson

The nation's stagnant unemployment rate, coupled with a steep plunge in factory orders and a "horrendous" trade situation signals continuing problems for an already weak economy, the AFL-CIO warned.

Unemployment has been stuck in the 7-percent range for nearly two and a half years, reflecting a sluggish and stagnant economic picture. Other drags on the economy include the loss of 100,000 manufacturing jobs this year—replaced by low-wage service sector jobs—and a continued decline in workers' buying power.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that joblessness remained at the 7-percent level in November for the third consecutive month, with nearly 8.3 million persons looking for work. But the National Committee for Full Employment charged that the government's figures "mask the crisis for millions" of workers who have found only part-time work or have given up their job search.

"When these groups are included, the real rate of joblessness and underemployment stood at 12.5 percent, or 15 million Americans," the committee pointed out.

October's 3.6-percent plunge in factory orders, as reported by the Commerce Dept., was the sharpest since May 1980. The fall-off in orders reflected a steep decline of 42 percent in orders for defense and military equipment. AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald said the decline in defense orders is likely to continue.

Battered by imports

Most analysts agreed that the manufacturing sector continues to be battered by foreign competition from low-wage and government-sponsored imports and expressed doubt that an economic rebound was in sight. Lawrence Chimerine of Chase Econometrics said October's drop in factory orders partially offset a jump of 3.4 percent in September—fueled by orders for military spending—but concluded that "the economy is essentially moving sideways and has been for a long time."

Excluding defense-related manufacturing, orders for durable goods fell 5.1 percent, and nondurable goods fell 1.8 percent.

Although there was a slight increase of 40,000 manufacturing jobs during November, Oswald pointed out that one or two months' activity is not a sign of any upturn in manufacturing.

"While we would like to be hopeful, we are already seeing layoff notices in manufacturing sectors where employment reportedly had increased," Oswald said. The auto industry, which showed a gain of 9,000 jobs last month, plans to lay off thousands of workers, he noted.

In recent weeks, General Motors Corp. has announced that 4,500 workers at auto plants in Michigan and Missouri will be indefinitely furloughed and another 29,000 auto workers face layoffs at 11 plants over the next three years.

United Technologies Corp., a key manufacturer of military, aerospace and aircraft equipment, plans to reduce its workforce by 11,000 persons by the end of next year, with many expected to be let go by next May, the company said. Earlier, the conglomerate announced the layoff of 5,000 workers at its Pratt & Whitney aircraft division and other units.

Few receive benefits

While unemployment remains at recession-high levels, less than one-third of the jobless—just 32 percent—are drawing unemployment compensation benefits, Oswald pointed out.

AFL-CIO compensation specialist James Ellenberger noted that in 31 states, less than 30 percent of the unemployed are receiving benefits. That percentage drops to below 20 percent in six states, he added. Ellenberger also emphasized that only 3.3 percent of the long-term unemployed—jobless for more than 26 weeks—drew extended benefits in November.

Ellenberger said that a maze of often arbitrary restrictions and disqualifications in many states has kept workers from receiving jobless benefits even in periods of high unemployment. Virginia's benefit trust fund has a balance of nearly half a billion dollars, he said, but as of the end of June 1986—the last quarter for which data was available—just 13.3 percent of the state's unemployed workers were drawing any compensation.

Labor's blood drive is set in motion by SEIU President John Sweeney, Richard Schubert of Red Cross and Community Services Director Frank Emig.

Labor mobilizes members for emergency blood drive

Continued from Page 1

Sweeney stressed that while many unions have participated in blood drives, "this is a united effort among all the affiliates of the AFL-CIO." Targeted cities include New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and St. Louis.

Sweeney noted that the nation is experiencing a shortfall in donations for several reasons, including the increase in job layoffs and plant closings "and the inaccurate fear that a donor can contract AIDS"—acquired immune deficiency syndrome—or other deadly diseases through blood donation.

Still, more than "a third of all the blood that has been given over the past several years came from union members" on the job, he added.

Sweeney, who is president of the Service Employees and labor's representative on the American Red Cross board of governors, said the donor campaign grew out of a resolution adopted by the 1985 AFL-CIO convention calling on affiliated unions to "increase their efforts in community service activities" by joining in Red Cross blood bank projects.

"Now we are organizing to share our blood with those who need it," Sweeney said, adding "what could be more basic."

Red Cross President Schubert praised organized labor for its constant assistance, whether by "mobilizing retirees to work as volunteers or opening union halls to Red Cross disaster teams."

He said that blood collection generally drops during the holiday season, noting that last year donations from Thanksgiving through New Year's Day fell 10 to 14 percent. Nationwide, only about five percent of Americans donate blood, Schubert pointed out.

Blood supplies needed

The Red Cross is hit with a "double whammy," Schubert said, because blood usage is up, and many operations once considered "exotic" are more common and require many units of blood.

Another problem in maintaining an adequate pool of blood is that improved screening and testing techniques that can detect the presence of the AIDS virus, hepatitis, and a new virus linked to adult leukemia make about five percent of blood donations unusable.

In an earlier appeal to SEIU members, Sweeney noted that "every day, some 800 blood donors are needed" to help hemophiliacs, surgical patients, children with leukemia, new mothers and others whose lives depend on receiving transfusions. "And it is the Red Cross that gathers most of this blood," he said, urging union members to pledge atheir support in the donor campaign.

Mexican connection aids business, harms workers

An array of U.S. and Mexican programs touted as a cure to economic ills in both countries have failed to raise the standard of living for Mexican workers and have driven jobless rates on the American side of the border to record-shattering levels, a report from the International Trade Commission reveals.

The 343-page study documenting the failure of these programs was made public as hundreds of American businessmen were attending a special trade show in the resort city of Acapulco where they were being wooed by the Mexican government to set up assembly operations just across the Rio Grande River.

The exposition—originally organized by the Reagan Administration—was turned over to a private public relations firm after Congress cracked down on the Commerce Dept. and cut off the use of taxpayers' dollars for this purpose.

The new sponsor, which served as a Commerce Dept. consultant during the year-long planning for the exposition, said its goal was that of a "matchmaker"—bringing together U.S. firms and Mexican state government officials with available plant sites and attractive financing packages.

Business smorgasbord

Paying the public relations firm $1,500 each for the right to set up exhibits were Mexican metal and electronics firms, industrial parks, accountants and lawyers, who were vying to win the assembly operations of more U.S. firms.

The target for these American investors is the burgeoning "maquiladora" complex that has sprung up on the Mexican side of the border in recent years, lured there by wholesale concessions on duties by both countries and a workforce of girls and women whose wages average 30 to 75 cents an hour.

Defending the practice of encouraging such runaway operations, the Commerce Dept. has insisted the arrangement benefits workers in both countries. It claims that assembly operations in Mexico make it possible for American workers to create the components and then put the final manufacturing touches on consumer products.

False claim

But the ITC report, prepared at the request of the Senate Finance Committee, fails to support that contention.

The impact on workers in U.S. border communities in California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas has been devastating, the ITC study showed, focusing its main attention on Texas. In 1983, the report said, unemployment statewide was 8.5 percent—but it was 13.3 percent in El Paso, 17.7 percent in Brownsville, 20.5 percent in McAllen and 27.3 percent in Laredo.

Getting up to date jobless data is difficult. In September, McAllen's unemployment rate stood at 19.9 percent, Brownsville had 16.3 percent and El Paso had 13.5 percent. Figures for Laredo are not available, the Bureau of Labor Statistics said, because budget cuts have caused it to stop compiling data in that city. Laredo's 1985 jobless rate was 13.5 percent. BLS does not compile figures for the affected border communities in California, Arizona or New Mexico.

But if workers in both countries have suffered, the maquiladoras, or "golden mills," have been a bonanza for American business, which now has a $4-billion investment in these plants, according to the ITC. And it's been a boon to the Mexican government. Shipments from these assembly facilities totaled $9.8 billion in 1985, the report showed—representing 55 percent of all American imports from that country.

The Commerce Dept. has called the maquiladora project a "twin-plant" program, implying that each Mexican assembly plant has some sort of job-generating counterpart in the United States. But many of the American operations are confined to so-called "foreign trade zones" which, the ITC said, focus more on "storage and distribution rather than manufacturing."

Moreover, the study emphasized, these foreign trade zones can be used for "the manipulation of merchandise" in a way that delays payment of U.S. duties and provides "cash flow advantages to a company that ultimately sells its product in the U.S. market."

In addition, the ITC said, when a company does do some final manufacturing on the maquiladora products that enter the foreign trade zone, it's able to sell them in the domestic market with a "Made in USA" label.

Bustling trade

The nine foreign trade zones are doing a bustling business, the ITC told Congress. The volume of merchandise handled through these centers skyrocketed from $10 million in 1976 to $1.3 billion in 1984—the products ranging from television parts, textiles and electronic tubes to motor vehicle parts and bodies, computers and toys.

Although it's eager to lure American businesses to the border region—and deeper into Mexico, as exhibits from non-border states at the Acapulco extravaganza demonstrated—Mexico continues to erect strict barriers to American goods. Import permits are "rarely granted" to bring in products that compete with Mexican-made goods, the ITC said; passenger cars must have a domestic content of 60 percent, light trucks require a 70-percent domestic content, and "the medium and heavy truck market is reserved for Mexican majority-owned companies."

Concessions granted

But Mexico grants wide-ranging concessions for American firms that invest in the maquiladoras. Not only are the raw materials for the assembly operation exempt from Mexican duties, the ITC pointed out, but this favored treatment extends to machinery used in this work, replacement parts, tools, safety equipment, work manuals, containers, packing materials, labels and bulletins.

Of the 756 assembly plants located in the Mexican border region, 561, or nearly 75 percent, have American parent companies. Only 15—less than 2 percent—were listed by the ITC as being "100 percent Mexican owned." Tracing control of the remaining 180 firms isn't easy; the ITC considered ownership of those companies to be "unknown."

The Trade Commission's roster of the American parent companies reads like a list out of Fortune's 500—General Electric Co., Texas Instruments Inc., Libby-Owen-Ford Co., Rockwell International, Hughes Aircraft, Zenith Electronics Corp., General Motors Corp., United Technologies Inc., Honeywell Inc., Westinghouse Electric Corp., AMF Inc., General Instrument Corp., GTE-Sylvania, Honeywell, Inc., Farah Manufacturing Co. Inc., RCA, Motorola Inc., Hamilton-Standard, E.I. DuPont de Nemours & Co., Union Carbide, Textron Inc. and Delco Electronics Inc., to name just a few.

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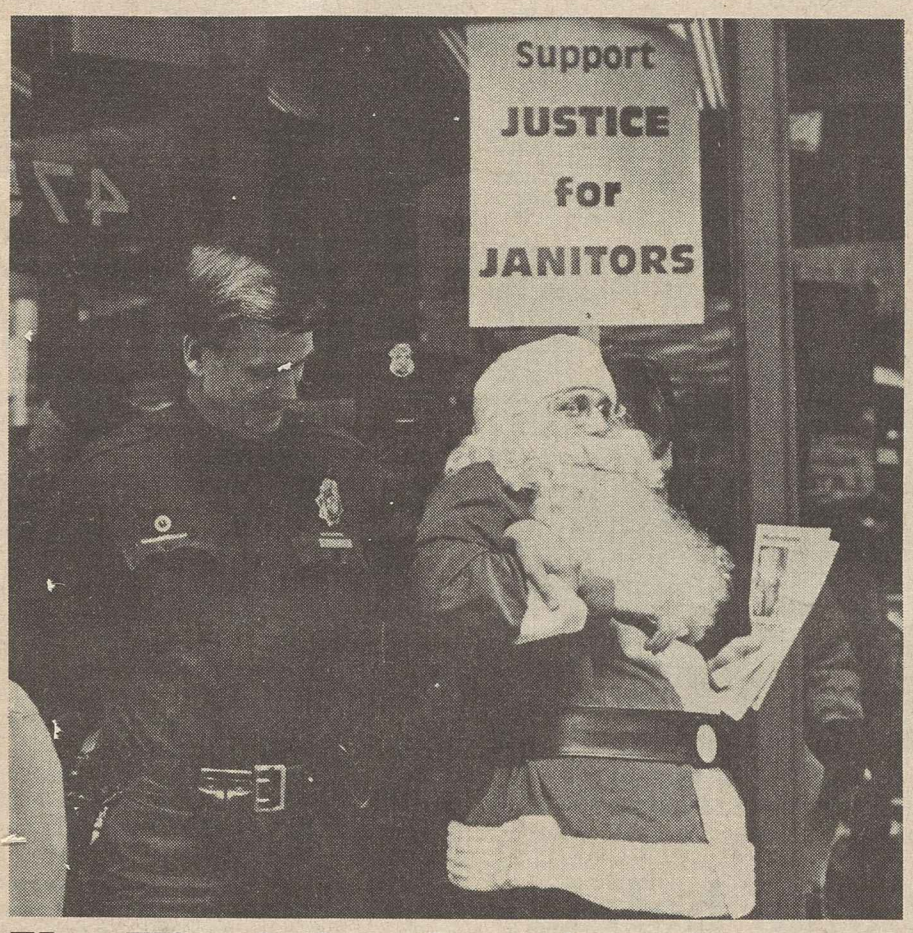
HOLIDAY GREETINGS



Yes Virginia, there's a Scrooge

Denver—Santa Claus was jailed Dec. 9 for heralding a Service Employees organizing drive by leafleting patrons inside the Metro Bank building where janitors are doled out Scrooge-like pay with no benefits.

SEIU Local 105 organizer Michael Wilzoch, a.k.a. Santa Clause, and executive board member Rene Ledbetter handbilled bank customers as part of a continuing organizing campaign that began last May. A result of the drive is that some 1,000 janitors at four of the larger custodial firms are now voting on a tentative agreement reached Dec. 16. When the drive began, Wilzoch said, about 30 percent of the contractors were unionized. Now that figure is 70 percent.

Nonunion firms have increased workloads, slashed pay and reduced hours to the point where some janitors are taking home only $80 a week, Wilzoch said.

Trade deficit drives U.S. deeper into debt

Worldwide financial standing worsens

By Gene Zack

Riddled by a record-shattering trade deficit, the United States plunged deeper in debt to the rest of the world as it racked up an all-time shortfall of $36.28 billion in its current account during the third quarter.

Last year—for the first time since 1914—the country slipped from being a creditor nation to the unenviable status a debtor nation, suffering a $117.7-billion shortage. And the deficit continues on its upward course. It hit $104.7 billion during the first nine months of this year, well on the way to surpassing 1985's record and outstripping Brazil and Mexico, the previous leading debtor nations.

The current account is considered the broadest measure of America's financial standing with the rest of the world because it measures not only trade between countries in merchandise but also in services, investment earnings and such transfer payments as foreign aid.

Foreign control

The deficit in this account means foreigners now own more U.S. investments than Americans hold in foreign investments. In the past, earnings on American investments overseas were enough to offset the trade shortfall that began shortly after the Reagan Administration took office. But a string of massive job-gutting merchandise trade deficits has wiped out the cushion once provided by investment earnings.

Some analysts predict the country will owe more than $1 trillion to the rest of the world by the early 1990s and paying off this debt burden in future years will reduce America's standard of living.

In other economic news, the government also reported:

- The gross national product—the measure of the nation's output of goods and services—rose at a lackluster annual pace of 2.8 percent during the third quarter. That was one-tenth of 1 percent below the previous estimate and put the annual growth rate at a sickly 2.4 percent during the first nine months of this year.

The figure fell far below the 4-percent growth rate forecast by the White House for most of this year. The Administration slashed that estimate to 3.2 percent, but economists doubt that revised goal can be met, either. Private analysts say the rate will probably hover around the 2.8-percent mark—and then only if business continues heavy spending between now and year's end to reduce the impact of tax reform provisions that take effect Jan. 1.

- Wholesale prices inched up two-tenths of 1 percent in October, the smallest of four consecutive increases since the index fell six-tenths of 1 percent in July.

Gasoline prices rose nine-tenths of 1 percent during the month and heating oil pri-

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Scheme to tinker with federal pay draws AFGE fire

The Government Employees will call on Congress to reject a White House proposal to eliminate salary step-ups for federal workers and substitute "merit raises" handed out by supervisors.

AFGE President Kenneth T. Blaylock charged that the Administration pay plan would "restore the spoils system in fancier dress." At present, most employees move from starting to top pay levels for their jobs in scheduled step-ups that can be withheld only if the worker hasn't performed adequately.

Blaylock termed "offensive and insulting" a comment by Office of Management & Budget Director James Miller that the Administration proposal would assure that government employees "would no longer automatically qualify for raises just by showing up and breathing."

The AFGE will support instead what it termed "genuine pay reform"—a bill to be introduced by Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio) that offers the opportunity to test various pay-setting systems through pilot programs, including collective bargaining.

In another area of pay-setting, the AFGE said it supports higher pay for top federal executives. But it isn't prepared to go along with the 75 percent salary increase recommended by the Commission on Executive, Legislative & Judicial Salaries at a time when rank-and-file federal

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Administration skirts job-export ban

Florio scores Commerce Dept. for luring firms abroad

The Reagan Administration has tried to evade a congressional mandate against spending public money on enticing American firms to set up assembly operations abroad by holding out the promise of a ready supply of cheap foreign labor, Rep. James J. Florio charged.

The New Jersey Democrat made the accusation as the House Energy & Commerce subcommittee he chairs held hearings into the Commerce Dept.'s role in promoting "business relocations that result in the displacement of American jobs," particularly in the burgeoning maquiladora complex just across the border in Mexico.

Florio accused the Commerce Dept. of continuing to "pursue activities that raise questions as to whether they are fully complying with" restrictions imposed by Congress this fall to prevent spending taxpayers' money to lure U.S. firms overseas.

Narrow interpretation

He cited an interim report from the General Accounting Office indicating the Administration had applied what Florio said was a "very narrow interpretation" of the congressional restrictions.

The GAO, whose investigation of the Commerce Dept.'s job-exporting activities is continuing, told the subcommittee the Administration took the position that it could continue to engage in overseas-related expositions and trade shows as long as they were not "exclusively" devoted to relocation or if the department's role in such events was not "substantial."

Congress set no such minimum levels, Florio insisted. He pointed out that a recent conference in Miami extolled the virtues of Caribbean Basin countries as sites for American-owned assembly operations. At a minimum, Florio asserted, the Commerce Dept.'s participation in that meeting "conveyed the impression" that such activi-

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Schedule set for 1987 regional conferences

The AFL-CIO has announced the schedule of 1987 regional conferences to be held with state and local AFL-CIO officers and other union officials.

Each of the four conferences will open on a Friday, with afternoon registration and followed by an evening session.

WEST—San Francisco, Mar. 20-22
Westin St. Francis Hotel
Comprising the states of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Arizona, Oregon, California, Utah, Washington, Nevada, Hawaii and Alaska.

MIDATLANTIC/NEW ENGLAND—New York, Apr. 10-12
Penta Hotel
Covering the states of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland-D.C., Delaware, Virginia and West Virginia.

MIDWEST—Chicago, May 29-31
Holiday Inn-O'Hare/Kennedy
For the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and Kentucky.

SOUTH—New Orleans, June 5-7
Fairmont Hotel
Comprising the states of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Florida and Oklahoma.

OSHA unveils interim toxic cleanup standard

The Occupational Safety & Health Administration met a congressionally imposed deadline and issued an interim standard for the protection of some 200,000 workers involved in the cleanup of hazardous wastes.

OSHA's action was welcomed by the AFL-CIO as a "long overdue, good first step." The Superfund legislation Congress passed last fall also requires OSHA to issue more detailed permanent standards next October to take effect one year later.

Margaret Seminario, associate director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security, said labor pressed Congress to set specific deadlines for OSHA to act because the agency had been dragging its feet on the issue.

The interim regulations cover both workers cleaning up abandoned toxic dumps under the Superfund program and those employed at licensed toxic waste disposal sites. They also require training for emergency personnel responding to chemical spills or accidents.

Each hazardous waste site employer will be obligated to develop a program to identify, evaluate and control safety and health hazards.

All employees engaged in hazardous work must receive training and be certified. A "buddy system" will be required in particularly hazardous operations so that an endangered worker can receive quick assistance.

Medical checkups will be required at the end of employment and at least annually for all employees exposed to a particularly hazardous substance or in jobs requiring use of a respirator.

Other provisions deal with air monitoring, engineering controls, decontamination facilities and emergency response plans.

OSHA said its interim rule follows the lines of a guidance manual that had been developed by OSHA, the Environmental Protection Agency and other government offices involved in hazardous waste sites.

In shaping a permanent standard, OSHA said it expects to issue its proposals in January and to follow up with hearings in late April and May, to be held in Washington, San Francisco and Chicago.

It estimates the standard will cover 30,000 workers at thousands of abandoned toxic dumps and at nearly 4,000 licensed sites with 137,000 workers.

In addition, up to 40,000 state or municipal workers at some 18,000 spill sites will also be affected.

States with OSHA-approved job safety and health programs will be required to adopt hazardous waste standards "at least as effective as the federal standard."

State employees get food stamps as Texas delays pay

Austin, Tex.—At a time when many workers are collecting holiday bonuses, a delayed payday sent several thousand Texas state employees to food stamp lines—pointing up the effect of pay freezes and declining buying power on low-paid workers.

The idea of filing for food stamps originated with a group of employees familiar with eligibility requirements and spread by word of mouth to workers in other state offices.

It was prompted by genuine hardship, the Texas State Employees Union said. The union, an affiliate of the Communications Workers, has organized a substantial number of state workers even though they have no bargaining rights under Texas law.

State employees are paid monthly, and the legislature put off the December payday until Jan. 2 for budgeting reasons. While the delay was minimal, it hit employees especially hard because the previous month's paychecks were distributed before Thanksgiving.

For many just getting by from paycheck to paycheck, an extra week-and-a-half means doing without necessities or going deeper into debt.

To be eligible for food stamps, the union noted, applicants had to have gone without a paycheck for at least a month and have less than $2,000 in assets.

The state legislator who proposed the paycheck delay said he was "disappointed" that workers sought to "take advantage" of the food stamp rules.

Bills due

But a University of Texas custodian felt it was the state workers who were taken advantage of. He was quoted as retorting, "Bills don't stop coming due, and I still have to feed my three kids, and this is Christmas time."

A scheduled pay raise for state employees was cancelled last September because of the budget crisis. The CWA affiliate estimates that the paycheck buying power of state workers has slipped 13 percent over the past decade.

The financial crisis is blamed on the collapse of oil prices and the impact on the state economy. The paycheck delay was supposed to help manage the cash flow.

But state employees say that no one seemed to be worried about their cash flow until the welfare offices were flooded with food stamp applications.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland reviews labor's role in the King holiday celebration with AFSCME Sec.-Treas. William Lucy, left, ILGWU President Jay Mazur and ACTWU President Murray Finley.

Labor role in national holiday focuses on spirit of King's life

To ensure that the Martin Luther King national holiday is celebrated in the spirit of King's life, the labor movement "has a special responsibility" to join in the tribute to the slain civil rights leader in as many ways as possible, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland stressed.

This includes participation in the week-long events leading up to the Jan. 19 holiday, sponsored by the Atlanta-based Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Kirkland said. Unions unable to join the Atlanta celebrations can plan local observances to mark the second King holiday, he added, with posters, flyers, pamphlets and videotapes available from the Martin Luther King Jr. Federal Holiday Commission and the AFL-CIO.

"The labor movement has the opportunity to help assure that this new tradition, this new holiday, continues to be a day that celebrates all that Martin Luther King lived and died for: justice and dignity, freedom and peace," Kirkland observed. While others may be trying to commercialize the day as they do most other holidays, "labor has a special responsibility to head that off and to point the commemoration in the way it should go," he declared.

"No other institution has such direct pipelines to so many members; and no other institution so deeply shares the goals and values that Martin Luther King fought for," he added.

Kirkland made his remarks at a meeting of 50 union officials, sponsored by the Labor Committee for the Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday. The committee, headed by Federation Vice President Murray Finley, is seeking contributions to "provide for the work" of the holiday commission—a coalition of labor, business and government organizations that produces materials and programs to celebrate the memory of the slain black leader.

Finley, who is president of the Clothing & Textile Workers and labor's representative on the commission, reviewed the activities scheduled for "King Week" in Atlanta, including musical and theatrical performances, awards presentations, religious observances, exhibits and a weekend conference at Georgia State University.

Full-day observance

On Jan. 19—the federal holiday—the tribute will begin with a wreath-laying ceremony at King's grave, followed by a parade through the city and a fireworks spectacular later that evening.

Finley urged trade unionists to make their pledges to the Holiday Commission. ACTWU has contributed $5,000 to the fund.

Trade unionists representing 15 affiliated unions attended the meeting. Other participants included Presidents William H. Bywater of the Electronic Workers, Gerald McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees and Jay Mazur of the Ladies' Garment Workers, AFSCME Sec.-Treas. William Lucy and Director Richard Womack of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights.

Shipyard workers stage daily protest of wage cutbacks

Portland, Ore.—Union employees of Dillingham Ship Repair march en masse daily to their jobs in a show of solidarity protesting sharp wage cutbacks the company unilaterally imposed two months ago.

Pay scales were slashed Oct. 13 by more than $3 an hour for 900 members of the nine unions that comprise the Portland Metal Trades Council. Rather than strike, the workers remain on the job while their unions are pursuing unfair labor practice charges against the company.

Only about 150 of the 900 are still working, with the rest on layoff, collecting jobless benefits, according to Mike Fahey Sr., executive secretary of the council.

Dillingham also hired nonunion workers "off the street" and brought in 54 pipefitters provided by East Coast Machinery Inc. of New York, after laying off 100 union pipefitters, Fahey said. But most of the fill-in hires have been laid off because they lacked the skills needed for the jobs, he noted. Only one ship is being repaired currently and production is off 60 percent, he added.

Informational picketing

Dillingham is owned by Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co., a New York investment firm that also owns Safeway Stores, Red Lion Inns and Fred Meyer Stores. Fahey said the shipyard workers have conducted informational picketing of the Fred Meyer stores, as well as the homes of Dillingham President Scott Fitzwater and management negotiator Jim Johnson.

The Dillingham employees belong to the Plumbers & Pipefitters, Carpenters, Boilermakers, Laborers, Electrical Workers, Machinists, Painters, Sheet Metal Workers and the unaffiliated Teamsters.

USX Corp. slapped for safety violations

USX Corp., which locked out 22,000 Steelworkers Aug. 1, was charged by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration with 98 willful violations at its Clairton, Pa., coke works. A fine of $130,000 was assessed against USX, formerly U.S. Steel.

The citations resulted from an inspection last May at the Clairton ammonia plant where 1,300 USWA members were employed.

OSHA inspectors held that the nation's largest steel firm on 60 occasions had "willfully" not recorded injuries that resulted in lost workdays or restricted work activities. Additionally, there were 38 instances of willfully failing to record or improperly recording medical treatment cases, OSHA said.

It proposed a $2,000 fine for each of the 60 violations relating to the recording of injuries and lumped together in five injury categories the 38 times medical treatment was not recorded or improperly recorded, setting $2,000 fines for each of the five categories. The medical treatment violations, OSHA said, included burns, eye injuries, skin disorders, chemical exposures, sprains, strains, contusions and miscellaneous injuries.

The citations are the latest in a series pointing up the possibility of widespread abuse of the agency's recordkeeping requirements. Other major firms cited by OSHA recently included Union Carbide, Chrysler Corp., Fina Oil & Chemical Co., DuPont and Monsanto.

Trade crisis aggravates U.S. debtor status

Continued from Page 1

ces advanced 1.8 percent—but both were more than 45 percent below the year-ago level because of the feud within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries that eased the cartel's tight grip on the world oil market. That could change if the OPEC ministers meeting in Geneva succeed in their efforts to establish oil prices substantially higher than the present level.

- Industrial production increased six-tenths of 1 percent last month following three months of virtually no change, putting the output of the nation's factories, mines and utilities a scant eight-tenths of 1 percent ahead of the level set in November 1985.

Manufacturing output rose seven-tenths of 1 percent, with gains noted in both non-durable manufacturing and the production of heavy durable goods. But on the down side, mining production, which includes the price-battered oil industry, output fell seven-tenths of 1 percent.

- The groggy industrial sector, depressed by the continuing flood of imports, utilized only 79.3 percent of its total production capacity in November, an advance of three-tenths of 1 percent from the previous month. The index now stands a full percentage point below November 1985.

- The pace of new home construction last month plunged 1.8 percent below the October level. It was the third consecutive monthly decline and was the slowest since October 1984. The current annual rate of housing starts is less than 1.6 million units—21.4 percent below the 2-million peak set in January, when falling interest rates stimulated a burst of activity in the industry.

- Unemployment continued to plague workers across the nation, with 23 states showing jobless rates in October that were higher than those recorded a year ago. Two other states and the District of Columbia showed no year-to-year change in unemployment.

Four states, all with energy-related industries, had double-digit jobless rates—Louisiana, 12.9 percent; West Virginia, 11.5 percent; Mississippi, 11.1 percent, and Alaska, 10.8 percent.

The figures masked the full impact of unemployment on the economy. The Bureau of Labor Statistics emphasized that the nation is experiencing a "two-tier" labor market in which employment increases are concentrated in the lower-wage service-producing sector while losses of generally higher-wage manufacturing jobs continue to be widespread.

Shopcrafts protest

Railroad shunts jobs to nonunion operation

A maneuver by the Burlington Northern Railroad to bypass its shopcraft unions and shunt locomotive repairs and maintenance work to a new nonunion facility operated by a corporate middleman raised the possibility of a national railroad strike.

Two unions whose members are directly affected—the railroad units of the Electrical Workers and the Machinists—suspended contract ratification votes after learning of Burlington's intricate scheme to eliminate railroad jobs by buying "power" to pull its trains instead of purchasing or leasing diesel locomotive units.

Instead, members of both unions rejected the national agreement tentatively reached with the nation's railroads and voted strike authorization.

Some other railroads are reportedly also exploring the power-buying gimmick used by Burlington, and the railroad employer bargaining group has asked a federal district court in Chicago to issue a preliminary injunction barring a strike. It has also challenged the action of the IBEW and IAM in suspending the ratification vote last month after revelation of the subterfuge.

The Boilermakers, also directly affected, have held up the final tally of the union's contract ratification ballot pending a court ruling.

Bypassing unions

Rail shopcraft unions see Burlington's move as an attempt to bypass the collective bargaining procedure by making unilateral changes in conditions of employment. During negotiations on a national railroad agreement, they noted, the carriers initially proposed eliminating all restrictions on contracting out of shop repairs but subsequently agreed to drop that demand.

Railroad management claims that the shop unions are holding the national agreement "hostage" over an issue involving a "minor dispute" with one railroad.

The unions see nothing "minor" about elimination of their members' jobs. And Burlington's "get-tough-with-unions" management has made no secret that it is gearing up for a confrontation in the 1988 round of contract negotiations. That's when Burlington plans to break away from the national bargaining alliance and demand major work rules concessions in separate bargaining with the rail unions.

As best as could be unravelled from the complexity of Burlington's maneuverings, the railroad is in the process of replacing 150 of its older locomotive units with "power" from 100 of the newest models built by the Electro-Motive Division of General Motors.

These new locomotives were purchased or leased from the manufacturer by a firm called Oakway Inc., the leasing subsidiary of the Connell Finance Co. Connell and its subsidiaries have been trying to sell railroads on the advantages of buying locomotive service instead of locomotives.

The agreement between Burlington Northern and Oakway provides for the railroad to purchase a specified number of megawatt hours of electrical energy generated by locomotives provided and maintained by Oakway.

Oakway then turned around and subcontracted the repair to GM's Electro-Motive division, which manufactured the units, to be performed at a facility located at Trinidad, Col. Fittingly, in view of the clear intent of the arrangement, the spur to the repair facility runs through the picket line at a struck mining camp.

Management pressure

Meanwhile, Burlington employees in locations such as Alliance, Neb., where the railroad's own repair facilities are threatened with elimination, have been called in for lectures on the need to reduce costs.

At these meetings, management confirmed, workers are told that the railroad industry and Burlington Northern specifically must get increased productivity and reduced costs to continue in business.

Less direct but unmistakable in intent is the threat of replacing Burlington employees with contract services if the rail unions don't agree to contract takeaways, especially on work rules.

In that context, the locomotive deal is seen by management as a test. As a company official explained to the AFL-CIO News, the 100 locomotive units involved in the Oakway transaction are a small part of Burlington's fleet of some 3,500 locomotive units. Using a third party to service the units would result in "some layoffs," although the company contends it has not actually eliminated any jobs pending the court decision.

As management put it, a decision has not yet been made whether to continue the phaseout until all of Burlington's locomotive needs are furnished by a third party.

Temporary workers

In Alliance, one of Burlington's locomotive repair centers, the mood is grim. Workers who were called in for the company lecture on productivity came away with the conviction that Burlington's goal is a union-free environment.

The bright note was a grapevine report that Burlington and Oakway had a falling out over the leasing firm's attempt to charge the railroad for power to take an ailing locomotive to the Colorado repair facility. A railroad spokesman denied any knowledge of the billing controversy.

While the court issue simmers, with the expectation that the losing party will seek an appellate court reversal, the round of ratifications of the national railroad agreements has been largely completed, except for the holdout unions.

Contracts vary somewhat but generally provide a combination of retroactive pay raises and cash bonuses over four years, within a framework recommended by a presidential emergency board last July.

The Railway Carmen and the Firemen & Oilers both signed national agreements in recent weeks on the basis of membership ratification votes.

Drug-testing seminar

Union of Police Associations President Robert B. Kliesmet addresses a Washington seminar on drug testing that explored the legal issues, technical and scientific basis of testing, and its use by state and local governments. Participants also heard responses by representatives of management and the Justice Dept. From left are attorneys, William T. Thompson, counsel of IUPA; Martha Walfoort, counsel to the State, County and Municipal Employees, and Michael T. Leibig, general counsel for IUPA.

Auto Workers win legal fight to restrict rehiring of scabs

Minneapolis—A federal court found an employer guilty of violating U.S. labor law by giving temporary employees rehiring preference over striking members of the Auto Workers.

In upholding a decision of the National Labor Relations Board, the 8th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals also cited the employer for making "coercive remarks" to employees about the union prior to the walkout.

The dispute began three years ago when UAW Local 1267 rejected management's "final offer" on the renewal of three-year contract covering 279 production and maintenance employees at Medallion Kitchens Inc. Ten days prior to the vote, a Medallion foreman warned one worker that "if you guys go on strike, the union is not coming back."

When UAW members began picketing the plant on Sept. 19, 1983, following expiration of the previous contract, Medallion kept operating with nonstrikers and scab replacements, the latter brought on the payroll at starting wages of $3.75 an hour.

Mood of workers

During NLRB hearings, the company's personnel director conceded that these were clearly "temporary" employees who had been told they would work only "until the strike was over." He said they were advised that this "might be a week, it might be less and it might be more."

On Dec. 10, 1983, the plant's main building was destroyed by fire and production ceased. At that time, the company promised to reopen the plant as soon as possible. The UAW notified Medallion the strike would end as of Dec. 25 and two days later nearly all the strikers signed slips requesting reinstatement.

However, in the six months following reopening of the plant in January 1984, the only workers rehired were 114 replacement employees and the court found linkage between this action and the threat made by the foreman before the strike that a walkout would finish the union.

The company argued that, in announcing plans to resume production after the fire, it had, in effect, made a promise to the scabs that they would continue to have jobs. But the court held that this did not change the "temporary" status of those workers, and that they therefore could not be given preference over strikers.

Failure to recall the striking UAW members, the court said, had the effect of punishing them for participating in the walkout which is a "protected activity" under the National Labor Relations Act.

Federal court bars health benefit cuts for USWA retirees

Akron, Ohio—An employer who unilaterally terminated collectively bargained health coverage for retirees violated the Employee Retirement Income Security Act, a federal court ruled.

U.S. District Court Judge Ann Aldrich held that a collective bargaining agreement between the Steelworkers and McNeil-Akron Inc. "unambiguously" provided for lifetime health benefits for retirees.

Although ERISA does not require mandatory vesting of health insurance coverage, leaving the company free to negotiate changes with pensioners, Aldrich said management was "shockingly aggressive" in the way it went about it. Moreover, she said, there was no basis for the company's claim that action was needed to stave off bankruptcy.

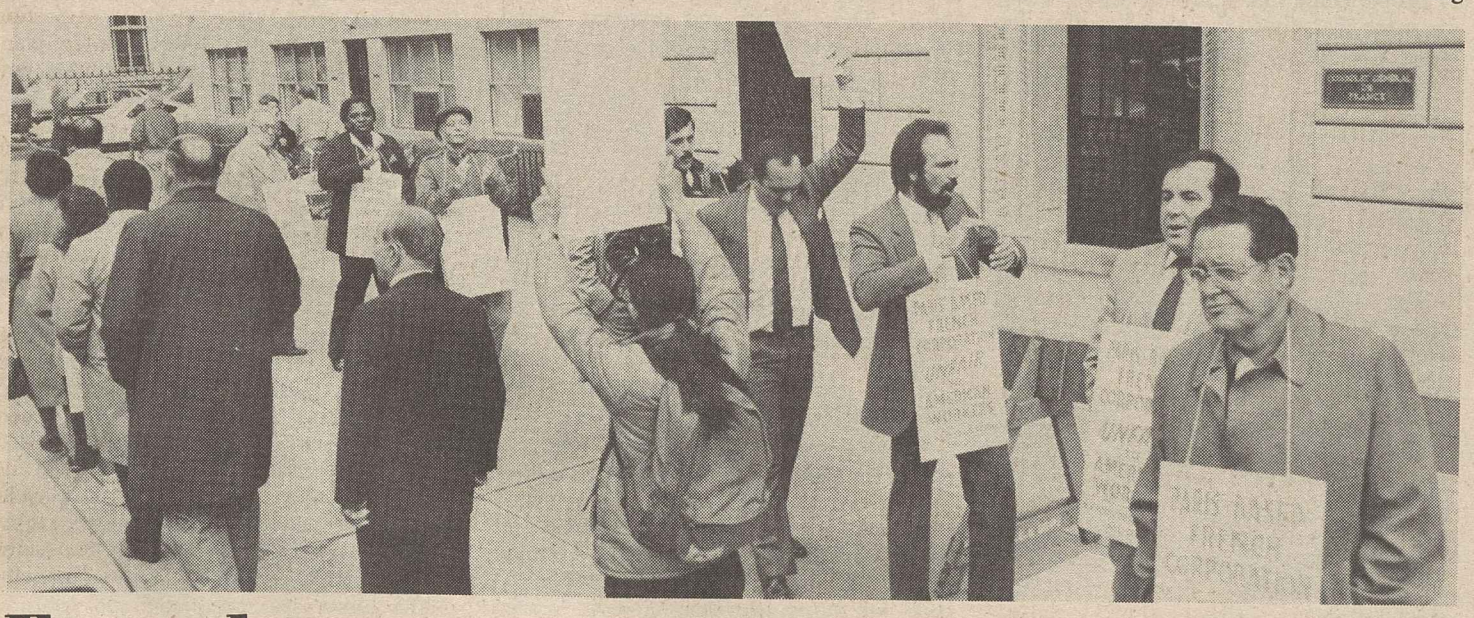
The USWA negotiated the health plan for retirees' in its 1979 contract with McNeil-Akron. A similar provision was contained in the 1982 collective bargaining agreement. In 1984, the employer decided to reduce the benefit program as part of a cost-cutting drive.

Coverage terminated

Following negotiations between the firm and its retirees' club, all but two pensioners accepted one of two alternative plans requiring them to assume a lion's share of the premium cost. Management subsequently terminated coverage for the two who refused to go along with the change.

The court ordered McNeil-Akron to reinstate the collectively bargained benefits for the two retirees on the ground that management violated its fiduciary responsibilities under ERISA.

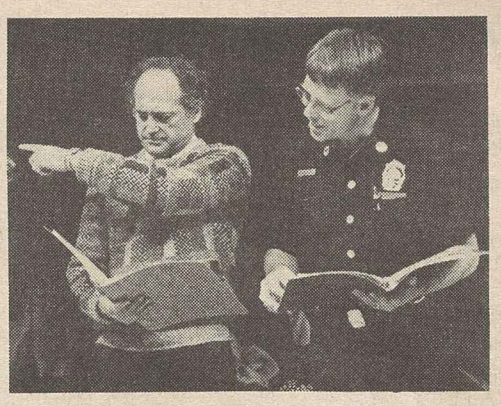
At the same time, Judge Aldrich ordered benefits reinstated for two other pensioners who signed the agreements and then sued McNeil-Akron. The court ruled that management made improper use of its negotiating power to impose one-sided terms on its retirees.



French connection

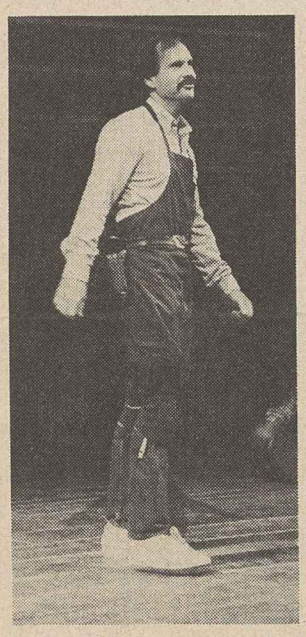
Members of the New York Hotel-Motel Trades Council, which represents 25,000 union workers at 165 hotels, picket the French consulate, seeking its assistance in ending attempts by the French owners of the Novotel to sabotage an organizing drive. The hotel has refused to honor the results of a certification vote taken last year, after having earlier agreed on a method of polling the Novotel workers.

In a chorus of "Common Ground," SEIU business agent Kim Miller and workshop cast.

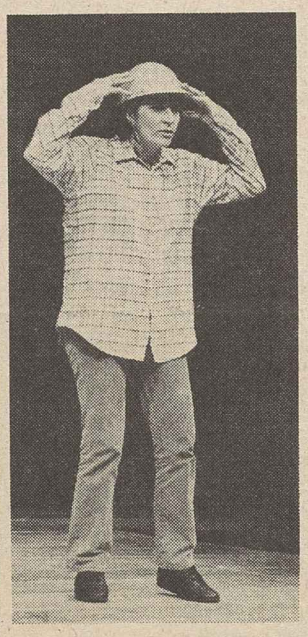


Philip Newman, AFT, and Michael Kaemerer, IAFF.

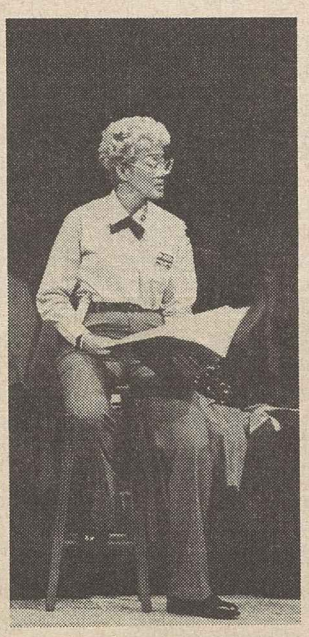
AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue with Gordon Davidson, left, Taper's artistic director.



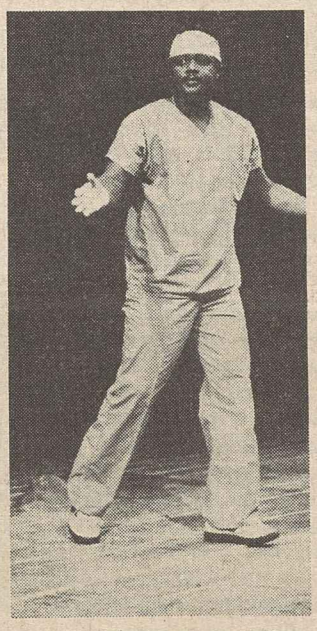
Larry Weiner, UFCW



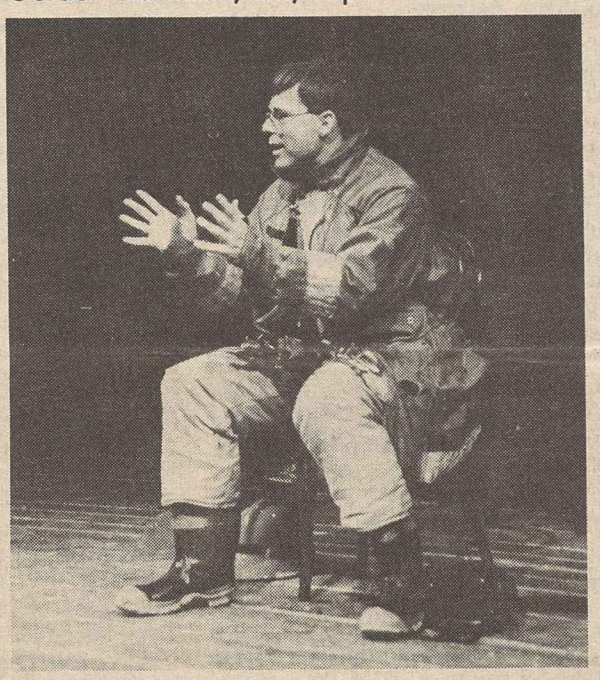
Cynthia Cuza, USWA



Jacqueline White, NALC



Joseph Woods, SEIU



A fire fighter's story

Workers tell their real-life stories

Los Angeles performance for a standing-room-only crowd

Los Angeles—A grocery clerk who feels like a "gunslinger," a flight attendant who must wear a smile at 4 a.m. and a former steelworker who misses the days "when the steel flowed and it was like fireworks"—all had the chance to tell their tales in "The Greatest Stories Never Told—Voices from the New American Workplace."

The drama of everyday work brought to life was a joint production of the AFL-CIO's Labor Institute of Public Affairs and the Mark Taper Forum, the resident theater company of the Los Angeles Music Center. It was performed before a standing-room audience of 750.

The play was the finale of a 10-week workshop during which 13 workers from nine AFL-CIO unions discussed their on-the-job concerns and brought their work to life. In addition to writing the script and rehearsing the musical numbers, the workshop participants were coached in voice projection, staging, pacing their lines, movement and other directions during twice-a-week rehearsals. The project was directed by Victoria Ann-Lewis.

Brave new world

After the opening segment, in which former steelworker Cynthia Cuza tells of entering "the brave new world of the service sector," the workers-turned-actors are introduced to the audience—not only by name, but by their jobs, their dreams, their fears and their accomplishments.

In one scene, Larry Weiner, a member of Food & Commercial Workers Local 1442, dresses for his grocery store shift like "an old gunslinger" in a Western movie, with a price stamper for a pistol and a back brace for a gun belt.

Weiner expressed pride in his work, adding "you'd be amazed how many lonely people come into a supermarket looking for more than food. I'm glad I'm there for them. I've got no apologies for what I do for a living."

Emotional labor

Bartender Mary Stieger, a member of Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Local 11, told the audience of the emotional requirements of work in the service sector; how some days "I'll be pouring drinks so fast I look like a blonde octopus, but as soon as I stop to catch my breath, someone's waiting for me to listen to them."

And in a song, she told of another duty, to "smile when I'm happy, smile when I'm not. Smiling's my profession in case you forgot."

One by one, the social worker, fire fighter, teacher, telephone operator, surgical technician, union business agent and others, offered a view of their jobs, themselves and their unions.

In a scene highlighting job stress, Jacqueline White, a member of Letter Carriers Local 24, told the audience how her supervisor trails her along the mail route, while Roberta Hosler, a telephone operator and member of Communications Workers Local 9400, spoke of the degradation of electronic surveillance, including bathroom monitoring and speedups.

In a song about the AFL-CIO "alphabet," Teacher Philip Newman offered to help sort out all the "letters with a purpose, numbers with a cause," declaring: "I don't teach a foreign language for nothing." Those letters and numbers "stand for people who do their best at work," he sang.

In a final song, the cast told of their once separate voices now ringing out as they shared a finding and chorus of "Common Ground."

Following the performance, AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue praised the production for demonstrating the respect workers have for their jobs and themselves. Donahue and members of the cast then answered questions from the audience.

Team effort

LIPA Executive Director Larry Kirkman called the production "a model of collective action," noting that none of the actors knew each other before workshop rehearsals began three months ago. Kirkman said the Taper workshop could serve as the basis for future television projects "rooted in the authentic voices of working people."

Rounding out the cast are SEIU members Jess Barajas, Hope Fierro, Kimberly Miller, Henry Walton and Joseph Woods; ReBecca Goldstein, Flight Attendants and Michael Kaemerer, Fire Fighters.

TWA pilots vote 3-year extension of pay recovery

The Air Line Pilots ratified a three-year extension of its current Trans World Airlines contract, accepting a package that by 1991 will raise pay scales to nearly the same level as in 1985 when ALPA took a 22-percent wage cut in exchange for profit-sharing and stock plans.

The 2,800 pilots at TWA voted by a 3-to-1 margin in favor of the agreement, and on a second referendum item, approved by 93 percent the merging of the seniority list for TWA pilots with that of Ozark Airlines pilots. Ozark was purchased by TWA earlier this year and the two carriers merged flight schedules on Oct. 26.

In 1985, the TWA pilots negotiated a three-year agreement with financier Carl C. Icahn to thwart a take-over attempt of TWA by the nonunion Texas Air Corp. Pay and benefit concessions were offset in part by an employee stock ownership plan and a profit-sharing program. That contract provided that the concessions would end on Jan. 3, 1989.

The new agreement retains the profit-sharing and stock plans, and increases pay 5 percent each year. Vacation reductions, however, will be restored, the ALPA said.

The union also negotiated job security provisions and stronger guarantees from Icahn against selling off the carrier's assets. Icahn could have sold the firm's assets if it lost money. Now, under the extended agreement, Icahn would only be able to sell assets equal to operating losses, if any, and pilots' jobs would have to be protected.

Nationwide cure urged for ailing health system

A major campaign to marshal grassroots support for reform of the nation's ailing health care system was launched in 27 states by a broad coalition of labor, minority, religious and community action organizations.

The more than 60 groups in the alliance will press for public policy changes at the national and state level "to make health care coverage affordable and to bring good health within the reach of all Americans."

"The United States must join as rapidly as possible with other industrialized nations of the world in making access to affordable quality health care a right for all," the AFL-CIO declared.

The federation said it is participating in the campaign because labor wants "to generate support at all levels of government for action to meet the needs of the 37 million persons without health care coverage and the 50 million with inadequate protection."

At a Washington press conference announcing the campaign, Director Bert Seidman of the Dept. of Occupational Safety, Health & Social Security said the coalition will seek to make health care more affordable for the nation's elderly by limiting the out-of-pocket expenses under Medicare and setting up prescriptions drug programs. The coalition will push for state legislation to expand health care by setting up state health insurance pools and programs to pay for charity care by public and private hospitals, Seidman said.

He stressed that recent developments have underscored the inability of our country's patchwork health insurance system to assure all Americans access to health care. Massive job losses in manufacturing and other basic industries, the rise in service sector jobs and in part-time and contractual employment have left millions of workers and their families with inadequate protection or no insurance at all, Seidman said.

Expanded coverage

Campaign chairman Arthur Flemming, a former secretary for Health, Education & Welfare, said that initial emphasis will be to marshal support for getting all states to "implement the law passed by Congress providing for the extension of Medicaid to all pregnant women, children under six, the elderly and persons with disabilities whose incomes are below the poverty line."

William Hutton, executive director of the National Council for Senior Citizens, declared that today's high health care costs have so severely increased co-payments, deductibles and premiums under Medicare that now the elderly are now paying more out of their own pockets for health care than they did before the program was enacted.

Dana Hughes of the Children's Defense Fund noted that 12 million children are denied full access to regular comprehensive care because their parents lack health insurance coverage.

Besides the AFL-CIO, labor groups in the coalition are the State, County & Municipal Employees, Machinists, Ladies' Garment Workers, Hospital & Health Care Employees, Newspaper Guild, Service Employees, Electrical Workers, Food & Commercial Workers, Industrial Union Dept., Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the unaffiliated National Education Association.

Coordinating the broad-ranging effort is the National Health Care Campaign, P.O. Box 27434, Washington, D.C. 20038. Telephone 202/639-8833.

'Tis the season

Four AFL-CIO unions have joined in a special holiday project to distribute toys and candy to children in strife-torn Lebanon. The project is sponsored by No Greater Love, a humanitarian organization.

With donations from the Fire Fighters, Iron Workers, Painters, Sheet Metal Workers and other groups, the charity purchased more than 1,000 toys and 5,000 lollipops to be given to Lebanese children ages 12 and under, Chairman Carmella LaSpada of No Greater Love said.

Two airlines have offered to transport the toys to Lebanon at no cost, where they will be distributed to Muslim and Christian children through St. Francis Church in Beirut.

House with union label home to working family

Boston—"There's no place like home for the holidays" is a Christmas favorite that rang true for the Michael Devine family, as they became new owners of one of the first townhouses built by the Bricklayers & Laborers Non-Profit Housing Co.

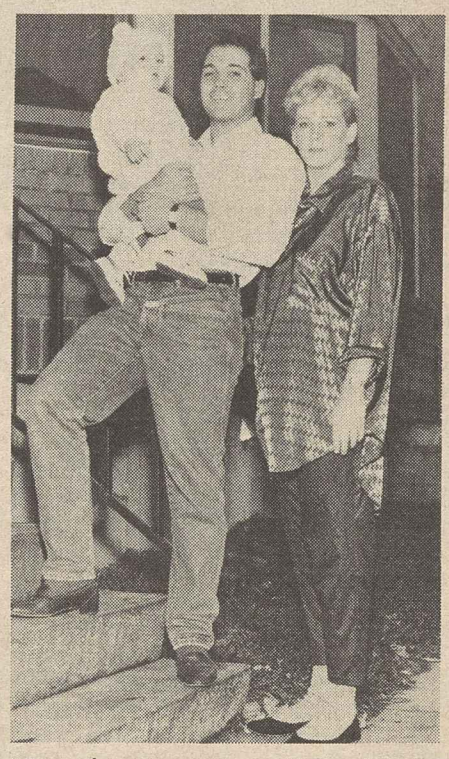
A tract of abandoned city property in the South Boston neighborhood of Andrews Square—purchased by the union-sponsored development and construction company for $1—was transformed by the building trades into 18 brick row houses, valued at $150,000 each. But the asking price was set at only $69,000 to enable working families to stay in the community.

The opportunity to buy a home was determined by lottery, with participation based on income and residency requirements. Michael, a six-year member of Laborers Local 23, and Jean Devine beat the odds and moved into their new home this year.

The new homeowners are bound by restrictions if they sell the property and can raise the price of the home only by a comparable increase in the consumer price index.

Through an innovative partnership formed in 1985 between the two building trades union and the city, the labor-organized development corporation scouted for vacant lots and abandoned city property that could be turned into affordable housing for residents pushed out of their communities by the city's skyrocketing prices for land and housing.

A second project—the development of 40 brick units in Charlestown—is already on the drawing board.



New homeowners Michael and Jean Devine, with Michael Jr.

For their work on the Andrews Square project, Massachusetts Bricklayers won the outstanding service award in the Bricklayers' international crafts competition. The entries were judged by architects, public officials and labor leaders.

Police-state tactics charged in shutdown of MCI facility

Southfield, Mich.—Charging that MCI Corp. used police-state tactics in laying off 450 people and closing its office here, the Communications Workers filed an unfair labor practice suit against the giant telecommunications company.

The layoffs came shortly after the CWA had asked the National Labor Relations Board to order an election based on cards signed by more than 200 workers at the Southfield facility. CWA accused the company of shutting down the facility rather than negotiate with its unionized workers.

The union is particularly incensed over the way MCI announced the layoffs—part of a nationwide slashing of 2,400 workers from the payroll. Workers were told to report to nearby hotels, CWA charged, where they were divided into groups and warned in the presence of armed guards that they no longer worked for MCI.

Said the Rev. Irwin Heard, one of the laid-off workers: "They put hundreds of people on the street three weeks before Christmas and said 'to hell with you, you've got no recourse.'

"We helped build MCI into the second largest long distance telephone company. We've doubled their market share. And they have responded by calling 2,400 people in one day . . . and telling us not to come in the next. We think it is a disgrace."

In addition to filing charges with the NLRB, CWA pressed for an MCI "workers' bill of rights," including:

- A public apology for the way the layoffs were conducted.
- 45 days' advance notice of all future layoffs and 90 days' notice of the closing of a facility.
- Retraining for laid-off workers and transfer rights to other facilities before a layoff takes place.
- Extension of all benefits for six months after a layoff.
- A fair method of selection for layoffs with no favoritism shown to individual workers or groups of employees.

Trend toward mergers continues

Merger activity among AFL-CIO affiliates was brisk in 1986. The mergers of the Furniture Workers and the Electronic Workers, effective next Jan. 1, and the Communications Workers-Typographical Union merger, will bring the number of federation affiliates to 89.

The CWA-ITU merger is awaiting Executive Council approval.

Earlier in the year, the Telegraph Workers merged into the CWA and the Railway Carmen were coupled with the Railway & Airline Clerks on Aug. 6.

The IUE-UFWA merger was given final approval early in December when IUE locals representing 112,800 members voted to ratify convention action in September, where delegates unanimously approved new constitutional provisions that allowed for the merger.

IUE's 175,000 members will be combined with UFWA's 21,000 and the newly formed union will be the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine & Furniture Workers.

The United Transportation Union's merger with the Yardmasters was approved by the Executive Council last February, and in April, the UTU disaffiliated from the AFL-CIO.

NLRB repudiates court's criticism

The National Labor Relations Board took a second look at a controversial decision but stuck to its conclusion that federal labor law doesn't protect a lone worker fired for blowing the whistle on unsafe working conditions.

Before 1984, the labor board's policy was that a good-faith protest against unsafe conditions was an activity protected by the National Labor Relations Act even if an employee acted without consulting other workers.

It announced the policy reversal in refusing to order the reinstatement of a truck driver who wouldn't drive an unsafe vehicle and reported the defective rig to the state inspection agency. The inspection agency ordered the rig out of service and the company fired the driver, who was not represented by a union.

The D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals said the NLRB had interpreted the term "concerted activity" too narrowly and remanded the case to allow the labor board to reconsider the case.

The NLRB said it has done so and still concludes that the worker would have had to involve or show an intent to involve other employees in his protest in order to claim the law's protection.

This decision, like the early ruling, is expected to be challenged in federal appellate court.

Bidding on benefits

Representatives of some of the nation's largest financial institutions are briefed on procedures for bidding on financial services to be provided under the investment retirement program that will be made available to union members through the AFL-CIO Union Privilege Benefit Programs. UPBP President Ray Denison answers questions on the bidding procedures during meeting at federation headquarters.

South Africa curbs unions in crackdown

South Africa's white-minority government tightened its stranglehold on that racially divided nation, cracking down on black trade unions, imposing harsh new restrictions on political expression from its critics and muzzling the news media.

With an almost total news blackout in force, the AFL-CIO is working through international trade union channels to determine the impact that Pretoria's harsh new resort to an iron-handed rule was having on South Africa's labor movement.

The only information filtering out of that country came from the government-controlled television, which reported the imposition of sweeping restrictions on the Congress of South African Trade Unions, one of two black labor federations.

There was no immediate information about the fate of the other labor center, the Council of Unions of South Africa, an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The government said it has barred COSATU from involvement in any activities intended to "incite the public." This ban is designed to stifle demands for an end to apartheid and to prevent organized labor from calling for the release of trade unionists and other political prisoners "detained" by police and the military.

The new government order expands the definition of "subversion," making it unlawful to advocate boycotts, regarded by many as a peaceful way to press demands where normal parliamentary channels are closed to the majority.

22,000 'detained'

Since last June, independent monitoring groups have estimated that 22,000 people have been held by the authorities without either being charged or brought to trial. The AFL-CIO, using trade union channels, was able to identify 111 union leaders and members being detained.

And Federation President Lane Kirkland, who joined other ICFTU leaders on a special mission to South Africa last summer, reported on the brutal treatment of unionists at the hands of their white captors and denounced the repression of free trade union rights.

The latest crackdown—which President P.W. Botha described as "preventive security measures"—came in the wake of congressional action imposing sanctions on South Africa over President Reagan's veto. And it followed a growing trend by American companies to end their investment in South Africa—a disinvestment policy long advocated by South Africa's unions and supported by the AFL-CIO.

Comrades at arms

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland welcomes Costa Rica's President Oscar Arias to federation headquarters, pledging that the American labor movement and the Costa Rican government will remain "comrades at arms in a common struggle" for democracy and economic recovery. Kirkland expressed concern for that country's foreign debt crisis and stressed that "the banks get paid" at the expense of workers. Arias noted that living standards in Costa Rica have nosedived 25 percent in recent years, and pledged to "encourage the growth" of free trade unions in his country.

White House snubs Congress, continues runaway plant aid

Continued from Page 1

ties received the Administration's blessing.

It marked the second time in less than a month that a congressional committee zeroed in on the Administration's open endorsement of runaway plant operations, particularly those firms that set up shop in the maquiladoras—or "golden mills"—on the other side of the Rio Grande, where some 300,000 girls and women are now employed in assembly operations once carried out in this country.

Earlier, the House Economic Stabilization subcommittee chaired by Rep. John LaFalce (D-N.Y.) flayed the Administration for promoting the export of U.S. jobs at a time when the ranks of the unemployed, the discouraged and the underemployed in this country stand at nearly 15 million.

Among those testifying before Florio's subcommittee in the latest in the round of hearings were:

- Director General Alexander H. Good of the U.S. & Foreign Commercial Service in the Commerce Dept., who continued to insist that helping U.S. companies move assembly operations to Mexico was necessary to meet the import challenge. Good claimed that setting up plants in Mexico was the only way to "protect the manufacturing base upon which our future economic security depends."
- Rep. Bob Carr (D-Mich.), cosponsor with Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio) of the congressional ban on spending taxpayers' money to promote this scheme, warned that "without congressional action on trade, imports will erode the already beleaguered domestic industrial base and place more and more American workers on unemployment rolls."
- Executive Vice President Barbara J. Easterling of the Communications Workers, who called for repeal of a provision of existing law which allows companies to "export parts for assembly at slave wages and re-importation with minimal duties imposed." Manufacturing in the United States, she said, is "in a near depression," the outlook is "grim," and the economy is "endangered" by Reagan Administration polices that "support the export of jobs."
- Economist Steve Beckman of the Auto Workers, who assailed the Administration for promoting foreign investment as "an acceptable response to import competition." The Commerce Dept.'s activities, he declared, are "a counterproductive approach to the international trade problems facing companies producing goods in America."

Mexican connection

Although the Commerce Dept. claimed there were no recent studies on the impact of the maquiladoras, the Florio hearings came on the heels of two reports dealing with the way that the deepening trade crisis has led to the loss of American jobs and the destruction of American industry. Both made specific references to the Mexican connection.

The Office of the U.S. Trade Representative provided Congress with examples of the hundreds of barriers that countries around the globe, including Mexico, have erected to keep U.S.-made goods out of their markets. The study made clear that these restrictions have a "trade-distorting impact on U.S. commerce."

And the International Trade Commission, after examining a number of U.S.-Mexican programs supposedly designed to help the economies of both countries, demonstrated that the maquiladoras have driven unemployment up to staggering levels in the border communities of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California without helping improve the standard of living of low-paid Mexican workers.

Labor scores OSHA delay on methylene

"There is no justification" for the Occupational Safety & Health Administration's delay in acting on the Auto Workers' petition for an emergency standard on methylene chloride, the union said. The call for immediate action came in the wake of the agency's denial of the petition and its announcement of pursuing drawn-out rulemaking steps on the chemical.

Dr. Frank Mirer, director of the UAW's safety and health program, put the onus for quickly developing a standard on OSHA's new administrator, John Pendergrass. "To live up to promises already made, he will have to provide faster action in completing the rulemaking that it took to start it," he declared.

Mirer said that the 16 months it took the agency to deny the petition was too long and the projected date for final action is another year and a half away, "far too long given the gravity of the public health risk," Mirer said. "We are going to do everything we can to speed up the timetable."

Mirer noted that since the union petitioned for an emergency standard, "we have noticed action by some employers to substitute chemicals and reduce exposures, but there will never be full protection until we get a standard that reduces exposures to the lowest feasible level."

The UAW's petition for action had been joined by the Allied Industrial Workers, Furniture Workers, Steelworkers, Communications Workers, Newspaper Guild, and the Glass, Pottery & Plastics Workers.

Routine pattern

OSHA announced at the time it denied the union's petition that "normal" rulemaking would begin on the methylene chloride. The agency noted that more than 1 million workers are exposed to the colorless, nonflammable liquid widely used as a solvent in industrial processes, food preparation and agriculture.

While the agency admits there is "sufficient" evidence that methylene chloride can cause cancer in two animal species and mutations in three organisms, it holds that human studies are inconclusive on whether exposure to the chemical is harmful.

The current OSHA exposure limit is 500 parts methylene chloride per million parts air, a level the unions feel is too high. The unions have urged that the limit be reduced to its lowest feasible level. Last May, the American Conference of Government Industrial Hygienists acted to change its recommended threshold limit from 100 ppm to 50 ppm.

Missouri poll shows support for public sector bargaining

Jefferson City, Mo.—Two-thirds of Missourians favor granting public workers collective bargaining rights, according to the results of a new poll that buttresses the State AFL-CIO's major legislative goal.

The poll, conducted by the Prell Organization of St. Louis for the state federation, also found that voters in the state remain staunchly opposed to the so-called right-to-work amendment, and they overwhelmingly believe that unions benefit workers.

Commenting on the poll, State AFL-CIO President Daniel J. McVey said, "Missourians strongly support collective bargaining in general, and they are saying that public employees should have the same basic rights as workers in the private sector. We're not only pleased that the voters back our top legislative priority, but that the citizens of a conservative state appreciate the overall role and contributions of unions in protecting the average worker."

Employees of state and local governments in Missouri do not have the right to bargain on wages, benefits and working conditions. The state law sets only a vague requirement that employers "meet and confer" with worker groups and does not compel administrators to bargain in good faith, McVey pointed out.

The poll, based on 603 random telephone interviews from across the state, has a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percent. It found that 68.4 percent of the respondents believe "the working person is better off today because of unions." Only 8.4 percent of Missourians can be classified as the "hard-core, anti-union group."

McVey stressed the benefit of having concrete information on where Missourians draw the line on rights for public workers, noting that it will make the drafting of legislation easier.

"The results indicate Missourians oppose giving public safety employees—police and fire fighters—the right to strike," he said. "I fully expect any new legislation to reflect that sentiment. A majority do believe that public employees as a whole, including teachers and sanitation workers, should be able to strike."

RTW unpopular

On the issue of a "right-to-work" amendment, the pollsters found such a measure would fare no better in the state than it did in 1978 when it was voted down by a 3-to-2 margin.

The polling firm said it would fail by at least the same margin and by even more if the public was fully educated about the issue.

"Right to work" still is "a difficult concept to understand and, unfortunately, the opposition has a better positioning: right to work sounds like a good idea if one does not understand it," the pollster declared.

Reagan scheme hit on pay-tinkering plan

Continued from Page 1

workers are limited to a deferred 3 percent raise.

The union will wait to see how much of an executive pay increase President Reagan proposes under a budget procedure that puts the new salary levels into effect automatically unless Congress passes a resolution of disapproval.

Blaylock noted that Congress and the White House have held the salaries of ordinary government workers consistently below the comparability level with private-sector jobs that is supposed to be the standard for annual pay adjustments.

When federal pay generally is being kept artificially low and needed government programs and services are being cut back, the AFGE would have to oppose a near-doubling of executive pay levels, Blaylock said. But "we want to see what the President does with the commission recommendation before taking action on this matter."

John Dunlop to head BCTD-Toyota board

Former Labor Sec. John T. Dunlop will head the Employment Review Board that will oversee the union-management agreement covering construction of the Toyota auto assembly plant in Scott County, Ky.

His appointment was announced jointly by the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. and the Ohbayashi Corp., the contractor for the project.

Dunlop, a leading authority on labor-management relations in the construction industry and a former dean of Harvard College, will be the impartial chairman in reviewing "any disputes or conflicts" arising out of the agreement. The three-member review board will include a labor and a management representative.

Under the agreement, workers will be referred from union hiring halls, with preference to Kentucky residents.

EDITORIALS

The South African Ostrich

THE MESSAGE OF CHRISTMAS is of joy and hope. But the news this holiday season is less so.

In troubled South Africa, a repressive government has dropped a heavy blanket of censorship in an effort to prevent both its own people and the world at large from learning of protests against apartheid, the police roundup of dissenters and what it chooses to call "subversive statements."

South Africa, to be sure, is neither the first nor the only country to curtail freedom of the press and freedom of association under the guise of national security or ideology. Regrettably, the list of nations that fear the informed judgment of their people is deploringly long. It is a common feature of governments on both the left and right extremes of the political spectrum.

Political rights have always been precarious in South Africa, as the whiplashes on the backs of trade union activists detained without trial so vividly testify. Now we find a beleaguered government resorting to direct management of the news.

The official government propaganda agency has no hesitancy in releasing reports of episodes of violence in the segregated black townships. But it imposes a strict ban on news of peaceful protests against apartheid—by whites as well as blacks, by unions, churches and educators.

There have been such protests. By its attempt to conceal them, the South African government reveals their importance. Perhaps there is a ray of hope this Christmas season, a touch of starlight in the South African sky.

Foundation for Progress

THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE of the newly signed New York Compact on labor-management relations may be what it implies rather than what it does.

That's not to denigrate the important goals set forth in the document signed by the president of the New York State AFL-CIO, the head of the state's largest employer association and the governor.

It would be hard to find a greater priority for such a leadership group than cooperation to avoid plant closings and layoffs, and to minimize their impact on workers and communities when they are inevitable.

The compact recognizes the need for continued health insurance coverage when workers lose their jobs and for mobilizing all available resources to get displaced workers back in good jobs. It takes a sensible position that strikes, like layoffs, should be a "last resort."

The unspoken assumption of the parties is that New York is going to remain a union stronghold.

The premise of the compact is that economic growth can be achieved without competing for business on the basis of low wages, a "union-free" environment or reduced social protections for workers.

It's that premise that makes possible the cooperation the New York Compact hopes to achieve.

A Day to Remember

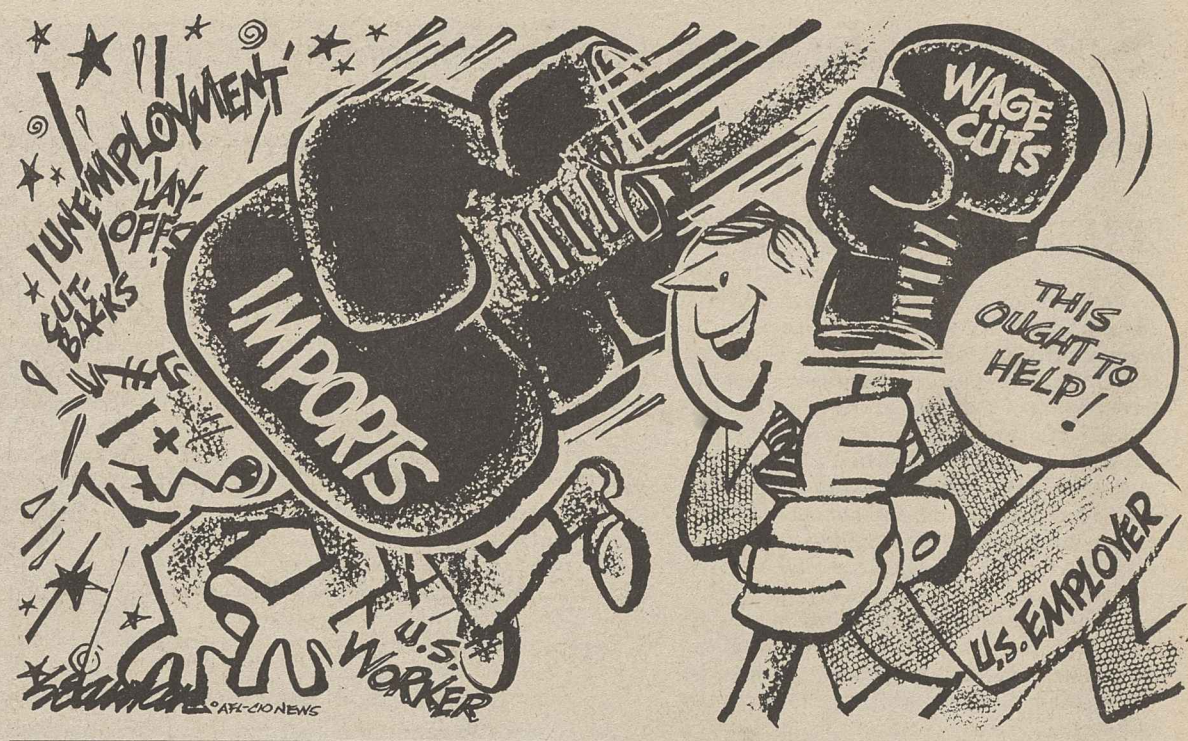
LAST JANUARY, we honored the memory of Martin Luther King Jr. with a national holiday, and we created a new American tradition.

On Jan. 19, 1987, the labor movement has the opportunity to help assure that this new tradition, this new holiday, continues to be a day that celebrates all that Martin Luther King lived and died for: justice and dignity, freedom and peace.

Others will be trying to commercialize Martin Luther King Day, as they do every holiday, and to promote the idea that anybody who isn't working ought to be bargain-hunting.

Labor has a special responsibility to head that off and to point the holiday commemoration in the way it should go. No other institution so deeply shares the goals and values he fought for.

—From remarks by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, Washington, D.C., Dec. 15, 1986.



Washington Window

Short-time compensation spurs worksharing plans

By Press Associates

With unemployment entrenched at recession levels, the 100th Congress should take initiatives to help the more than 8 million Americans who can't find jobs, the 5 million on involuntary part-time and the 1 million too discouraged to look for work.

Taking action won't be easy, despite the Democrats' new majority status in the Senate, because of the threats posed by Reagan's huge budget deficit and his do-nothing policies.

However, there are cost-effective innovations that could offer considerable savings and benefits to workers, communities and employers. One such idea is short-time compensation, which provides jobless benefits to workers whose hours are reduced during economic downturns. The concept, used successfully in some European countries and Canada, was adopted by 12 states —Arizona, Arkansas, California, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, New York, Oregon, Texas, Vermont and Washington.

Short-time compensation can be used to prevent full layoffs for some employees by reducing work hours for many workers, with jobless benefits nearly making up the difference between reduced and full-time wages.

At a New York conference sponsored by religious, labor, women's and industrial relations groups, Workers Defense League Chairman Harry Fleischman said STC is supported by workers, employers, civil rights and community groups.

Conflicts reduced

Workers favor the idea, Fleischman said, "because it reduces friction about layoffs and maintains health and other fringe benefits for all workers. Civil rights and community groups favor it because it reduces conflict between workers with long seniority and women and minority workers."

C.F. Koziol, vice president and personnel director for Motorola Corp., underscored the employer benefits. After massive layoffs during the 1975 recession, Motorola, a nonunion firm, consulted labor lawyer Lillian Poses, who spearheaded the first attempt to pass a worksharing law in New York State. After pushing to get worksharing laws in states where the company has plants, Motorola had 9,000 employees on worksharing during the 1981-82 recession.

According to Koziol, the "strategy paid off." When the recession eased in the first quarter of 1983, Motorola was going "full blast" and gained strength in the semiconductor market while its competitors were still recruiting and training workers.

Other alternatives

This may sound terrific from a company point of view, but John Zalusky, an AFL-CIO industrial relations expert, warned that current state STC models are not necessarily a "win-win" alternative to layoffs.

Recognizing these problems, the federation's Executive Council endorsed STC in 1981, but only with the condition that it not be assumed to be a viable alternative to other anti-recession programs because it creates no new jobs.

The federation also said that STC must be voluntary for workers and unions; that it not dilute unemployment compensation trust funds; that jobless benefits should replace at least two-thirds of the lost wages; that workers fully retain pension, insurance and other benefits, and that workers be protected against discrimination.

Zalusky said none of the current state STC plans meets all these goals. One of the biggest problems, he pointed out, is that employers have little incentive to use it.

Jobless compensation programs are state-controlled but Zalusky urged that Congress provide incentives for states offering STC. First, Congress needs to find out which STC programs are most efficient, do the most to stabilize employment and most benefit workers, he said.

Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), who raised the issue previously, anticipates reviving it in the 100th Congress, according to her office. While the STC approach is far from the ideal of full employment, if properly developed it could be a low-cost step in the right direction.

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States move toward safeguards for VDT users

By Arlee C. Green

Unions that have generated public pressure for protections for video display terminal users will continue to press for added state legislation next year, while alternately adding contract safeguards for workers on VDT's.

Over the past year, significant gains have been made in both areas. Several states added laws or policies designed to protect workers. In California, a new state law sought by organized labor requires state universities and colleges to establish guidelines for workstation design to protect VDT operators from injury. The state higher education system employs 235,000 people.

Further, the California Safety & Health Administration Standards Board voted in August to set up an advisory committee to study the need for VDT safety standards for both public and private VDT operators.

In New York, as of Oct. l, all new VDTs bought by the state must meet basic ergonomic standards, including detachable keyboards, displays that tilt and swivel, adjustable controls for brightness and contrast, glare-reducing screens and filters, and non-reflective keyboards and castings.

In Maryland, the House of Delegates' Economic Matters Committee requested the state Safety & Health Board to consider drafting VDT regulations, while in the District of Columbia, the Commission on Women asked the city government to develop VDT purchasing guidelines, implement a public education campaign and study the effects of VDT use.

Contract protections

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney noted that tremendous progress has been made in recent years in winning contract protections for VDT users. "We have come to the point where it's assumed by all parties that we will negotiate over technological change and where nearly every contract expands our gains."

A number of SEIU locals have won provisions covering rest breaks, eye exams, workstation design and inspection and job transfer for pregnant workers. Additionally, some agreements have provided for prior notification of the introduction of new technology, the right to bargain new job classifications and worker retraining rights.

The Newspaper Guild has bargained provisions for radiation testing of VDTs in 47 contracts, eye exams for VDT users in 40 agreements, and employer purchase of special VDT glasses in 20 contracts, according to safety director Dave Eisen.

The Guild has won periodic rest break provisions in 17 contracts, but none has met the union's goal of 15-minute breaks for each hour of intensive VDT use.

The State, County & Municipal Employees made VDT protective laws a key goal at its recent legislative meeting, and AFSCME locals have made good progress in winning safety protections for VDT users. Jordan Barab, the union's safety director, said Ohio state employees won provisions that call for workstations to be designed ergonomically and transfer rights for pregnant VDT users.

Communications Workers locals have been active in coalitions pressing for state legislation, according to David LeGrande, CWA safety director. "We are looking for more legislative action in 1987 because it's an not an election year and the sessions will be longer."

LeGrande noted that even where the union can't win specific contract provisions on VDTs, it is managing to provide input into the design of workstations, worksites and terminals, along with getting some employers to permit rest breaks. He noted that the ideal would be a 15-minute break after each hour of intensive use and no more than four hours per day on a VDT.

Research project

CWA members at Bell South and AT&T are part of a controversial research project being conducted by the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health. Under the project, whose estimated cost has nearly quadrupled in two years, research would center on the medical records and interviews with workers from each company.

The White House Office of Management & Budget pressured NIOSH into agreeing that questions regarding fertility or stress would be stricken from the questionnaire. That research project is underway and interviews with the workers will begin early next year.

ILGWU's ladies in waiting

New York—Ladies' Garment Workers Local 23-25 has borne a new program of prenatal care and medical advice for its 20,000 Chinese members.

The project, developed in partnership with the March of Dimes, brings health care professionals including obstetricians and nurses to meet with local union members during three evening sessions. The classes are conducted entirely in Chinese and include slide presentations, exercise demonstrations, prenatal care and other instructions for the expectant mothers.

"Among our 23,000 members, there are 500-700 new births each year," said ILGWU Vice President and Local 23-25 manager Edgar Romney. He noted that many of the union's Chinese members are recent immigrants who are unfamiliar with Western medicine.

More than 50 union members attended the first course and the local plans to make it a permanent part of its education program.

Compact seeks to ease plant closings

Union-employer-state effort in New York to save jobs

Albany, N.Y.—A unique experiment in labor-management-government cooperation was launched here with the signing of the New York Compact, which seeks to cushion the hardships of plant closings and major layoffs throughout the state.

It pledges the parties to work together for employment stability and for a union-employer relationship that views both strikes and layoffs as "last resort" measures, to be avoided where possible.

Signing the compact and pledging to work for adoption of its goals and principles were Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, State AFL-CIO President Edward J. Cleary and State Business Council Chairman William C. Ferguson.

Cleary said the New York state labor movement is giving the consensus approach a try "because we need to address the terrible burden of plant closings and find new ways to work with government and business for economic goals."

As its commitment, the state government pledged to target resources so that:

- Businesses can get financial and technical assistance to avoid a shutdown or major layoff.
- Workers whose jobs are eliminated will be assured "assistance to help them return to full-time employment and avoid undue economic hardship."
- Communities affected by plant closings will be given state assistance "to minimize adverse effects on local government revenues and services."

The compact calls on business to work with unions representing their workers to avoid layoffs, to voluntarily give advance notice of shutdowns and major layoffs, and to provide extended health insurance coverage to workers affected by a shutdown or layoff. As an interim move, it proposes state funds to assure extended health insurance for at least four months for workers hit by plant shutdowns.

The requirement for advance notice should be mandatory for companies that receive government economic development benefits, the compact declares.

Alternative approach

It urges using state, local or federal mediation services to avoid a strike and commends voluntary arbitration as "a viable alternative for resolving contract disputes."

The state's Industrial Cooperation Council was the vehicle for bringing the parties together to shape a consensus and will monitor implementation of the compact.

The signers declared their intent to "embark upon a one-year campaign to educate unions, employers and local communities as to the importance of the compact, and seek their endorsement of its principles, goals and techniques."

They will also work together on the targeting of state economic resources, approval of an additional $10-million budget item as "a turnabout fund" to help avoid plant closings, and shaping of "a permanent solution to the problem of health insurance for dislocated workers."

AARP hit for using anti-union printer

The AFL-CIO Committee on Older & Retired Workers called on the American Association of Retired Persons to stop using an anti-union printer for one of its publications.

In a letter to the AARP Executive Director, Federation Vice President William W. Winpisinger, who chairs the executive council committee, said the federation learned that an AARP publication, "Modern Maturity" magazine, was printed by "one of the nation's most notoriously anti-union printing firms," R.R. Donnelly Co.

The federation intends to "inform the membership of all organized labor" about the AARP's anti-labor connection, he pointed out.

Winpisinger, who is president of the Machinists, noted that in the past, AARP's publications were produced by union firms. He offered the AFL-CIO's assistance, through its printing trade affiliates, in working with AARP to return its printing to "firms that respect the right of their employees to form a union of their own choosing and to engage in free, fair collective bargaining."

Iowa Beef lockout follows rejection of wage freeze

Dakota City, Neb.—Iowa Beef Processors Inc., the world's largest and most profitable beef packer, locked out more than 2,500 Food & Commercial Workers after they overwhelmingly rejected management demands for a four-year wage freeze.

Members of Local 222 voted 2,250 to 50 to turn down the take-it-or-leave-it offer to replace the contract that expired Dec. 13, but agreed to continue work.

Iowa Beef responded with the lockout, claiming it feared "in-plant disruption" at this flagship facility in its slaughtering and processing operations. Management said it was particularly concerned over the threat of "work slowdowns, sabotage, wildcat strikes or other disruptive actions."

The UFCW branded the statement "a complete lie," pointing out that members who attended Local 222's ratification meeting specifically rejected any disruption of the company's operations. Prior to the 1983 settlement, employees worked for six months without a contract and without any in-plant incidents.

Past concessions

Three years ago, the union pointed out, its members here agreed to a $1.07-an-hour wage cut. Acceptance of the give-back, said Vice President Lewie G. Anderson, chairman of the UFCW packinghouse division, would mean the workers would be earning less on Jan. 1, 1990, than they did on Jan. 1, 1981, despite "a decade of a constantly eroding standard of living."

In addition to the four-year wage freeze, the UFCW said, Iowa Beef insisted on an end to overtime pay after eight hours, a permanent two-tier wage structure and a requirement that workers pick up a part of the cost of health insurance premiums.

The union emphasized that the wage levels proposed by the company are so low that workers with less than two years' seniority and with three or more dependents would qualify for food stamps. This, Anderson said, would mean that "the taxpayers would be left forever holding the bag for a rich and profitable company."

The Dakota City plant is the only Iowa Beef facility that is unionized. In 1985, the company had $6.5 billion in annual sales and operating profits of $144.6 million.

Branding Iowa Beef "the Grinch that stole Christmas," the UFCW launched a fund-raising drive for workers left without jobs before the holiday.

The union said this was typical of the company's "contempt for the welfare of its employees," as it rallied support for the locked-out workers. Contributions are being handled by UFCW Local 222, 3038 South Lakeport Rd., Sioux City, Iowa, 51106.

The next issue of the AFL-CIO News will be published on Jan. 3, 1987, because of holiday schedules.

The staff of the AFL-CIO News wishes all readers a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.